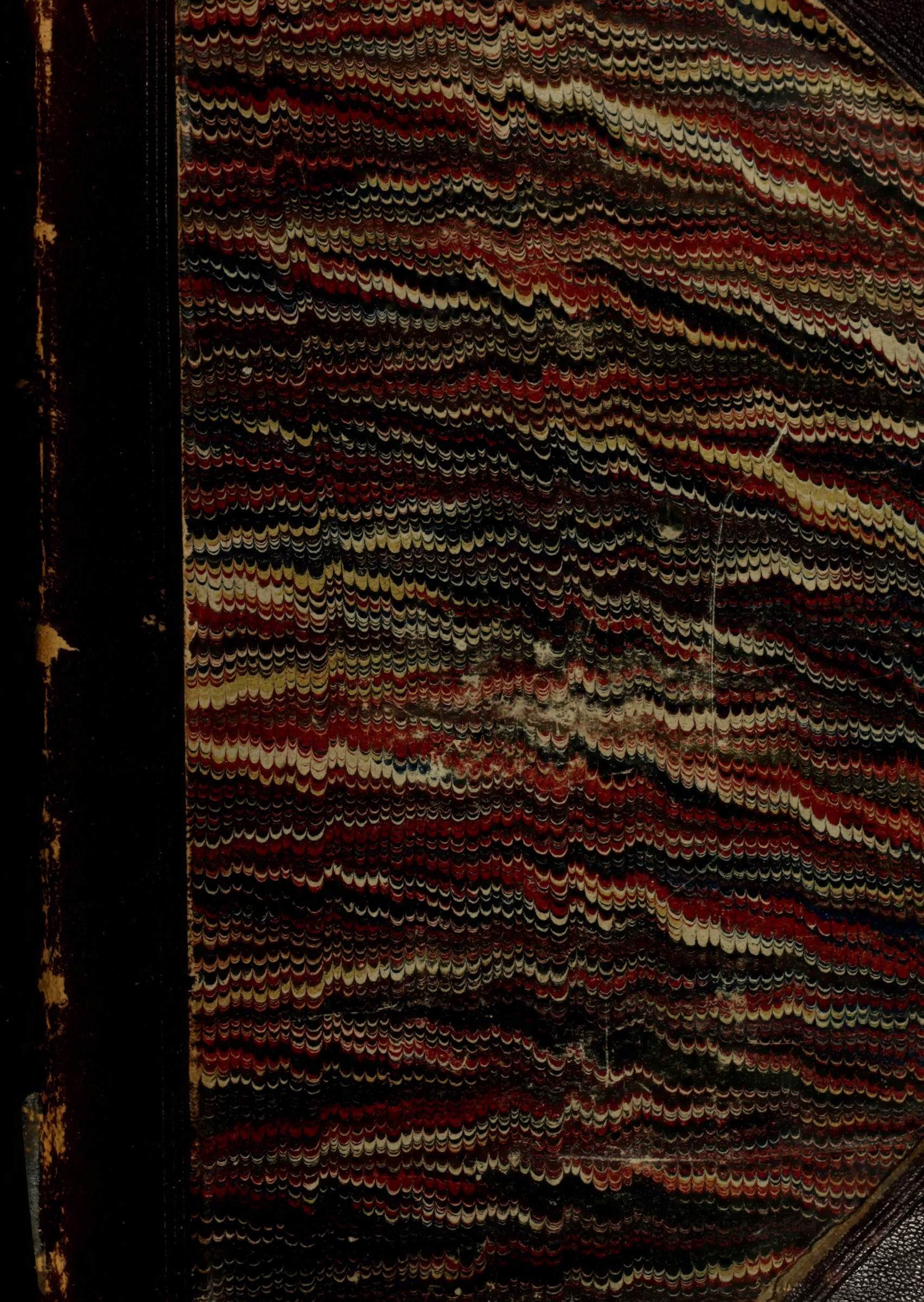
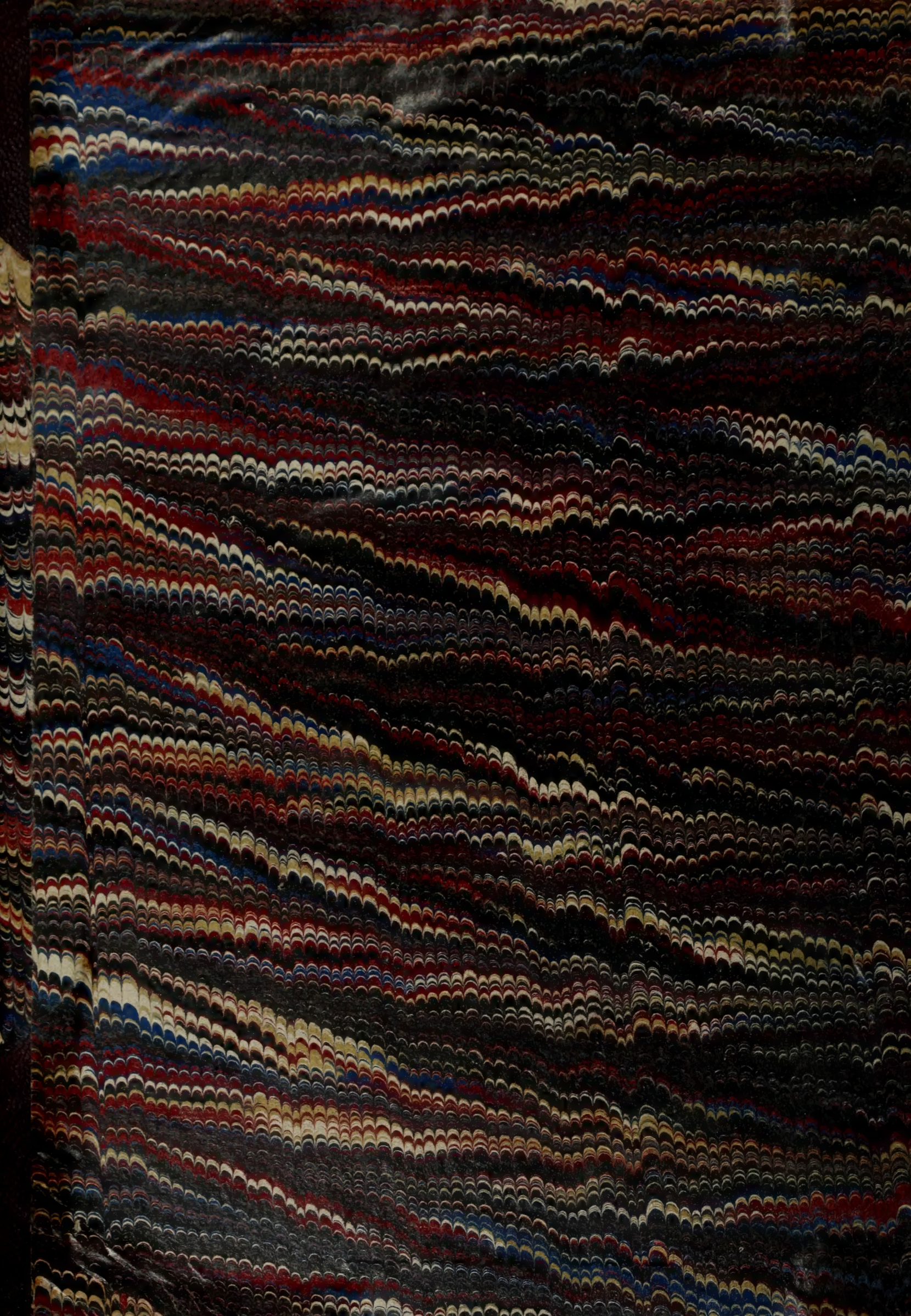
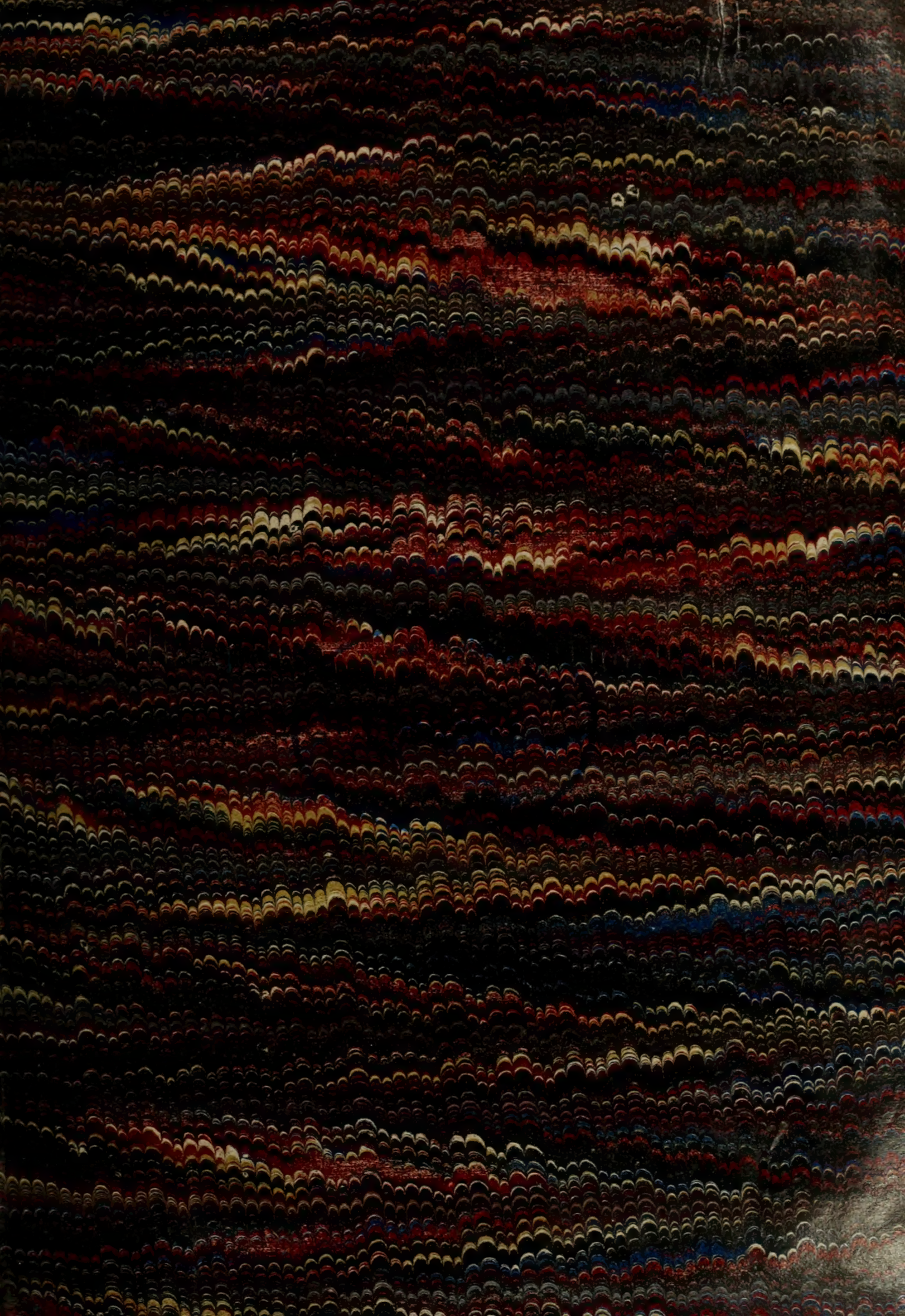
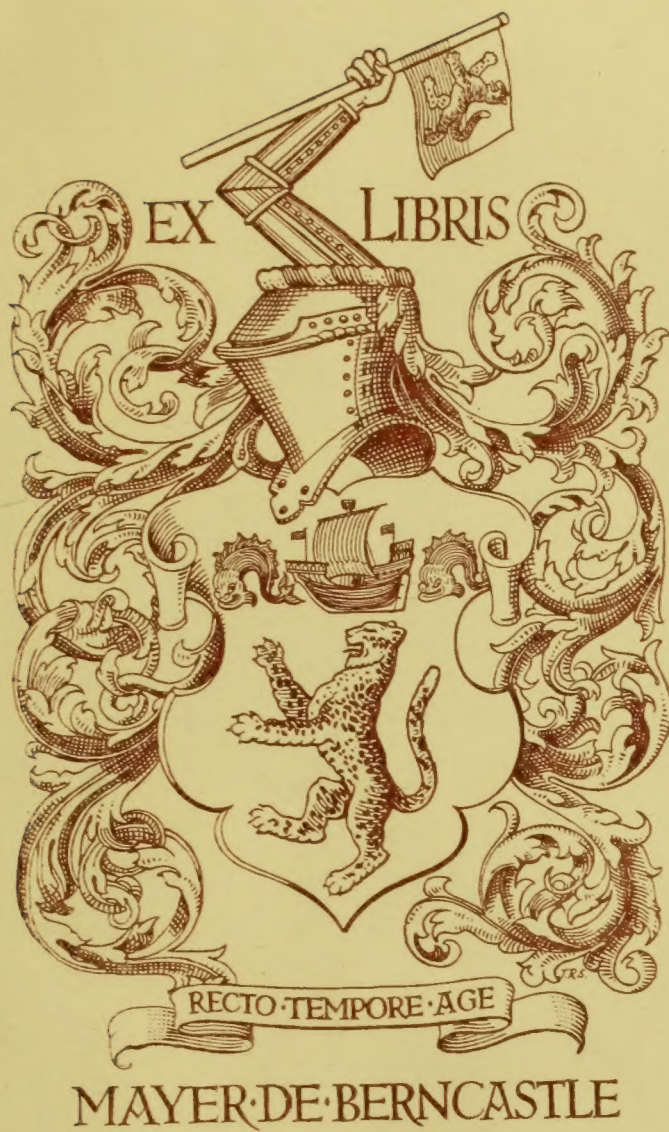


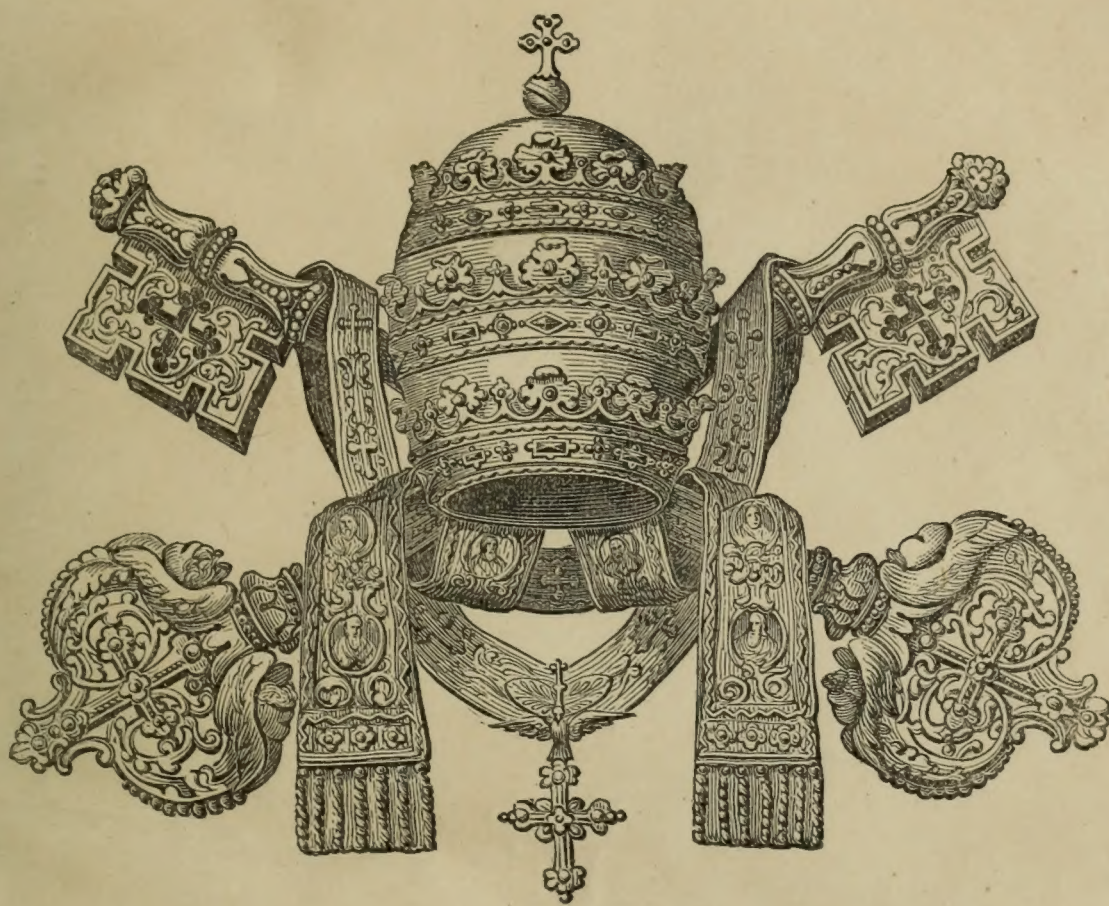






Gift







Engraved from the original of Donnecchino.

SAINT JEROME.



By Victor de Vigne &c.

THE
LIVES AND TIMES
ROMAN PONTIFFS,

FROM ST. PETER TO PIUS IX.

BY THE
CHEVALIER ARTAUD DE MONTOR.

TRANSLATED FROM THE FRENCH.

EDITED BY REV. DR. NELIGAN.

VOL. II.

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HAVING laid before our readers the lives, reigns, and acts of two hundred and thirty-seven of the long line of Roman pontiffs, bringing down the history of the papacy to the beginning of the seventeenth century, we pause to make another brief summary of the reigns of the last few popes, embracing the period between Leo X. and Paul V.

The life of the great Leo X. flowed majestically through the magnificences of a reign of glory and the tribulations of a pontificate beset with thorns, the result of long distractions of the Church. After weighing the opinions and the various judgments of other historians, Roscoe, a Protestant, says: "We have the most satisfactory evidence of the purity of this pope's morals, alike in his early youth and on the throne; and the example of chastity and decency which he gave, was all the more remarkable, because it was rare in the time in which he lived."

Alone among those who have imposed their name upon their century, Leo X. obtained, in addition, that renown for propriety of personal conduct, which adds so much to a name for other greatness. His age was one not only of great men, but also of distinguished women, such as Constantia de Avalos, Tullia of Aragon, Laura Baltivi, Victoria Colonna, Veronica Gambara, and Gaspara Strampra.

The generous and friendly patronage which he constantly bestowed upon Michael Angelo and Raphael, posterity has approved by ratifying his judgment.

Under Urban VI. the valorous Isle of Rhodes was conquered by the Turks. The pope was unbounded in his zeal for the consolation of Catholicity. Though he is said not to have loved the arts, he allowed himself to be instructed by those who knew how much Rome owes to art. But he was fully conscious of the great difficulties of the Church, and spared no

care and no exertion to repress Luther, that *restorer of all the heresies that had been condemned and buried in the preceding centuries.*

Clement VII., influenced apparently by the outcry raised against the warlike temper of Julius II., fell into the opposite error, and failed to put Rome in a state of defence against an army made up in part, at least, of men who were supposed to yield to none in respect for Catholicity and Rome. Yet their war was relentless, and Rome unprepared. God reserved the only vengeance that the pope could take. The hypocritical monarch who prayed so ardently for the deliverance of a prisoner whom his single word would have set at liberty, was, amid the shifts and subterfuges of his policy, forced by the very power of the Holy See to kneel before his victim, who magnanimously crowned him in the city of Bologna, displaying at once the right of the Holy See and the sentiment of pardon which ever animates the pontiffs.

Another king felt the effect of the same moral power. He separated from Rome. But is it certain that all his successors will persist in a disastrous resolution which no longer has an object? The nation, driven by violence to profess heretical doctrine, may some day cease to ratify, with such complete obedience, that abandonment of the whole spirit of order and of truth. Those who are called upon to reason upon evil in all its phases, may they not believe themselves also called upon to reason upon *good*? And as Rome has never been either more prudent or more skilful, who knows exactly whether providence has not reserved for that prudence and that skill a reward the most brilliant, accompanied by a pure and spotless triumph?

Paul III. strove to recall Henry VIII. to the ways of truth and gentleness, and he renewed the excommunication of a monarch who could not restrain his frightful feelings of ferocity.

Henry punished with death the women whom he seduced by the bait of a throne. In vain Rome calls to account this riot of blood and unexampled frenzy. The heads of the noblest supporters of Catholicity fall on the scaffold. Clemency, moderation, justice, seem to have fled from England.

Julius III., who, as Cardinal del Monte, had presided at the Council of Trent, determined to continue his useful labors and provide for the needs of the Church, with that abundance, that maturity, and that seemingly superhuman discernment of which we still receive the benefit.

Julius III. founded the Germanic college, committing its direction to Saint Ignatius Loyola. This enlightened pontiff introduced reforms into the Datary, and he instituted a congregation of cardinals to examine into the corrections needed in the collation of benefices.

The same pope introduced pure water into Rome, to contribute to the health of the city.

Let us ponder those words of Marcellus II. : "No man is more miserable

than the Roman pontiff." His brief reign showed a man fully conscious of the difficulties of the times, and an enemy of nepotism.

Less judicious, Paul IV. exalted his nephews, and his tardy but severe reparation left him little time for a more worthy administration. However, Paul had the glory of restoring the observances of fasting in the Church.

The reign of Pius IV. was marked by the final and apparently too severe punishment of the guilty nephews of Paul IV., whose cause was reheard at a later day.

The Council of Trent continued its great labors under Pius IV., who ordered the closing of that assembly, which we may regard as a faithful image and perfect supplement of all preceding councils.

A new light is, we think, shed on the scenes of Saint Bartholomew, and the action of Gregory XIII. on the first tidings of that event.

In general, the acts of this pope were noble, great, learned, clement, and inclined to peace. We shall not repeat the acclamations with which all Europe hailed the reformation of the calendar.

Now appears the reign of Sixtus V., a reign of power, of command, and of a will that made itself respected.

Here we pause to witness the death of Mary, queen of Scots, a triumph for Catholicity, an undying reproach to the religious policy that demanded her blood.

We have seen Sixtus embellishing Rome, covering it with magnificent obelisks, and yet undertaking that most difficult task of replenishing an exhausted treasury, with such unparalleled success, that a part of his economical reserve was still in the Roman treasury to appease the rapacity of the Directory.

Under this pope, too, we see the establishment of the Vatican library.

Urban VII. did little more than occupy the throne and the tomb. Gregory XIV., friend of Saint Philip Neri and Saint Ignatius Loyola, gave promise of a useful pontificate, but his brief reign was followed by that of Innocent IX., of still shorter duration.

Clement VIII. then ascended the Holy See. This great pope caused a strict visitation of churches, monasteries, colleges, and eleemosynary institutions; he issued a correct and standard edition of the Latin Bible; he reconciled Henry IV. of France to the Church. He also reunited the duchy of Ferrara to the States of the Church, and founded the Scotch and Clementine colleges. The execution of Giordano Bruno for heresy, in this reign, has been made a handle of to decry the papacy, by those who can conveniently close their eyes to the wholesale slaughter of Catholics, wherever such turbulent men were allowed to have their way.

Under this reign began the famous congregations *de Auxiliis*, evoked by the work of Molina on grace, and which extended their labors through

several pontificates. A man of great austerity and sanctity of life, the reign of Clement VIII. is one of religious glory, and it is no small renown to have called to the cardinalate a Baronius and a Bellarmine.

Another short reign, that of Leo XI., led to that of Paul V., a pontificate of great and important labors, still fresh in the minds of our readers.

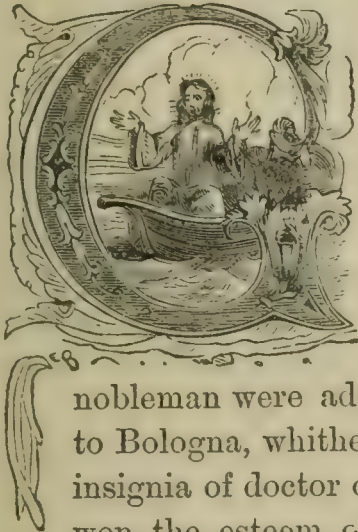
The present volume will cover the important period from 1621 to the present time, the period when the policy of modern Europe was more completely developed, and when that arbitrary power of monarchs which began by attacks on religion, ended in a series of revolutions, which left no throne untouched. Amid this chaos, we shall see the papacy gaining new influence, and amid a thousand vicissitudes exerting an ever increasing and direct power over its untold millions of faithful children in every clime, and under every shade of political sway, all regarding with reverent awe and affection the successor of Saint Peter, powerful without human power—the weak one of the earth raised up by the Almighty to confound the strong.





LIVES OF THE POPES.

238. GREGORY XV.—A. D. 1621.



GREGORY XV. (Alexander Ludovisi)* was born at Bologna, on the 15th of January, 1554, and was the son of Pompey Ludovisi and Camilla Bianchini. Having studied the humanities and philosophy at Rome, in the German college and in the Roman seminary, Alexander became one of the most respectable pupils of the Society of Jesus. The modesty, intellect, and prudence of the young nobleman were admired, and his elevation predicted. On his return to Bologna, whither he was recalled by his family, Alexander took the insignia of doctor of both laws. Afterwards settled at Rome, he there won the esteem of three successive pontiffs. Gregory XIII. named him first judge of the capitol, saying to him: "We now give you the first step towards the pontificate."

Clement VIII. created him referendary of signature, lieutenant of the cardinal-vicar, and, in succession, vicegerent, auditor of the Rota, and clerk of the chamber. At length, Paul V., on the 12th of March, 1612, granted him the archbishopric of Bologna, and then sent him, as nuncio, into Savoy.

* The Ludovisi family was already a distinguished one, having been aggregated to the Neapolitan nobility by Jane II., in 1320. Ligo Ludovisi was prior of Bologna in 1361, and subsequently John Ludovisi, count of Aigremont, was made senator of Rome. Horace, brother of Gregory XII., had a son, Nicholas Ludovisi, created by his uncle general of the Church and duke

It is easy to conceive what various knowledge is required in so many important positions, by a man who zealously endeavors to fit himself by study and application for their discharge.

As nuncio at Chambery, Alexander knew the Constable Duke de Lesdiguières, whom the king of France had sent into that city to support the claims of the Holy See, that so constantly showed itself the conciliator of conflicting interests. When Alexander had completed his labors as nuncio, the duke laughingly said, as they parted: "I can assure you, that I have a presentiment that you will be pope."

"I wish it may be so," replied Alexander; "and I accept the happy augury on the one condition, that my pontificate shall be illustrated by your conversion, and that you will renounce Calvinism."

Either in the ordinary impulse of friendly conversation, or in sincere feeling, the duke pledged himself to become a Catholic, should Monsignor Alexander Ludovisi become pope. But there are some pleasantries of the great world which speedily pass into serious facts. Ludovisi having become pope, called upon the duke to fulfil his promise; and the latter, though he was then eighty-four years old, put himself under instruction, and embraced our holy religion.*

Alexander obtained the purple on the 19th of September, 1616, and his cardinalate was one long series of wise and useful actions.

After the funeral of Paul V., the sacred electors heard a discourse by the celebrated Augustine Mascardi, and went into conclave on the 8th of February, 1621. The governor, Monsignor Varese, could not close the conclave until two o'clock in the morning, in consequence of the opposition of the French ambassador, Francis Annibal d'Estrées, marquis de Cœuvres, who was bent on keeping it open, and who redoubled his visits to those cardinals who were his adherents, conversing with them on the chances of the approaching election.

The cardinals present were fifty-two. The electors attached to Cardinal Borghese, supported by the Bentivoglios, who hoped indirectly to repossess themselves of Bologna, declared in favor of Cardinal Campori; but they were obliged to yield before the accusations brought against that personage. Most of those accusations probably originated in error or malice, but the effect was as sudden as it was unjust. Campori entered the conclave in some sort pope: on the following day, at the scrutiny, he had not a single

of Fiano. By successive marriages with Isabella Gesualdi and Polyxena Mendoza, he acquired great wealth and estates, including the principalities of Venosa and Piombino. He then purchased Elba of Philip IV., and married, as a third wife, Constantia Camilla Pamphili, niece of Innocent X. The duchy of Piombino and other possessions passed finally, in default of male heirs, into the Buoncompagni family in 1702.

* Oldoini, *Vit. Pont.*, vol. iv., col. 468.

vote: almost all the electors giving their votes to Bellarmine. We know already what the great cardinal was; we have already had to speak of the treasures of knowledge that he distributed, and we have not forgotten his previous magnanimous refusal of the proffered papacy. He will not now be unfaithful to his established glory, and, if need be, he will labor for other cardinals to his own exclusion.

Unmoved by these tokens of good-will, Bellarmine, without listening to his own name, again and again repeated during the scrutiny, pointed to the French cardinal, la Rochefoucauld, as the most worthy of the tiara.

Rather by way of courteous revenge upon Bellarmine for his self-abnegation, than from any hostility to la Rochefoucauld, the cardinals would not listen to the opinion of the former. The crown was offered to Cardinal Frederic Borromeo, the living image of the sanctity of his cousin, Charles Borromeo; but he warmly refused the tiara, as we are assured by Argelati, in his *Library of Milanese Writers*.

On the 8th of February, Cardinal Ludovisi arrived from Bologna, and had scarcely entered when he received the welcoming compliments of those who shared the opinion of the old duke of Lesdiguières, and he was elected pope at the age of sixty years.

Alexander took the name of Gregory, in memory of his fellow-citizen, and was crowned on the 14th of February. Subsequently, on the 14th of May, the day dedicated to Saint Gregory Nazianzen, he went, in an open litter, to take possession of Saint John Lateran.

After publishing a Jubilee,* to entreat God for a good and prosperous government of the Church, Gregory hastened to organize a league of the Christian princes against the Turk, and to find means of restoring to the faith the Protestant princes, by all fitting mildness of expedients. To that end the pope sent money and troops to the Emperor Frederic II. That monarch, being at war with the Protestants, derived inestimable encouragement from that timely and unlooked-for aid. The Protestant princes having refused his honorable terms, he found it was necessary to fight, and he gained the battle of Prague,† which recovered Bohemia, Silesia, and Moravia. Frederic, the rebellious palatine of the Rhine, lost even his own electorate.‡

* All these ceremonies are amply described in the *Relation du Conclave où on a élu le Cardinal Ludovisi, formant partie des Memoires de la Reine Marie de Medicis*. (Paris, 1660, p. 297.) Novaes (vol. ix, p. 163) cites a host of other works where the various ceremonies are mentioned.

† Refer to our life of Paul V.

‡ Among the notable products of that battle must be reckoned the famous library of Heidelberg. The books had been pillaged from the monasteries by the heretics. Gregory ordered them to be given to the Vatican library, which, however, did not get them till the reign of Urban VIII.

At the same time, Gregory sent aid to Sigismund, king of Poland, who thus was enabled to gain advantages over the Turks.

In that same year the pope approved the congregation of the *Blessed Virgin of Calvary*, so called because the religious who followed that rule passed the canonical hours before the altar of the Blessed Virgin weeping for her Son at the foot of the cross. This institute had been recognized in 1607, at first under the rule of Saint Benedict, by Antoinette of Orleans, daughter of Louis duke de Longueville, under the direction of Father du Tremblay, of the Capuchin order. On the death of that princess, the queen-mother founded, at Paris, another house, which became the residence of the superior-general.

On the 18th of November, 1621, the Holy Father approved the congregation of the *Regular Clerks of the Pious Schools*, or the *Poor of the Mother of God*, instituted by Joseph Calasancius, a noble Aragonese. The object of this congregation is to give primary education to the poor, and especially to inculcate upon youth the principles of good morals. On the 6th of March, 1617, Paul V. had approved it, imposing upon it only simple vows; at the same time he had separated it from the congregation of the *Mother of God*, and from the union prescribed on the 14th of January, 1614. Subsequently, Innocent X. reduced it to the condition of a simple congregation, like that of Saint Philip Neri, without any vow. Afterwards, Alexander VII. permitted those composing it to pronounce the three solemn vows, promising to maintain them perpetually. Finally, Clement IX., in 1669, restored it to the condition of an order, with solemn vows, in which state it now exists, to the great advantage of the poor. On the 3d of November, His Holiness approved the congregation of the Regular Clerks of the Mother of God,—already approved, with simple vows, on the 13th of October, 1595, by Clement VIII.

His Holiness also approved, without subjecting it to any vow, the congregation of the Pious Missionaries, founded by Charles Carafa, a noble Neapolitan, to give missions and other pious exercises. It is governed by a provost, named for three years. Some of the members of that institution devote themselves to an austere life. Linen is forbidden them; they can wear only woollen, and sleep only in woollen sheets.

By constitution ten,* the pope approved the Benedictine congregation of Saint Maur, in France.†

Near the monastery of Saint Cecilia, the pope built the Gregorian College, for the Benedictines to receive members going to Rome to study, or from motives of piety. He also granted to the Observantine Franciscans of the Indies or of Spain an hospital, to which were attached many privi-

* See the *Roman Bullarium*, vol. v., p. 343.

† Novaes, vol. ix., p. 165.

leges; and he at the same time founded, at Prague, a college, called Saint Bonaventure's, in the convent of the Minor Conventuals.

Gregory published two constitutions which were approved by Urban VIII., upon the form, the rules, and the ceremonies of the election of the pontiffs. The following, according to Novaes,* is a summary of the principal arrangements. The pontiffs can be elected only in a conclave. The election may be made in three modes—by scrutiny, by compromise, or by acclamation.† The number of votes for the election must be two-thirds of the electors assembled in conclave, in which two-thirds is not to be included the vote of the elected cardinal.

No election is consummated if all the votes have not been published. Before the ballots are placed in the chalice, all the electors must swear, in succession, that they have named only him whom they believe to be the best among them.

The elector must write on the ticket his own name and that of the cardinal to whom he gives his vote. Their tickets must be folded and sealed, in such wise that the seal will show that there are not two tickets put in by the same elector. The ticket of the scrutiny corresponds with that of the *accesso*. In each scrutiny an elector can *accede*‡ but once.

Previous to opening the votes of the scrutiny and the *accesso*, the votes must be counted, to see if their number equals that of the cardinals present. A cardinal failing to observe those laws is excommunicated. As to cardinals prevented from being in conclave by their infirmities, three cardinals will visit them and receive their votes from their own hands.

The scrutiny will be made twice a day—in the morning after Mass, and in the evening at a convenient hour. The cardinals, on pain of excommunication, must abstain from all agreement, sign, or threat relative to an election. The electors and the elected, in any other than the prescribed mode, are declared to be under major excommunication. The three cardinals, heads of the orders—the cardinal, head of the order of the suburbicarian bishops, the cardinal, head of the order of priests, and the cardinal, head of the order of deacons—in turn, and the chamberlain, are invested with the execution of this bull. All the cardinals must swear, on the day of their promotion to the purple, to conform to these rules, and on the first day following the death of the pope.

When Gregory had published this bull, he named a congregation to regulate a direct ceremonial, resulting from its directions, and those of the bulls of his predecessors, in harmony with this one, and by a constitution of the

* *Dissertazioni*, vol. i., p. 110—Novaes.

† The word *acclamation* is here substituted for *adoration*.

‡ To *accede*, is to declare the acceptance of one proposed in the scrutiny immediately preceding the *accesso*.

16th of March, 1622, he gave plenary confirmation to this ceremonial, by virtue of his pontifical authority.

An important circumstance drew more closely together the ties of the union which so closely connected the popes and the kings of France,—a union that Mary de Medici and Richelieu, bishop of Luçon, supported with all the ability they could exert.

Othman II., the sixteenth Ottoman sultan, and son of Achmet I., had been put to death in the Seven Towers, at the age of seventeen. Gregory had negotiated with that prince for the protection of the Catholic missions in Barbary, and now feared that it would be retarded by the catastrophe that had ensanguined the throne of Constantinople. The diplomatic relations between the Ottoman Porte and France were then very satisfactory to both courts. Gregory perceiving the necessity of receiving the support of some formidable power, and that France alone could assure him of that support, immediately recalled to Rome Noel Brulart, commander of Sillery, and ambassador from Louis XIII. to the Holy See. The pontiff reminded the French ambassador that when the same Barbary regencies, and especially that of Algiers, had insulted the subjects and the clients of the king of France (these clients at that time being Danes, Swedes, Muscovites, Poles, Swiss, and often Dutch), religious sent by Paul V., and furnished with instructions under his own hand, had in Algiers itself assisted in terminating the disputes; and Gregory now requested that the son of Henry IV. would reciprocate, as the pope just then needed the aid of the French king. In fact, in consequence of an indirect intervention by Paul V. there had previously been a letter written by Othman II. to Louis XIII., which it may not be superfluous to notice here. The tone of the declarations made by the pacha, secretary of the grand seignior, throws a bright light upon the connections existing between Constantinople and those regencies, and announces the greatness of France at that period, even by the titles which the Porte accords to Louis XIII. It had resulted from the political foresight of Paul V., continued by Gregory XV., that France had ceased to fit out ruinously expensive armaments, and had obtained full and entire satisfaction. France strongly desired to aid her subjects and allies without engaging with faithless barbarians in an eternal repetition of wars, which at that time always ended in painful sacrifices of money offered as presents, and of *forced clemencies*, added to very great expense in armaments.

Gregory did not vainly repeat how greatly Paul V. had been serviceable to the Christian king, and Rome not unjustly asked the French cabinet to return service for service. The policy of Gregory, sustained by the French, had therefore nothing to lose with the Porte.*

* On examining the circumstances of that time, and those which, under Charles X. of France,

The pope at this time thought fit to give the cardinal's hat to his nephew, Louis Ludovisi, who, although he was only twenty-six years of age, was already named archbishop of Bologna; subsequently, he became legate of Avignon, chamberlain, and vice-chancellor.

That cardinal left to the Jesuits a testimony of his attachment, by devoting two hundred thousand crowns to building the famous church of Saint Ignatius. The same cardinal also gave the Scotch proofs of his munificence, by throwing open to them a college whose professors belonged to the Society of Jesus.

In the same year, 1622, the pope published a bull, by which he forbade all ecclesiastics, regular or secular, exempt or not exempt, to confess or preach without the approbation and permission of the ordinary. Thus ended the old disputes raised by writers who maintained that faculties given by a bishop might be withdrawn by his successor, but not by him who had given it; as though the bishops having communicated their power to some one, had not the right to withdraw it when they should see fit!

We have now reached the period when the congregation of cardinals, called *De propaganda fide*,* was instituted—to send missionaries to propagate the faith among the heathen. On the same day, Gregory granted to that congregation the value of the ring which is given to each cardinal on his promotion—that is to say, the value of the ring which the chamber presents to a poor cardinal, or that of the ring which a rich cardinal procures for himself, and which is placed on his finger on his reception. The precise periods of the history of the establishment of the *Propaganda* are as follows: The first idea belonged to Gregory XIII.; then Clement VIII. examined the plan with scrupulous attention; and Gregory XV. perfected the work that had been commenced.

Animated by a like zeal, the pontiff extinguished the heresy of the *Illuminati*, which had widely spread in Spain. They had fallen into disorders which Novaes calls *an excessive spiritualism*. They deemed prayer more efficacious than the sacraments. They refused obedience to ecclesiastical superiors, unless the latter were illuminated; and they maintained that man, having arrived at perfection, need not obey the commands of the Church.

led to the chastisement of the most insolent of those regencies, we see that those pirates and corsairs had too tamely and too long been tolerated in their pretensions, under the pretext of belonging to the Porte; respecting no authority, neither that of Turkey nor of its allies, nor even their own. An infamous rabble of renegades, as the letters of Othman show us, still encouraged the plunderings of those wretches, whom all Europe ought to have hunted down, instead of consolidating their power by a dastardly and perfidious complicity. We know that they left Louis XIII. in peace from their fear of the strong arm of Richelieu, but that it was necessary that Louis XIII. should again, and very severely, chastise them. The last hour of those assassins arrived under the reign of Charles X.—(*Artaud*). The United States was the first to punish these pirates effectually, and show the hollowness of their power.

* Const. 26. Cherubini, *Bullarium Romanum*, vol. iii., p. 425.

Thus, by a mistaken devotion, *blinded* rather than *illuminated*, they reversed the precepts and the economy of all religion.

In reward of his vigils, the Holy Father had the consolation of receiving a letter from Rodolph Maximilian, duke of Saxony, announcing his conversion to the Catholic faith. Meantime, the Spaniards had seized upon the Valteline, a lordship of the country of the Grisons, at the entrance of Italy, under the pretence of protecting the Catholics against the Protestants; but that measure turned to the injury of all the Grisons, who, whether Catholics or Protestants, became slaves of the Spanish cabinet, of the Venetians, and of divers Italian princes. Then the interested provinces leagued themselves with France, and the result was a furious war. To settle those various pretensions, Gregory demanded that the entire Valteline should be placed temporarily in his power. The disputing powers consented, and then explanations and methods of conciliation were discussed in peace.

For a long time preparations had been made for the ceremony of canonization. Gregory in a single solemnity canonized five illustrious personages, eminent for their merits and their piety.

The first was Saint Isidore, the husbandman, called from the business he had followed during his life. He was born at Madrid, at the close of the eleventh century, and died on the 30th of November, 1130. Leo X. permitted Doctor Francis de Vargas to erect a chapel in honor of this servant of God, before his beatification. His body had been laid in a magnificent tomb, but in a place little honored, a chapel of Saint Andrew's, at Madrid, as mentioned by the Bollandists.* At the request of Philip II., Paul V. beatified Isidore, and permitted the process of his canonization to advance before the Congregation of Rites; and on its decision, Isidore was solemnly canonized, and his feast assigned to May 15th, but subsequently transferred to the 10th of that month by Urban VIII.

The second saint proclaimed in this solemnity was Philip Neri, a Florentine, founder of the congregation of the Oratory,† born on the 22d of July, 1515. He was the son of Francis Neri and Lucretia Solli, and died at Rome on the 26th of May, 1595, aged eighty years. Twenty years after the death of Philip Neri, Paul V., on the 23d of April, 1615, beatified him, and permitted an office and Mass in his honor. On the 8th of June, 1669, Clement IX. ordered his feast to be celebrated throughout the Church with the double rite,‡ instead of the *semi-double*, with which it had till then been honored. Benedict XIII. having been delivered at Benevento from an earthquake by the intervention of Saint Philip, made his feast a holiday of

* *Act Sanct. Maii*, vol. iii., p. 527.

† Saint Philip Neri is called the Apostle of Rome.

‡ In the Ordo, certain feasts, the offices of which are more solemn, are called *doubles*; and the name of *semi-doubles* is given to those which hold the medium between the *double* and the *simple*.



Engr. by R. D. B. 1807.

SCOTT'S NEW

obligation with a vigil, at Rome. The first church in honor of Saint Philip Neri was built at Carbognano, by Cardinal Horace Giustiniani, who had been a priest of the Oratory.

The third saint in this ceremony was Ignatius Loyola,* a noble Spaniard of Guipuscoa, in Biscay, founder of the Society of Jesus. That order, approved by Paul III., in 1540, and confirmed by the Council of Trent, was suppressed by Clement XIV., in 1773, and restored in 1814 by Pius VII.

Ignatius was the youngest of eight brothers. Born in 1491, he was the son of Beltran Yanes de Oñez and of Marina Sanchez de Licona Balda. He died at Rome, on the 31st of July, 1556, aged sixty-five years.

Paul V., by a decree of the 27th of July, 1609, and by a brief of the 3d of December of the same year, had inscribed him in the number of the Blessed. Clement IX., by a brief of the 11th of October, 1667, ordered the office of this saint to be celebrated as a *double*, instead of, as previously, a *semi-double*. Innocent XI.,† by a brief of the 17th of September, 1682, declared him patron of the kingdom of Biscay. Alexander VII., by a brief of the 18th of July, 1669,‡ confirmed the plenary indulgence granted by Gregory XV. to those who, after confession and communion, on Saint Ignatius' day and Saint Francis Xavier's, visited a church of the Jesuits.¶

The fourth saint was Saint Francis Xavier,§ of the family of the lords of the castle Javier, at the foot of the Pyrenees, in the diocese of Pampe-luna and kingdom of Navarre, born on the 7th of April, 1506, the son of John Guasco and Maria Xaveria.¶ He was one of the companions of Saint Ignatius in founding the Society of Jesus, and died in the island of Sancian, near China, on the 2d of December, 1552, at the age of forty-six, after the most painful toils in traversing the East Indies, for the conversion of many millions of the inhabitants of those countries, whom he led to the Catholic religion; labors which won him the surname of the *Apostle of the Indies*. Paul V. gave him the title of *Blessed*, on the 25th of October, 1619.¶

* Father Louis Gonzalez da Camera wrote the Acts of Saint Ignatius, partly in Spanish and partly in Italian. It is given in Latin, in the Bollandists, vol. vii. The first printed life is that of Father Peter Ribadaneira (Naples, 1572, 8vo), often reprinted. Father Maffei wrote another life, highly esteemed for its exquisite latinity (Rome, 1585, 4to), often reprinted. There are also lives by Nieremberg, Laca de Arcones, Garzia, and others. That of Bartoli (Rome, 1650, fol.) is very highly esteemed, and has been printed in English in this country, as has been also the life by the elegant French scholar Bouhours.

† Const. *Nuper*. *Roman Bullarium*, vol. viii., part 2, p. 244.

‡ The same brief ordered that the feast of this last saint should be transferred from the 2d to the 3d of December.

§ There are several lives of the great Apostle of the Indies. Those of Father Horace Tursellini (Rome, 1594, 8vo.) and Father Daniel Bartoli are much esteemed. The life by Father Bouhours is considered a masterpiece. It was translated into English by Dryden, and a new translation has also been printed in this country.

¶ See a dissertation of Father Peter Poussin, on the birth of Saint Francis Xavier; Toulouse, 1677.

¶ Const. *In Sede*. *Bull. Rom.*, vol. v., part 4, p. 274.

On the 24th of April, 1657, Alexander VIII. ordered the feasts of Saints Firman and Xavier to be celebrated throughout the kingdom of Navarre, of which they were patrons, and directed the office of Saint Francis Xavier to be placed in the Roman calendar, with the semi-double rite. Subsequently, Clement X. caused Saint Francis Xavier to be placed in the Roman Breviary, for the whole Church, with the double rite.

Gregory XV., on the 4th of June, 1622, granted a plenary indulgence to those who, on the day of that saint, visited a church of the Jesuits. Innocent X., by a brief of the 27th of October, 1561,* transferred the feast to the Monday after the first Sunday in Advent. Benedict XIV., at the earnest request of John V., king of Portugal, by a bull of the 24th of February, 1748,† made Saint Francis Xavier the principal patron of the East Indies, from the Cape of Good Hope to the kingdom of China and Japan.

The fifth saint canonized at this time was Saint Teresa, foundress of the order of barefooted Carmelites; she was born on the 12th of March, 1515, daughter of Alphonso Sanchez de Cepeda and Beatrice de Hahumada, and died at Alba, on the 2d of October, 1582. After three years, her body was taken to the monastery of Avila; but Sixtus V., at the request of the duke of Alba, ordered, in 1589, that it should be restored to the monastery of Alba, where she died, and where she is still preserved, quite entire, with the exception of the right hand, which was sent to the monastery of Avila, and a foot, which was given to the convent of Saint Mary, at Rome, in 1615.

The queen of Spain, Elizabeth, subsequently obtained a finger, which she sent to Queen Mary de Medici, her mother, who gave it to the Carmelite sisters of Paris. Paul V., who, in 1614, had beatified Teresa on the solicitation of Philip III., committed the examination of the cause for canonization to the Congregation of Rites. The canonization, as we have seen, was celebrated by Gregory XV. Pope Urban VIII., by a brief of the 23d of July, 1636, approved the office of the saint, and permitted it to be recited throughout the kingdoms of Spain and Portugal. Subsequently, Clement IX., by a decree of the 22d of July, 1668, extended it to the universal Church, with the double rite.‡

In the same year, 1622, Gregory beatified that servant of God, Albert the Great, of the order of Preachers. He had been master of the sacred palace, then bishop of Ratisbon.

* Const. *Alias*. *Bull. Rom.*, vol. vi., part 3, p. 227.

† Const. *Indiarum Gentibus*. *Bullarium of Benedict XIV.*; appendix, vol. 3.

‡ Her life by her confessor, Father Francis Ribera, S. J., was published at Madrid in 1602. Her own works constitute a most valuable autobiography, and are so esteemed in Spain for the purity of their style, that they are regarded as authority. The Bollandists have recently published a volume devoted to the life of this great saint.

Saint Teresa died October 6, 1582, which became October 15, so that either date may be used.

Albert was born at Lawingen, on the Danube, and died on the 15th of November, 1280. Urban VIII., in 1635, authorized the Dominicans of Germany to celebrate the office and the Mass of Blessed Albert. Clement VIII. granted the like permission to the Dominicans of the Venetian State, and by a decree of the 27th of April, 1670, permitted the whole order of Saint Dominic to celebrate the feast of the saint on the 15th of November.

The same pontiff, Gregory XV., by a decision *proprie vocis*, communicated to Cardinal Scipio Borghese, protector of the Dominican order, extended to the whole order the *cultus* of the Blessed Ambrose Sansedoni, a Dominican, who was born at Sienna in 1220, and died about the 23d of March, 1286.

The king of France, Louis XIII., had petitioned the pope to erect the See of Paris into a metropolitan. The pope granted that favor on the 12th of March, 1622. That diocese possessed an income of seven hundred and eighty thousand livres tournois. All authors agree that its first bishop was Saint Denis, after whom were a hundred and seven other bishops, of whom seven were venerated as saints,* nine had received the purple, ten had been promoted to the archiepiscopal dignity in other dioceses, and six personages had left its chapter to ascend the throne of Saint Peter.†

As suffragans to the archbishop of Paris, were the bishops of Orleans, Meaux, and Chartres; to whom were added the bishop of Blois, when that diocese was created under Louis XIV., in 1697.

Meantime, Gregory made his fourth promotion of cardinals on the 5th of September, 1622.

The first was Cosmas Torres, of Spanish origin, referendary of the signature, then nuncio to Cracow, and subsequently, at the request of the king of Poland, created cardinal of the title of Saint Pancras, and protector of the kingdom of Poland.

The second was Armand John du Plessis de Richelieu, born, according to some authors, at the castle of Richelieu, but, according to others, at Paris, on the 5th of September, 1562. When scarcely twenty-two years of age he was consecrated bishop of Luçon, on the renunciation of his brother Alphonsus.

At the age of thirty years, Armand was appointed almoner to Queen Mary de Medici, and supreme intendant of the household of that princess during her exile. In consequence of various political changes, Armand retired to Avignon, in the papal States, where Paul V. ordered the exile to be honorably received: there Armand wrote his book on the *Perfection of the Christian*. Everywhere, indeed, the pontifical agents treated the bishop of

* Novaes, vol. ix., p. 184.

† According to Novaes, those six pontiffs were Gregory IX., Adrian V., Boniface VIII., Innocent VI., Gregory XI., and Clement VIII.

Luçon with honors, which showed that his talents and ability were already appreciated at Rome, and his future not improbably already predicted.

After the death of the Constable de Luynes, favorite of King Louis XIII., Richelieu became more firmly established in favor, and Queen Mary solicited the cardinal's hat for him. Having received the hat from the king's own hand with great ceremony, and returned the usual thanks, Richelieu hastened to lay that new honor at the feet of Mary de Medici. "This purple," said he, "for which I am indebted to your Majesty, will always remind me of the solemn vow that I have made to shed my blood, if necessary, in your Majesty's service."*

The third cardinal was Octavius Ridolfi, a noble Florentine, vice-legate of Ferrara. The fourth and last was Alphonso de la Cueva, a Spanish nobleman of the family of the Albuquerque's, a religious of the military order of Alcantara, ambassador from Spain to various courts, and created cardinal-deacon while still on an embassy to Venice, where he was known as marquis de Bedmar. Then he became cardinal-priest of Saint Balbinus, and bishop of Palestrina. He died, aged eighty-three years, at Malaga, of which he was bishop, without having lost his right to the See of Palestrina, which is one of the suburbicarian bishoprics of Rome.

Gregory still engaged in his labors with the same zeal; when the winter of 1623 set in, to increase infirmities which had commenced in the preceding autumn. The agonies of that dreadful disease the stone afflicted

* Richelieu preserved this feeling of gratitude for some time; and in 1625 we shall see that, at that time, he was still the pious minister to her wishes, which he set forth in a writing, which we shall cite, and which had the threefold object of giving sage counsel, pleasing Rome, and attributing to the queen such language that, had she never expressed herself differently, that same Mary whom history sometimes overwhelms with deserved reproaches, would appear in French annals as one of the greatest of French queens.

Richelieu, having become master of the affairs of France, and almost of those of all Europe, we shall have occasion to speak of him again with reference to the affairs of the city of Rome, which, not by an accident of a few years, not by the effect of unforeseen circumstances, or of a natural ascendancy over weak and absolutely defenceless characters, but by an uncontested and incontestable power, has unceasingly been entitled to pretend to know all, to conciliate all, and thus to consolidate in herself a power established during so many centuries, which still endures, and always will endure. Even setting aside the continually renewed signs of an uninterrupted power, the demonstration of that power would be no less prodigious. I will confine myself to pointing out those returns of an influence which seemed to slumber, those reappearances of a credit that was supposed to be extinct, those beams of vivifying and preserving light which flashed upon dark scenes, and suddenly calmed the disturbed political atmosphere. I do not intend to draw any parallel between what Richelieu did and what Rome has done, and will constantly do; I speak only of events in which a mighty hand wielded a no less immense authority. The use made of that authority is not my province; I here remark simply that if some men from time to time get temporary possession of it,—as Richelieu, Louis XIV., and Napoleon,—their success is not comparable to that which is endless, in spite of some partial eclipses which must be considered as only apparent. Saint Peter, the first of the pontiffs whose history we here trace, said: "In the sight of the Lord, one day is as a thousand years, and a thousand years as one day."

this good pope; he supported them courageously, but they are so terrible as to overcome the most holy patience.

Our present remedies were then unknown, and the cardinals attempted to divert his mind by urging him to fill up the vacancies in the sacred college. He replied that there no longer was a pontiff, an exact appreciator of the merits of so many candidates, and that he would concern himself solely with his own salvation. He sent for his confessor, again made his confession, and received the Viaticum. On the following day, he had two Masses celebrated in his presence, communicated and received extreme unction. On the following day he heard Mass, fervently entreating all present to aid him with their prayers. He then said to the cardinals who were assembled around him: "We shall die with one consolation. Our successor may correct some errors in the administration of the Christian republic. It will not be possible, my beloved brothers, for a successor to us to be chosen who will not be more worthy of the authority than we, and who will not better fill the exalted pontifical office." In these sentiments he expired on the 8th of July, 1623, aged seventy years, after governing the Church two years and five months. He was interred at the Vatican.*

* I will first describe the three medals of Gregory XV. which are under my eyes.

1. GREGORIUS XV. PONT. MAX. ANN. III. The uncovered head of the pope with a long beard. *Rev.*: QVINQVE BEATIS CŒLESTES HONORES. In the exergue: DECERNIT. The Holy Ghost descending upon the pope, who is seated upon his throne, surrounded by cardinals and bishops. In front, the cardinals who had opposed the canonization.

2. CAUSA NOSTRÆ LÆTITIÆ. The Virgin and the infant Jesus, in a cloud. Struck on a victory gained by Maximilian, duke of Bavaria, over the Palatine of the Rhine and the Lutherans, in the year 1623. The victor ascribed his success to the Blessed Virgin, and sent the captured standards to Rome. The pope ordered them to be deposited in the church of Saint Mary of Victory.

3. PACIS ET RELIGIONIS AMOR. Religion seated, with a cross and a cornucopia. Near the figure of Peace, and at its feet, a helmet, &c. Struck after the negotiation for the Valteline.

Du Molinet, who has also described those three medals, knew of only one other, bearing the words: ASSAGIVM GENERALE. The *tentorium* or canopy which is carried before the canons of the Basilicas, below the crossed keys. The word *assagium* is not in ancient Latin authors, but it occurs in a bull of Alexander IV., in 1255. Menage thinks that the word is derived from the Latin words *ad* and *sapor*, from which are derived *supaggiare*, *assaggiare*. The last word having found its way into the vulgar Italian, it has been latinized by the addition of a Latin termination. Du Molinet thinks that *assagium* comes from *as*, a Roman coin, and that its meaning may be extended to signify any legal money. This inscription is very common in recent Roman medals, and signifies the assay of money to ascertain if it is of full weight, and if it contains no more than the lawful quantity of alloy.

Bonanni adds:

1. CAUSA NOSTRÆ LÆTITIÆ. In the exergue: S. MARIA DELLA VITA. BOLOGNA. The Blessed Virgin throned, holding her child in her arms. In a little church at Bologna, a statue of the Virgin is venerated and styled Saint Mary of Life. It is a famous pilgrimage of the sick and afflicted.

2. BEATI QVI CVSTODIVNT VIAS MEAS.—*Proverbs*, viii. 32. The figure of our Lord—profile. This medal is engraved with great care; probably intended to be sent into the Indies and America.

His funeral oration was pronounced before the cardinals by the Jesuit Famiano Strada, a religious known for his eloquence and learning. Subsequently, his mortal remains were removed into a very handsome tomb, raised by the French sculptor Legros, in the church of Saint Ignatius, at the expense of Cardinal Louis Ludovisi, nephew of Pope Gregory XV.

Gregory was of low stature; his face was pale, and his eyes dull, and both bore witness to his frequent fasting.

The elocution of this pope was noble, keen, and extremely animated. He excelled in the study of jurisprudence.* As often as his health permitted, he was present, but concealed by a curtain, at the scientific meetings, presided over by his nephew, at the Vatican and at the Quirinal.

The Holy See was vacant twenty-eight days.

3. ALTER IGNATIVS ARIS ADMOVIT: ALTER ARAS IGNATIO—*The one placed Ignatius upon the altars, the other erected altars to Ignatius.* In the exergue: GREG. XV. P. M. L. CARD. LUDO.—*Gregory XV., sovereign pontiff: Louis, Cardinal Ludovisi.* On the right, the bust of Gregory XV.; on the left, that of Cardinal Louis Ludovisi, vice-chancellor of the Church—front face. Pope Gregory canonized Saint Ignatius. Subsequently, Cardinal Louis Ludovisi, vice-chancellor of the Church, erected a church to Saint Ignatius. This piece has become very rare, because medals with two or more heads are always greedily sought after. It is of excellent execution. *Rev.:* LVDOVICVS CARD. LVDOVISIVS S. R. B. VICE-CANCELL. S. IGNATIÏ TEMPLO VBI PATRVVS GREGORIVS AD SAPIENTIAM ADOLEVERAT DESIGNATO ILLI EX HOC GLORIAM HVIC EX ILLO SVFFRAGIVM QVÆSIVIT. This church was built upon the very site of the Gymnasium, where Gregory had studied. As the first stone of the church was not laid until the 2d of August, 1626, this medal was not struck until the reign of Urban VIII.

4. QVIA DOMIN. SVSCEPIT ME. Christ ascending to heaven.

5. GLORIA DOMINI PLENVM EST OPVS. The sun reflected in a globe of glass, which diffuses the luminous rays; a still more vivid light proceeding from a kind of low altar on which is a burning heart, an arrow, a lily, a book, and a scythe, an allusion personifying the saints canonized all at once by Gregory. The burning heart characterizes Philip Neri. The arrow indicates the heart of Saint Teresa, that an angel pierced with a fiery dart. The book is the constitutions of Saint Ignatius; the lily indicates the purity of Saint Francis Xavier; the scythe is the implement used by Saint Isidore, the husbandman. God is expressed by the sun; the globe is the pontiff. This medal is much sought after in Spain and Tuscany.

* His rotal decisions, which are greatly esteemed, were published with notes by the juriscult Oliver Beltramini.





MR. H. H. H.

239. URBAN VIII.—A. D. 1623.



HIS pope, Maffeo Barberini, was born at Florence in 1568, son of Antonio Barberini and Camilla Barbadori, whose families were distinguished for their nobility and their lofty connections. When Maffeo was three years old he lost his father, and made his early studies, in his own tongue, under the wise direction of his mother. Camilla then sent him to Rome to study philosophy, under his Uncle Francis Barberini, apostolical prothonotary.

At the age of twenty, Maffeo was received as doctor at Pisa, and then returned to Rome. Sixtus V. named him referendary of justice. Gregory XIV. raised him to the dignity of governor of Fano, and then named him one of the seventeen apostolic prothonotaries. In this last capacity, he drew up the acts of the two marriages that were celebrated in presence of Clement VIII.—namely, that of the Catholic king, Philip III., with Margaret of Austria, and that of the archduke of Austria, Albert, with Isabella Clara-Eugenia, infanta of Spain.

In 1601, Clement sent Maffeo to France, as nuncio extraordinary, to present the blessed garments for the dauphin, afterwards Louis XIII., son of Henry IV.

Maffeo filled other posts in Italy; and then he was named bishop of Nazareth *in partibus*, and sent as ordinary nuncio to France. There he obtained the recall of the Jesuits, and also the razing of a column erected to perpetuate the decree of their exile.

On the 11th of September, 1606, Paul created him cardinal and archbishop of Spoleto.

Eleven days after the death of Gregory XV., fifty-five cardinals went into conclave, on the 19th of July, 1623. This conclave followed strictly all the prescriptions of the late pope's bull for the prudent regulation of papal elections. As there were many eligible candidates, and opinions differed, the conclave promised to be a protracted one. At first it was supposed that the Cardinal Octavius Bandini would be pope, but the scrutiny showed few votes in his favor. In the conclaves there are always many expressions of politeness, courtesy, and compliment, and the scrutinies are the real test. Sometimes, also, even in the scrutinies, there are feints, which serve to

make the serious votes known. Cardella, in his life of the Cardinal Anne des Cars de Givry, says that that French cardinal was on the point of being elected pope, as he deserved to be for his piety, which was known to all the sacred college, and which has caused him to be included by Andrew Saussay in the Gallican Martyrology. Cardinal John Garzia Mellini also succeeded in obtaining the votes of twenty-two cardinals, headed by Scipio Borghese, nephew of the last pope, and a cardinal of great merit.

At length, on the 6th of August, fifty-four sacred electors—although the Dominican, Cardinal Scaglia, with Cardinal Bandini, had until then warmly opposed it—united in naming Cardinal Barberini. Cardinal Maurice, of Savoy, protector of the affairs of France, really governed this election; and Barberini afterwards returned thanks to Louis XIII. On that day there were fifty-four cardinals in conclave, Cardinal Andrew Peretti being compelled, by an attack of fever, to return to his palace. When the ballots were examined, one was unaccountably missing. Notwithstanding this, the number of votes was more than sufficient; in fact it greatly exceeded the necessary number. The pontiff was named; but an irregularity existed. Maffeo refused the tiara, and insisted that the scrutiny should be repeated, in compliance with the terms of the Gregorian law. Cardinal Farnese then said to Maffeo, “Why, you are elected by more than the necessary votes. Even should the missing ballot be a hostile one, you still would be pontiff. In a new scrutiny, the electors might change their minds.”

Cardinal Barberini still insisted on a new vote, and received the reward of his disinterestedness. It had been remarked in Rome, that a swarm of bees, from the direction of Tuscany, had alighted in the rooms of Cardinal Barberini; and that was deemed a favorable augury, because the armorial bearings of his family were three bees, placed two and one.*

Barberini took the name of Urban VIII. A contagious disease prevailed at Rome, by which the new pontiff was attacked, compelling him to defer his coronation until Saint Michael’s day, the 29th of September. Although still only convalescent, he insisted on being crowned on that day, from his great devotion to that archangel, in honor of whom he afterwards erected an altar in the Vatican. There are medals of this pope which represent him kneeling before the image of the archangel, with these words in the exergue: *Te mane, te vespere.*

On the 19th of November, Urban took possession of the Basilica of Saint John Lateran.

* Father John Baptist Spada, a Dominican, had, it is said, predicted the pontificate of Maffeo in an anagram. From the words Maffeo Barberini, he made the words—*Phæbus Romanæ Urbis*—The Phœbus of the city of Rome. He composed a couplet on the subject:

“Ut sol regali cœlo micat igneus ore,
Sic Romanæ urbis Phæbus et orbis eris.”

On the 2d of October, the pope gave the purple to his nephew, Francis Barberini, a man of the most distinguished character, who died dean of the sacred college. History reproaches him with but one fault, irascibility; but it must be added, that he always made the fortunes of those against whom his anger was enkindled.

Urban abolished many new abuses. From interested zeal, or great simplicity of mind, portraits of persons reputed holy were exposed to public veneration. The pope strictly forbade such undue homage. This abuse had been introduced at Venice, in the case of Fra Paolo Sarpi, who had died excommunicated, and, as Bossuet says, really a Protestant.* A woman paid this homage to Sarpi. Urban complained to the senate, and the pope's nuncio, Zacchia, obtained the proper satisfaction.†

In 1624, His Holiness forbid any religious, except in the Society of Jesus, to be dismissed from his order, unless deemed incorrigible.

He also published a law compelling all bishops, the cardinals not excepted, to reside in their Sees. As regarded the cardinals, the pope said to them: "Hitherto you could excuse yourselves by saying that the pope knew and tolerated it. We, at least, will not tolerate or permit it!"

Urban made his second promotion in January, 1624. The new cardinals were Antonio Barberini, a Capuchin, the pontiff's brother; Lorenzo Magalotti, a noble Florentine, and Pietro Maria Saracini, afterwards called Borghese, a maternal grand-nephew of Paul V. Urban thus gave the hat to the relative of a pope to whom he owed his own.

In the year 1625, the Holy Father celebrated the twelfth jubilee of the Holy Year.

On the 25th of May, in the same year, at the request of Philip III., king of Spain and Portugal, Urban canonized Saint Elizabeth, queen of Portugal,‡ grand-niece of Saint Elizabeth, princess of Hungary, born in 1271, the daughter of Peter III., king of Aragon, and of Constantia, daughter of Manfred, king of Sicily. After the death of her husband, King Denis, she had entered a convent of Franciscan nuns at Coimbra.

* *History of the Variations*, book vii., No. 108.

† Peter Paul Sarpi was born at Venice in 1552, and entered the order of Servites. In the dispute between Venice and Paul V., Sarpi showed his Calvinistic tendencies. In 1606, the pope summoned him to Rome, and on his refusal to obey, excommunicated him. His violence excited enemies even at Venice, by whom his life was attempted. His most famous work is a history of the Council of Trent, bitter and malignant, and consequently highly popular with Protestants. It was ably refuted by Pallavicini, who exposed more than three hundred errors in Sarpi's work.

‡ The Life of Elizabeth of Portugal, composed by a nun in Portuguese, in the Bollandists. Father Peter John Perpinian, a Jesuit, born in the kingdom of Valentia, published, in Latin, another life of that princess. (Cologne, 1609, 8vo, and Rome, 1749, 4 vols., 12mo.) Perpinian is among the best of modern latinists. There is a third life of the princess by Father Hilarion de Coste, a Minim (Paris, 1626, 8vo). There are also other lives.

The Holy Father having received ambassadors from the patriarch of Constantinople, sent to draw closer the bonds of union between the Holy See and the Greeks, Urban conversed with the ambassadors in their own language, which he spoke with as much facility as they did. It was at that time that he was called the *Attic bee*, in allusion to the bees in his armorial bearings.

Urban continued to grant privileges to the religious orders. He rejoiced over the termination of the war of the Valteline, and he preserved friendly relations with both France and Spain. In the midst of these labors, these joys, and this political ability, he prepared a decree by which he determined as far as possible to do honor to the sacred college of the cardinals. That decree was not published until 1630.

Various secret negotiations were kept up between England and Spain, and closely watched by France, where Cardinal Richelieu, still friendly with Queen Mary, began powerfully to direct affairs. James I. at that time reigned in Great Britain,—a weak and vain prince, with neither the courage nor the sound intellect of Mary Stuart, his mother. Rosny, ambassador from Henry IV., in the beginning of the reign of James, heard him say: "Many years before the death of Elizabeth, it was I who governed at London." James, in fact, never governed either his own Scotland or England, which was in very different hands. Rosny soon tested the monarch's vaunted force of mind. Rosny's mission to James was to offer that prince an important part in the vast plan which had been conceived by Henry IV. (or rather Rosny), to diminish the colossal power of the house of Austria, by attacking it on all points at once. But such an idea was too far above the narrow and timid genius of James. He would not do that which it is permissible to do, not for the purpose of establishing a universal monarchy, but in order to prevent another from pursuing that chimera, and to watch attentively the ambitious plans of a rival. However, some traits of boldness distinguished that reign. In 1605, James demanded the solemn union of his two crowns, and he addressed his parliament in the following familiar, and even unbecoming language:

"England and Scotland are two kingdoms situated in the same island: you will not allow that I, a Christian prince, shall commit the crime of bigamy in living with two wives; that, having but one head, I join myself to a double body; and that being a single shepherd, I shall have to tend two different flocks."

The project, though in itself wise and prudent, did not succeed.

Let us pity that son of Mary Stuart for subsequently saying that the religion of the popes "*is a true mystery of iniquity.*" Then he demanded and obtained the famous oath of allegiance. The English then boasted, and still boast, the noble firmness with which they declare in the formula of

that oath, that the pope has no right to depose their sovereign, to release the subjects from their duty of fidelity to him, or to dispose of his crown in favor of a foreign prince. But that doctrine which they thus profess, has long been held by the Catholics most attached to their religion. Let us add, that new circumstances, the profound wisdom of the Holy See, and the successive and spontaneous acts of the popes, for two centuries past, have everywhere produced the same result for Catholic princes, *custom* and *recognition*, publicly maintained; and Catholicity has attained it without so many crimes. Elsewhere the people afford more limited rights and confidence to their masters than we to ours.

James was afraid of the Spanish power.

A first prince of Wales had died of poison. The second prince of Wales, born in 1600, was proposed as the husband of Mary, youngest daughter of Philip III. Her elder sister, after having been promised to the first prince of Wales, had married Louis XIII. The difference of religion seemed to form an obstacle to that union; but in James, hatred of Catholicity could give way to his policy. The king went so far as to send his son Charles to Madrid in an incognito at once artful and absurd. Then Philip IV. *outraged* Spanish etiquette by placing at his right hand Prince Charles, who had not even a crown. France was on the watch; she also negotiated with the weak James I., and, in spite of the promises that had been made to Spain, it was agreed between the English and French cabinets that Prince Charles, son of the English king, should espouse Mary Henrietta of France, daughter of Henry IV. and sister of Louis XIII. The very year the negotiation closed James died, and Charles became king of England.

Rome had not seen with pleasure the Protestant son of a hostile prince like James ready to ally himself more closely with Spain, which already oppressed the Roman court enough. It was to be feared that the infanta, when in London, would be persecuted with such ardent persuasions as would detach her from the Catholic religion. The same danger did not present itself as to France; far from that, it was possible that King Charles would yield to the good examples of Henrietta. It was one of the noblest ideas of Urban VIII., that of aiding with his influence the project, or, if people choose to call it so, the jealous ambition manifested by France.

Urban, able and far-sighted, would not expose his success to any risks of chance; he desired, he demanded, he *willed*, that nothing should be neglected to induce the youthful Henrietta to repair to her husband. Mary de Medici had reared her daughter in the most lively feelings for the interests, the glory, the preponderance of the Holy See. Richelieu had not forgotten that at Rome he had been consecrated bishop, with a dispensation as to age, a rare favor, and loaded with honors, and that at Avignon he had received a generous hospitality. And as Queen Mary de Medici ex-

plained to him the advice she fully intended to give to Henrietta, the cardinal, satisfied with the success of his policy, and heartily approving the views of the queen-mother, solicited the queen, his patroness, to allow him to draw up, in the form of instructions, counsels which should be read by Henrietta, and of which she should keep a copy in the most precious of her caskets, in order that the maternal advice should be constantly before her eyes, in a situation difficult for a princess, daughter of Henry IV., sister of the king of France, and scarcely sixteen years of age.

We shall subjoin those instructions. Mary de Medici dictated the substance, the Cardinal de Richelieu, then the private adviser of that princess, shaped the instructions. It is the Queen Mary who is about to speak to her daughter. Let us compare the pious, tolerant, and admirably Christian spirit of those instructions—let us compare it with all the insults which were heaped upon Henrietta, even during the life of her husband, Charles I., and after the execution of that monarch, and then let us ask whether a princess who so resignedly obeyed the following instructions did not deserve more happiness and justice. They explain to a Catholic princess her duties towards God, towards the king her husband, towards her subjects, towards her servants, and towards herself. They contain absolutely all that is needful for the life of a queen.*

“MY DAUGHTER—Sending you away from me, I yet cannot wholly part with you. I preserve you in my heart, in my bosom, in my memory, and I wish this paper to be always with you, as a perpetual reminiscence of what I am to you. It will supply my absence; it will speak for me when I no longer can speak to you myself. I give it to you in this last farewell before we part, the more to impress it upon your mind; and I give it to you in my own handwriting, that it may be the more dear to you and cause you the more deeply to consider what it contains as to your duty to God, to your husband, your subjects, your servants, and yourself. In this last hour of our conversation, I most sincerely say to you, what I should say to you at the last hour of my life, were you then beside me. To my great regret, I feel that that is not likely to be the case, and that what we shall both feel then is anticipated by this parting, which is for a long time to separate us.

“You have on earth no father but God, who will always be your father, for he is eternal; it is from him that you hold your being and your life; it is he who, having made you the daughter of a great king, now places a crown upon your head, and establishes you in England, where you are to believe it is his will that you serve him, and there work out your salvation.

* They are dated in June, 1625. I found them in a collection of documents in the library of the Institute. They have not previously been printed, except in a literary periodical to which I gave them, and which was not continued.

Bear in mind, my daughter, every year of your life, that he is your God, and that he has placed you on earth as a stepping-place to heaven. The late king your father has already passed away ; he is no more now than a little dust and ashes hidden from our sight. One of your brothers passed away in infancy.* God, who so early took him away, has kept you in the world to heap favors upon you. But, as he thus richly favors you, so he obliges you to great gratitude to him, it being just and undeniable that duties increase in proportion as the graces and favors are greater and more signal. Take great care not to abuse those that he has bestowed upon you, since the greatness, the goodness, and the justice of God are infinite ; employ all the strength of your mind in adoring his supreme power, in loving his incredible goodness, and in fearing his exact and rigorous justice, which he inflicts upon those who render themselves unworthy of his graces. Receive, my daughter, these instructions as though from my living voice. Begin and close every day in your oratory with these good thoughts ; and there, in your prayers, resolve to order your life according to the laws of God, and not according to the vanities of the world, which to all of us is but as a moment—yet a moment on which depends whether you shall pass into heaven with God, if you do well, or into hell with the evil spirits, if you do ill.

“Constantly remember that you are a daughter of the Church ; and that is the first and chief of the titles that you have or ever will have. It is that which gives you entrance into heaven. All other dignities, coming from the earth, cannot pass from earth ; but that coming from heaven returns thither, and bears you with it. Return thanks to God daily that he has made you a Christian and a Catholic. Value that favor as it deserves ; and consider, that as it comes to us from the labors and the precious blood of Jesus Christ, his only Son and our Saviour, it should also be preserved by our sufferings, and even, if need should be, at the cost of our blood.

“Offer your soul and your life to Him who has created you by his power, and redeemed you by his goodness and mercy. Have prayers said that he will preserve to you the precious gift of faith and grace, and grant you rather to lay down your life than lose that gift.

“You are a descendant of Saint Louis. I wish you to receive from me in this last adieu the same instruction that he often received from his mother, who often told him that she would rather see him die than see him offend God, who is our all and our life. It was that mother’s instruction that began his sanctification, and rendered him worthy of employing his life and his crown for the good of the faith and the exaltation of the Church. Be, as he was, firm and zealous in the religion in which she in-

* The duke d’Orleans, second son of Henry IV.

structs you, for the defence of which your ancestor exposed his life, and died holy and faithful among the perverse and the infidel. Never listen to, or allow any thing to be spoken in your presence against your creed and your religion. We have the promises of the late king of Great Britain, and of the king his son,* that it shall not be done; but it is necessary for you, on your part, to maintain so firm a resolution, and so much strictness on this point, that if any one undertake to violate it, he shall at once see that you cannot and will not endure it. Your zeal and your courage will be well employed upon this point, with the knowledge that you have of what is necessary for your salvation. Your humility will be esteemed, if you close your ears to any thing spoken about religion, referring it to the Church to speak of that.

“For yourself, keep to the simplicity of the faith; and to strengthen yourself the more firmly on the point, open your mind to those who have the care of your conscience, to give them an account of all that concerns it. Frequent the sacraments, which are the true nourishment of good souls, and always communicate on the first Sunday in the month, on all the feasts of our Lord Jesus Christ, and on all those of his Blessed Mother, to whom I exhort you to have a peculiar devotion. Living thus, you will do works worthy of the faith which God hath given you, and that you should guard far more dearly than your life.

“Take care to interest the king your husband in favor of the Catholics, so that they may not fall back into the misery from which the happiness of your marriage has for the time relieved them. Be towards them as another Esther, who had the grace from God to be the defence and the deliverance of her people with her husband Ahasuerus. By them, God will bless you even in this world; you will do much for them, and he will take as done for himself all that you do for them.

“Do not forget them, my daughter. God has sent you into that country for their sake; for they are his people, and his people who have suffered during so many years. Gather them in charity, listen to them with facility, and protect them with assiduity. It is your duty; for they deserve respect, not only on account of the afflictions they have endured, but still more so on account of the religion for which they have suffered. While I recommend those to you, I do not mean that you ought to exclude from your charities those who are of another religion, for the fact that they are in affliction places you under obligation to assist them; and since God makes you their queen, he thereby obliges you to assist them; and you should do so all the more willingly because it is your duty to edify them in this way, and thus charitably dispose them to renounce the error into which the mis-

* James I. and Charles I.

fortune of the age, perhaps, more than their own will, has thrown them ; and your assistance may perhaps lead to their conversion, so that some day they may precede you to the kingdom of heaven.

“Next to God and the religion that he has established in the world to give you means to serve him and work out your own salvation, your first duty is to the king to whom God has bound you by the sacrament of marriage. Love him as your husband and honor him as your king, without love diminishing respect, or respect diminishing the love you owe him. Bear yourself ever before him with a respectful familiarity, considering him as your head ; be sweet, humble, and patient to his will, resting your contentment not in gratifying yourself but in pleasing him. If there is any thing to give to God, you owe it in this ; and if you do it, God will bless you, both on earth and in heaven.

“Assume all the less authority with him in appearance, the more his goodness leads him to give to you in fact. Your care should be to love and honor him, and not to *reign*.* On no account do any thing that you think will displease him, however slightly. Let your conduct prove to him that, after your duty to God, your whole and sole desire is to please him. Be faithful and secret in whatever he shall see fit to communicate to you. It is thus that your love should be regulated and conducted towards him ; a sincere, humble, and faithful love. You also owe him another sort of love, a Christian love, *loving his soul and his salvation* ; loving him for heaven, and not for earth. By that holy affection, pray to God daily, and cause prayers to God to be said by others for him, that he may be drawn to the truth of the religion in which, and for which even, his grandmother died. It is a wish that she experiences in heaven for her grandson, and that you ought to have on earth. It is one of God’s designs for you to make you another Bertha.† Daughter of France, like yourself, and queen of England, like yourself, she, by her holy life and prayers, obtained the gift of faith for her husband, and for that city into which you are about to enter. By that holy desire you must constrain yourself to many things difficult to your happiness ; but it is your duty to forget yourself, in order the more completely to give yourself to him to whom God has given you, and to be complaisant to his temper and his wishes. I say, my daughter, that you are to be complaisant to him in every thing, except upon religion ; on that point you should have, and very early show that you have, so much constancy and firmness that you would not fear boldly and frankly to tell him that you would rather die than yield ever so little in what concerns your religion. And he will esteem you all the more, it being certain that, if on his account

* Admirable and sublime precept, couched in a few words !

† Bertha, daughter of Caribert, king of Paris, married King Ethelbert, and taking a French bishop with her, prepared the way for the conversion of England by Saint Augustine.

you are unfaithful to God, he would readily suppose that you would be still more perfectly faithless towards himself, who is no more than the image and the shadow of God.

“Think well upon this, my daughter, and remember that your eternal salvation is concerned in it. The fear of this peril is the only thing that makes me tremble in parting with you, and it more than once arrested me during the treaty for this alliance. But I have my recourse to God, and I implore him to preserve you from that danger, and from ever listening to the serpent that seduced Eve, and would fain seduce you. I cannot imagine that that misfortune will happen to you, and I hope from the goodness of God that it never will. It horrifies me to reflect that should it happen, I should have to give my malediction to one who is so dear to me ; as I can only deem you my daughter so long as you remain the daughter of Jesus Christ and his Church, out of the pale of which there is no salvation.

“The love which you owe to the king binds you to love his subjects and his kingdom. Be facile, therefore, and prompt to do good to his subjects ; to give them access to him ; take every opportunity to do them all the good you can ; and as God has made you their queen, do you render yourself their mother, and they will recognize you in both capacities. Marriage gives you the one, and your goodness to them ought to give you the other, which will render you much the more beloved and honored. Your dignity of queen binds you to England, and on that account you ought henceforth to consider its interests ; and because one of the principal of them is to be inseparably united with this kingdom, to which that union is equally important, it is your duty to render yourself the bond and the cement of the two crowns, and to your utmost to contribute to their mutual benefit. It will be all the more easy for you to satisfy on that point the obligations imposed upon you by your birth and by your marriage, because you will only have to follow the inclination, and the goodness and intelligence which are between the two kings, of whom one is your brother and the other your husband.

“Hitherto I have spoken to you only about your principal duties towards God and religion, towards the king and his kingdom ; it now remains for me to speak of what you owe to your servants and to yourself. Take care that all your servants, excited by your example, render to God and to religion that which they owe, and that they be remarkable for integrity and morality.

“You may be sure that if they serve God well, they will serve you well. Let them know, I beg of you, that such is your conviction, and that you cannot otherwise have confidence in them. Suffer no vicious person to be among them ; the evil example of such would draw down upon you both the indignation of God and the contempt of men. Treat your servants well,

and treat them all alike, without the least apparent preference in your good feeling and your kindnesses, excepting that which merit and virtue call for. Thus they will honor and serve you as their mistress, and recognize and love you as their mother.

“As to what regards yourself personally, my daughter, be an exemplar of honor, of virtue, and of modesty; let your bearing, your gait, and your glance, express chastity, modesty, and kindliness,—in one word, the dignity of your birth and of the rank that you hold.

“Combine sweetness of affability with a certain royal gravity. Be of great discretion in the freedom which the English way of life allows to ladies who have as much liberty there as they have restraint in other kingdoms. As your birth places you above common people, you should also be above them in manner of life, so conducting yourself that that reserve which I advise you to observe, shall appear to be, in you, not forced but natural. Be officious and *almost respectful* towards all, never giving offence to any one; make them perceive that the authority you have over them is to do them good, and not to offend or humiliate them. Banish from your immediate circle the backbiting and jeering which the great so commonly indulge in at court, and which tend to diminish the affection of the subjects for their princes.

“I should never finish, were I not to restrain the impulses of my heart, so deeply am I moved by various thoughts. But I must conclude; I must let you depart; I must give vent to my tears, and I must pray God to inspire you for me with what I cannot say for myself, and what my tears would blot out if I could write it.

“Farewell, daughter; I leave you, and deliver you to the care of God and his angel; I give you to Jesus Christ, his only Son, our Lord and our Redeemer.

“I implore the Blessed Virgin, whose name you bear, to deign to be the *mother of your soul* in honor of her being the mother of our divine Saviour. Once more, and many more times, adieu, adieu! You belong to God, remain with him forever; that I desire from the very bottom of my heart.

“I am, my daughter, your good and most affectionate mother,

“MARY.

“AMIENS, this 15th of June, 1625.”

Such was the writing that Henrietta-Maria took with her to England. Rome and France prayed for the happy success of a mission at once holy and politic. The proof of the satisfaction of Rome is evident in the simultaneous dispatch to the new queen of the Golden Rose, embalmed with musk. The legate Barberini delivered to the princess, before she left Paris, that testimony of affection, as well as of an entire confidence in the pious

inclinations of that prudent dove, intrusted to carry to London the olive-branch of peace after so many disasters. How ill-informed were those historians who said that Rome did not approve that marriage! That Golden Rose, by its perfume and by its richness, was it not the emblem of the sweet joy and of the prosperity which the Church anticipated? We shall again meet with that noble Queen Henrietta in the course of these annals; and we shall still have occasion to admire her courage and the faithful deference which she showed to the advice of her mother.

The Vatican and the Louvre at that time were on terms of such perfect understanding, that the clergy of France, in one of their assemblies, in 1626, placed at the head of one of its deliberations, the following declaration: "The pope is the visible head of the Universal Church, the vicar of God on earth, the bishop of the bishops and the patriarchs; in one word, the successor of Saint Peter, in whom the apostolate and the episcopate had their beginning, and upon whom Jesus Christ founded his Church, giving him the keys of heaven, with the infallibility of the faith, which has immovably endured in his successors to this day."

If Rome could have thought of bridling the ambitious desires of Cardinal Richelieu, the instructions to Henrietta-Maria and the declaration of the clergy were well calculated to reassure the Holy See. As to what had been said about a pretended independent patriarchate desired by Richelieu, of which we shall say more hereafter, Rome had no danger to apprehend on the part of France, excepting in connection with that universal monarchy (a perilous enterprise) which our cardinal so much desired, though he was to succeed in it no more than any of the theorists who had preceded him in the pursuit of an illusory project. Such a phantasmagoria disturbs every century, but, fortunately, in different countries.

The fall of one of those bold giants does not intimidate others. But there is always an obstacle to be encountered, and that obstacle is in a city encircled by poor and half-ruinous walls, guarded by old men, calm and gentle in speech, whose treasure is sometimes pillaged, but who are never long kept out of their humble chair, from which their voice resounds throughout the world.

In the same year, 1626, Urban confirmed the bulls of his predecessors, Saint Pius V. and others, by which it was forbidden to alienate or to give in fief any land whatever which belonged to the Holy See or was to revert to it.

Then the pope learned that the duke of Urbino, Francis de la Rovera, an infirm octogenarian, on the death of his only son Frederic Ubaldo, extinguishing the male line, manifested a design to restore to the popes, in his lifetime, the duchy of Urbino, which for a hundred and forty years that house had held as a fief of the Holy See. His Holiness, therefore, sent

Cardinal Berlinghieri Gessi to take possession of the duchy, including the cities of Urbino, Pesaro, Gubbio, Sinigaglia, Fossombrone, San Leone, and Cagli.

The duke after this generous act, of which he soon repented,* retired to the castle of Durante, which the pope raised to the rank of a city under the name of Urbania. The ex-duke of Urbino did not long survive this act, which was substantially just. At his death the office of *prefect of Rome*† became vacant, and was conferred by the pope upon Don Thaddeo Barberini, his nephew and general of the Church.

Pope Urban enjoyed a new triumph of the Catholic religion. While the missionaries carried into Abyssinia the blessing of Christian civilization, Alphonsus Mendez, a Portuguese Jesuit, the last patriarch who entered Abyssinia, had the happiness to bring into the bosom of the holy Church the Emperor Seltan Segued Sucinios. That prince, in 1626, having convoked all the grandees of his court, with his son, the heir to the throne, he made them promise, in the name of all Ethiopia, an inflexibly firm obedience to Pope Urban VIII. His Holiness immediately wrote to that sovereign to congratulate him, and requested him to send young men to Rome to learn in the college of the Propaganda the true apostolic doctrine, and the various European languages, so that they would return to their own country and become ministers of religion among nations abandoned by God. That mission was, unfortunately, attacked by the insurgents. Fuciladaz, son of the king, persecuted the missionaries, and for a time re-established

* Muratori, *Annals of Italy*, An. 1626.

† It will not be useless to present some details as to that very ancient dignity, which still exists. It was founded by the senate and the comitia in the time of Romulus. He who was clothed with that dignity was called *senator* or *prefect*, and governed the city when Romulus went forth at the head of the army. Under the kings, the authority of the prefect was by degrees rendered very limited; under the Cæsars and the kings of Italy, it became redoubtable; and after that period the prefecture obtained such a degree of power and glory, with or without the formal consent of some of the popes, that the titular took precedence in the ceremonials, not only of all the magistrates of the city, but also of all the ambassadors of the sovereigns. At the time of the visits of Charlemagne, the city was without a prefect for a considerable number of years. That state of things continued to 928. A sedition caused the office to be revived; only there were two consuls and two tribunes of the people appointed as assistants to the prefect. We have seen the deplorable results of a system of municipal administration which for a long time desolated Rome. Without diminishing the power of the *prefect*, the name was sometimes changed. The prefect was called *patrician*—the name of a dignitary of the lower empire, at Constantinople. Under Clement III. the prefect was re-established. Innocent III., notwithstanding his courage, was compelled to name fifty senators. The populace, weary of those fifty tyrants, demanded that there should be only one senator. Gregory XI. returning from Avignon to Rome, found that in the latter city a prefect had been established whose name was Francisco de Vico, and whose family usurped the office until the year 1435. Eugene IV., by a decree dated from Florence, gave the post to Francis Orsini. Not uncommonly the title of General of the Church was united to that of prefect, and conferred by a pontiff on his nephew, as was done by Callixtus III., who gave the prefect the right to wear a crown. Finally, the title of senator was restored.

the old errors. Catholic missionaries often suffered martyrdom, but that did not exhaust the courage of surviving brethren.

In our life of Paul V. we stated that some kings of Congo sent an ambassador, who died before he could be presented to that pontiff.

Urban gave audience to an ambassador from the same country, John Baptist Vives, a native of Lisbon, who was kindly received and loaded with honors.

Meantime, Partemius, patriarch of Constantinople, sent deputies to recognize the supremacy of the Holy See, and to seek means to bring about a final and durable reconciliation between the Latins and the Greeks. Urban was thoroughly skilled in the Greek language, and the entire negotiation was conducted by the pope himself, without an interpreter. The deputies listened with respect, as the head of Catholicity expressed himself with purity in the language of Homer, and at need quoted the best writers of Grecian antiquity.

By a brief of the 14th of September, of the year 1627,* the pope granted the Minor Observantines permission to say the office and Mass of the twenty-three martyrs—six priests and seventeen laymen of their order—crucified at Nangasaki, in Japan.

Subsequently, by a brief of the 15th of September, the pope granted to the Society of Jesus† permission to celebrate the office and Mass of three members of their society—Paul Miki, John de Goto, and James or Diego Kisai, martyred at the same time and place by the Emperor Taicosama, on the 6th of February, 1597.‡

The peace of Italy, which Urban had so much at heart, was disturbed by the dispute as to the succession of Vincent, duke of Mantua. Among the claimants was Charles Gonzaga, son of the duke de Nevers, in France, much favored by Richelieu, and still more by Pope Urban. That pontiff, to aid Charles, granted him a dispensation to marry Mary, daughter of Duke Ferdinand of Mantua, who died before Duke Vincent, his brother.

At this juncture, Ferdinand, grand duke of Tuscany, visited Rome. The pope treated him magnificently, and gave him the Golden Rose.

In 1627, the pope made a numerous promotion of cardinals, among whom was Peter de Berulle, one of the founders of the Oratory of Jesus, and John Baptist Pamphili, who became pontiff in 1644, under the name of Innocent X.

In the year 1628, Urban granted to all the domain of the duke of Modena the office of Saint Contardo Pellegrino, prince of the family of Este, who died in the year 1249. The office, composed by Canon Placentine Peter

* Constitution *Salvatoris*.

† Ibid.

‡ These Japanese martyrs were canonized by Pope Pius IX., in 1864.

Mary Campi,* was approved by the Congregation of Rites, in 1609, on the report of Cardinal Bellarmine.

In the same year, the pope, not losing sight of the general interests of nations, and constantly endeavoring to maintain universal peace, as became a good pope, published an extraordinary Jubilee, with the prayers of the *forty hours* in the three first Basilicas of Rome, and in two churches of all the religious orders during three days.

His Holiness himself, to set the example, went in a grand procession to the church of *Saint Mary in Trastevere*. God granted, some time afterwards, the peace that the pope had so fervently implored.

Catholics will be pleased to learn here the origin of a ceremony which takes place at Saint Peter's on the last days of Holy-week. In the church of Saint Anastasia and in the church of the Holy Cross of Jerusalem, portions of the wood of the true cross are preserved. Urban had considerable portions enshrined in a silver cross, ornamented with precious stones, and placed in Saint Peter's, among the *major relics*, to be exhibited to the people on the days prescribed in the briefs, after the Holy Spear and before the Sacred Veronica, with plenary indulgence every time the three are shown from a gallery in the interior of the church towards the right of Saint Peter's Chair.

On the 22d of April, 1629, Urban solemnly canonized Saint Andrew Corsini, a noble Florentine, who had taken the Carmelite habit in the year 1316. He was consecrated bishop of Fiesole, in 1360, and died on the 6th of January, 1373. Eugene IV., while in Florence in 1440, induced by a miracle† wrought at the intercession of the saint, permitted his public veneration, ordering a procession to his tomb, and allowing the Mass of the Most Holy Trinity to be celebrated there. Accordingly, the Bollandists say that he was then beatified. The ceremony was performed with so much magnificence, that the cardinals present considered it equal to a canonization. Gregory XIII., in 1583, gave the order of Carmelites verbal permission to celebrate the Mass and office of that saint,—a privilege afterwards extended to the whole Church, with the semi-double rite; and in 1734, Clement XII., who was of the Corsini family, permitted that the feast should be celebrated with the double rite.‡

Cardinal Richelieu at this time solicited the cardinal's hat for his brother Alphonsus, of the order of the Carthusians. In spite of the entreaties which he endeavored in vain to have the cardinal support, Alphonsus Louis

* *History of Placenza*, book xviii., Ann. 1249. *Acta SS.*, April, day 16.

† *Lives of the Florentine Saints*, 357, *et seq.*

‡ The life of Saint Andrew Corsini was written by his successor in the See of Fiesole, and was translated by Maffei among the seventeen lives in his famous collection. There are other lives, by Peter Andrew Castagna and Andrew Venturi. (Rome, 1629, 4to.)

du Plessis Richelieu was dispensed from his vow of silence and declared archbishop of Aix, and, two years later, of Lyons. Subsequently he was created cardinal of the title of the Holy Trinity of Mount Pincio. Urban declared that he had pleasure in making him a cardinal, because he had the reputation of being a man very zealous for religion, full of profound knowledge, a model of moral purity, and more attached to the affairs of his diocese than to the affairs of court. Matthew Flach, who called himself *Illyriens*, because he was born at Albona, in Istria, a part of ancient Illyria, and styled by Novaes the originator of the Centuriators of Magdeburg,* had published, in 1557, a Latin Mass, which he believed contrary to the Catholic doctrine. The Lutherans, on their side, deeming it favorable to the Catholics, endeavored to suppress it.† In that Mass is a prayer on which Urban formed the celebrated prayer *Ante oculos tuos Domine*. By the constitution *Inter primarias*, he granted a plenary indulgence to those who recited it on visiting the Confession of Saint Peter, on Trinity Sunday, Corpus Christi, the feasts of the Blessed Virgin, of Saints Peter and Paul, of the other apostles, and all the Fridays in the month of March; and for the other days of the year, he granted an indulgence of seven years and as many quarantines.

On the 10th of June, 1630, Urban published a decree by which cardinals perpetually enjoy the title of *Eminence*. He granted the same title to the three ecclesiastical electors of the empire—the electors of Cologne, Mentz, and Treves—and to the grand master of the order of Saint John of Jerusalem. There is reason to believe that Cardinal Richelieu induced this act, and solicited for his colleagues the title *Most Eminent*, which rendered still more illustrious the electors of the sovereign pontiff.

Previously, the cardinals had received the title only of *Most Illustrious*. On that subject a dispute arose between the doge of Venice and the duke of Savoy, who was not then king of Sardinia. On account of the kingdom of Cyprus, to which both pretended to have rights, they wished to have the title of *kings*, on which condition they were prepared to grant to the cardinals the title of *Eminence*. That dispute had no serious results, as Richelieu interposed.

During the plague in 1630, Urban, by decrees of internal police and administration, mitigated the effects of that scourge as to the city of Rome, which suffered less than some other cities of Italy. By a bull on the 25th of January, 1631, the pope declared that he had still further purged from errors the Roman Breviary, published by Saint Pius V. and reformed by Clement VIII.; that he had subjected the hymns to the rules of poetry and

* Novaes, ix., p. 229.

† Cardinal Bona published it at the end of his book, *Rerum Liturg.* Mabillon and Martene mention it.

of classical latinity; that he had introduced into the Psalms and into the Canticles the punctuation of the Vulgate, distinguishing by asterisks the pause to be made in chanting; that he had collated the sermons, homilies, and legends with the ancient manuscripts. He therefore ordered the Breviary to be printed at Rome, with his corrections. His Holiness also offered to send a copy to any place where they wished to reprint it.

In the same year, Urban, by the advice of Father Valerian Magni, a celebrated Capuchin of Milan, suppressed the Jesuitesses. About the same time a plot was discovered at Rome against the person of the pope, originating with Hyacinth Centini, nephew of the pious Cardinal Felix Centini di Ascoli. The act was a mad one, but persevered in from a perverse desire of revolution. Hyacinth wished to see his uncle in the chair of Saint Peter, and devoted himself to the study of magic, and, in his silly malignity, resolved to deprive the pope of life by means of a waxen image. The pope was to die on the day when the image was broken. All the accomplices of the would-be necromancer were tried and severely punished.

On the 12th of January, 1632, the pope approved the Congregation of the Mission, instituted on the 25th of January, 1617, by Saint Vincent de Paul, a Frenchman. Its object was to train missionaries to go into the villages and hamlets and explain the Christian doctrine to peasants, children, and the ignorant generally. The members devote themselves to it by perpetual vow, although their vows were purely simple. This zealous congregation, whose generals have always been Frenchmen, and resided at Paris in the house of Saint Lazarus, directed in that country a great number of seminaries. The Lazarists, as they are also called, subsequently served the chapel royal of Versailles, furnished rectors to the two cities where the king habitually resided, Versailles and Fontainebleau, and were the spiritual directors of the house of Saint Cyr and the hotel of the Invalides.

Those missionaries were not called Fathers, but priests of the Mission;* they take also the fourth vow of permanence in the congregation, and cannot be dispensed from it except by the pope or the superior-general.

. Saint Vincent also instituted in France, in conjunction with Madame de Gras, a pious widow, the congregation of *Sisters of Charity*, who take care of old men, children, the poor, and the sick, reluctant or unable to apply for admission into the hospitals.

Catholicity at this moment had grounds to dread the progress in arms of Gustavus Adolphus, king of Sweden, united with the elector of Saxony and other princes. Their power disturbed the emperor, and there was even a report that Gustavus Adolphus would carry his arms into Italy. Under

* Novaes, vol. ix., p. 255.

Desdovits in the *Univers Catholique* (March, 1841), we will draw this statement of the case. In the first place, the *Index Expurgatorius* (Rome, 1835,) does not contain the works on the opinions of Copernicus as to the motion of the earth—namely, *Copernicus*, *Astunica* and *Foscarini*, forbidden by Paul V., March 5th, 1616; but only the works of Copernicus, *donec corrigantur*—*till they shall be corrected*. The corrections of Copernicus had been published with another decree under Paul V., and reduced to a simple hypothesis the motion of the earth; but there had been no new edition published with such corrections. According to that decree, and a similar decree in 1619, Kepler also had been placed upon the Index on account of his *Epitome Astronomicæ Copernicane*. Finally, in the sentence pronounced against Galileo, on the 22d of June, 1633, under Urban VIII., the order was given also to inscribe the famous dialogue of Galileo. These five books, however, were erased from the list in 1835. The learned who have the edition of Galileo's works, printed at Padua in 1744, can read in volume four, published with the usual approbations, the entire dialogue with the rest, perfectly intact, and, moreover, with some additions made by Galileo's own hand upon a printed copy in the famous seminary of that city. Only some marginal indications were either corrected or erased.

The decree which prohibited or suspended, *until corrected*, Copernicus,* *Astunica*, and *Foscarini*, also included all other books teaching the same doctrine; but the pope's approval of the decree had not been obtained when the Index was renewed under Benedict XIV., in 1758. The difficulty, therefore, was so far from solved, that some believed that the hypothesis ought to be added to the teaching of the mobility of the earth; but the sacred congregation of the Holy Office, in its meeting on the 16th of August, 1820, at the debates of which we were present, permitted the use of the affirmative. The thing being examined anew, was judged in the assembly of the 17th of December, 1822, and a decree was approved by Pope Pius VII. By that decree, the most eminent inquisitors-general, expressly conforming to the decree of the sacred congregation of the Index of 1757, and to their own of 1820, declared that it was permissible at Rome to print and publish works treating on the mobility of the earth and the immobility of the sun, according to the common opinion of modern astronomers.

In the present state of astronomical teaching, there is no contradiction between that teaching and the decrees of Rome, as to the movements of the earth, a fact of which many seem to be unaware. The writer of the article

* The opinions of Copernicus were in part those of the Cardinal de Cusa, who had previously advanced the same system in a book entitled *De docta Ignorantia—On learned Ignorance*.

† Cardinal Cusa and Copernicus presented their theories as hypotheses; and eighty years after the death of Copernicus, Galileo sought to make them a thesis. Rome had done all that the progress of science required.

in the Dublin Review seems to have been ignorant of the decree for the correction of Copernicus, a decree by which it was lawful to treat the movement of the earth as an hypothesis which better than any other explains the movements of the planets.

I have thought it my duty to enter into these details as a warning to those who pretend that the Rome of Gregory XVI. and Pius IX. persists in the scientific doctrines which were applied to Galileo in 1633. Gregory XVI. and Pius IX. have made no change in the decree of 1822, approved by Pius VII. The phrases which rendered very terrible an old fact no longer belong to our times. That old fact can no longer now be a bugbear and a proof of danger. The Roman astronomers are at peace with all the world when such questions are agitated ; nevertheless, we may still discuss historical events that occurred before the learned had come to settled conclusions.

Mr. Desdovits says : " Few subjects have been more treated of or less understood than the history of Galileo and his famous persecution, not only by writers hostile to religion, but even by those who seem to be the least hostile to Catholicity.

" The Dublin Review cites, for instance—1. Bernini, who, in his *History of Heresies*, pretends that Galileo remained five years in prison ;

" 2. Montucla, who represents him as being imprisoned a year ;

" 3. Pontecoulant, who relates that Galileo maintained the rotation of the earth even in the prisons of the Inquisition (which he never entered) ;

" 4. Brewster, who had written that Galileo was imprisoned a year, but who subsequently confessed that he had been led into error by many distinguished writers, his predecessors.

" Others, following Montucla, have affirmed that Galileo had his eyes put out. The truth is, that towards the end of his life he had the misfortune to lose his sight, which he never recovered to the time of his death, in his seventy-ninth year.

" Nevertheless, there is abundant evidence that he was never detained in prison, that he was never put to the torture, and that in no way was he touched in limb, and still less in his eyes—unless, indeed, people prefer such lies to the plain truth.

" Those who desire to learn from the original documents the true history of Galileo, have only to consult, among other evidence, the memoirs and letters, till now unpublished or scattered, of Galileo Galilei, arranged and enriched with notes by the Chevalier John Baptist Venturi, in two parts ; the first, published at Modena in 1818, extending from the year 1587 to the

* The late Jesuit, Father Vico, when banished from Rome by the revolutionists, in 1848, was welcomed at every observatory in Europe and America, as one of the greatest astronomers of his day, unequalled in his peculiar branch, the course and number of the comets.

end of 1616; the second, published there in 1821, embracing from 1616 to his death in 1642.* There will also be found in the thirty-one letters written by Francis Niccolini, ambassador from Tuscany to Rome, between the 16th of August, 1632, and the 3d of December, 1633, to Andrew Cioli, the grand-duke's secretary of state, the daily diplomatic history of Galileo at Rome during his trial. Summoned from Florence, he arrived at Rome on the 16th of December, 1633, and lodged in the house of that ambassador. In the month of April he placed himself at the disposal of the commissary of the Holy Office, who, according to the expression of Niccolini, 'gave him the kindest reception, and assigned him the room of the fiscal of that tribunal.' Niccolini adds: '*He was allowed to be waited upon by his own servant (Galileo was then sixty-nine years old), who slept by his side; and my own servants take his meals to him in his room, and return to me, morning and evening.* Signor Galilei was sent to me yesterday evening.'"+

There was a sentence, however, which condemned Galileo to imprisonment; but that sentence was merely formal, and was commuted to banishment to the gardens of the Trinità de' Monti, whither Niccolini conducted him on the 21st of June, three days after that condemnation. Subsequently, from Rome, Galileo passed to Sienna, in the palace of the Archbishop Piccolomini; finally, on the cessation of the plague, which had scourged Florence, he was permitted, after about three months, to return to his villa of Arcetri, where he died on the 8th of January, 1642.

We attach some importance to this date, 1642. The *weight of the air* was not discovered by Evangelista Torricelli, a disciple of Galileo, until 1645, three years after his master's death. Torricelli observed that water in vacuum does not rise above thirty-two feet, and the happy idea occurred to him that it would rise no higher† with the weight of the air bearing upon it. The weight of air being once recognized, it was natural to imagine that the water is but a part of the earth, surrounded by air on all sides, which, therefore, put in motion in a certain space, draws with it the mass of air, the exterior envelope, adhering to it. Nothing then forbids that that air should not accompany the earth as a thing forming a portion of it. This is no novelty to us, familiar as we are with the barometer, whose daily variations show us the effects of such a gravity.§

* In 1807, being French *chargé d'affaires* at Florence, I desired to get a portrait of Galileo. One day, when I was congratulating myself upon having found the portrait I was in search of, a descendant of his family brought me a very considerable mass of papers in the handwriting of Galileo. They were offered for sale, for a sum not considerable indeed, but one which I had not at hand. I glanced through the MSS.; the writing was very delicate and somewhat difficult to read. I however doubt that they were the MSS. which the Chevalier Venturi printed at Modena.

† The evening of the 1st of May. Venturi, part ii., p. 174.

‡ Desdouts, p. 221.

§ I enter into these details because the enemies of the court of Rome have never consented to

I have determined to treat this question as completely as I can in this limited work; and continue my reasonings, with the aid of the learned whom I have hitherto consulted.

Previous to the knowledge of the gravity of the air, how could Galileo know the movement of the earth? If we consult the only *Treatise on Astronomy* that ancient Greece has left us—if we read Ptolemy, who flourished at Alexandria in the second century of our era, we shall find in chapter seven of the first book of his *Grand Syntax*, that he considered it absurd to suppose the earth moving through the air, in contradiction to all the phenomena which occur around us and upon us; although he allows that, according to the simplest idea *κατὰ τὴν ἀπλούστεραν ἐπιβουλήν*, the celestial phenomena are explained by the motion of the earth. Neither Copernicus, nor Galileo, nor any one until then, could really explain the derangements and inconveniences which we might extend to infinity, and that might be expected to fall upon the earth if moving through the air.

Such was the feeling shared even by great men, including Bacon, who (chap. i., book iv., *De Dignitate et Augmentis Scientiarum*) says: “The movement of the earth of Copernicus, which has triumphed because it is not repugnant to the phenomena, cannot be refuted by astronomical principles, but it may be by the principles of natural philosophy justly applied.”

To justify the censure of Galileo, in 1616, it suffices to glance at the state of the astronomical doctrines of that epoch. Previous to the discovery of the gravity of the air, to make the earth move through the air* was certainly to fall into the absurd and the false in philosophy, involving in its result a host of other philosophical absurdities and falsities. As regards faith, Galileo’s was very certainly in that sense a doctrine contrary to Holy Writ, and formally heretical and erroneous in the faith. Nevertheless, the cardinals contented themselves with declaring those propositions contrary to the holy Scriptures; and that, from kindness to Copernicus, Galileo, and their followers, who seemingly could not make a sufficient reply, and probably did not admit such consequences.

To return to Galileo. “It is to be noticed,” says Desdovits, “that in 1632 or 1633, after the printing of his famous *Dialogue*, all these falsities and absurdities acquired far greater consistency; since Galileo, instead of correcting them, increased them by throwing himself, on the subject of terrestrial phenomena, into explanations recognized as false, and now corrected by the ruling astronomers.” For an example of this, let us see what he says in his *Fourth Day*, p. 311, of the Padua edition:

hear those reasons; and because Urban, whose history we are writing, himself gave the most marked attention to this affair, and while he defended the holy Scriptures, he clearly saw that Galileo was addicted to errors and suppositions, which he fancied he strengthened by sarcasms and by insults in bad taste.

* Desdovits, p. 222.

"The air, as a body disengaged and fluid, and not solidly united to the earth, does not seem necessitated to obey its movements, at least in so far as the irregularities of the earth's surface do not draw it, and carry along with them a portion which is contiguous to them, which does not much exceed the highest crests of the mountains, which portion of the air would oppose so much the less resistance to the terrestrial revolution, as it is full of vapors, fumes, and exhalations, all matters participating in the qualities of the earth, and consequently adapted to its motion."

Thence Galileo returns to the formation of the wind, which he represents as incessantly blowing from the tropics towards the west; while the wind is, in fact, only the result of the agitation of the atmosphere, penetrated by the rays of the sun, which rarefy it in heating it; at the same time that the other and less heated airs concur, in the opposite direction, with the diurnal rotation, as is now explained by astronomers and natural philosophers, who all agree upon the point.

Venturi, writing at Modena, speaks* of the explanation given by Galileo of the flow and ebb of the sea, by means of the *oscillations* which, according to him, are caused in the water by the diurnal rotation of the earth upon its axis, and he points out that philosophers now agree that Galileo, in this part of his speculations, was completely mistaken.

Upon that point, Laplace says that the ulterior discoveries have confirmed the view of Kepler, and destroyed the explanation of Galileo, which is repugnant to the laws of equilibrium and of the motion of fluids.

Galileo criticised Kepler; yet Kepler was right. Laplace further shows† that Galileo, though he might have made the most important use of Kepler's opinions, failed to recognize their importance.

After a careful examination of all these things, with others which seemed connected with them, we feel convinced that Galileo, in 1632, the year in which his *Dialogue* was printed, had not discovered peremptory and decisive reasons why his doctrine of the motion of the earth should not be judged absurd and false in philosophy, and contrary to the holy Scriptures, of which Rome has the guardianship.

Be that as it may, as he had not advanced so far as to conceive the mobility of the earth, not *through* the air, but *with* the air, he had not qualified himself to propose that astronomical system which would have excluded the terrestrial objections, and would have allowed it to be embraced not merely as *hypothesis*, explaining the celestial movements (this was already granted by the decree rendered in 1620), but as a *system* which, while it explained the movements of the planets, involved no terrestrial inconvenience. Further, Galileo was bound,‡ under pain of imprisonment, by an

* Part i., p. 258. † *Exposition of the System of the World*, p. 328. ‡ Desdovits, p. 224.

order of the 26th of February, 1616, *which he had promised to obey*. Now, as he did not make known the printing of his *Dialogue* to the proper censors of the press, his neglect was justly imputed to him as a breach of promise.

Such is certainly the true explanation of the trial of Galileo.

It has been affirmed that we are especially obliged to the sovereign and to the great dignitaries of Rome for the system of Copernicus; and no one now has the right or the desire to deny it. The anxiety of the popes for the reform of the calendar caused them to heap favors upon Copernicus, who did not print* his book until the end of thirty-six years, in 1543, when he dedicated it to Pope Paul III.

The true state of the case is just this. The decree was not the result of the wounded pride of a pope who had been called *Simplicius*, and thus had been directly insulted. That name, given to Urban VIII., is a proof less of satire than of insanity. Speaking merely with reference to science, can we admit the motion of the earth as Copernicus and Galileo affirmed it—that is to say, as moving through the air—which necessarily involves a system of terrestrial falsities and absurdities, besides opposition to the holy Scriptures, which certainly teach that the earth is stable in its uniformity, and is not disturbed in the course of the daily revolutions going on above it? An examination of the decree of 1620 suffices to prove that it was not made in hostility to science in general, or to the motion of the earth in particular, which was permitted to be adopted purely as hypothesis to account for the celestial movements.

We should always honestly place ourselves amidst the occurrences of the times on which we reason.

At that period of fermenting ideas, the day when a king was to be compelled to ascend a scaffold, that king the grandson of a Catholic queen,† Rome endeavored carefully to regulate men's ideas, in order that criminal thoughts should not be propagated in Italy. It was *not* wounded pride, then, which animated holy Rome, but true zeal to make authority respected in a matter which concerned religion. It was that care alone which induced the sovereign pontiff to take against Galileo such measures of precaution as gentleness and the spirit of pardon could always mitigate or terminate.

Moreover, in an important passage of his *Dialogue*, Galileo really sided with error; and the *very eminent and very learned personage*—that is to say, Urban VIII. himself—whose arguments *Simplicius* reproduces, was on the side of reason. For the explanation of the flow and ebb of the sea, given by Galileo, was false; and another was true‡—that, namely, given by

* One hundred and one years before the death of Galileo. Here dates are very important.

† Fifteen years are nothing at a period when the destruction elsewhere is meditated of a religious worship abandoned at home.

‡ Desdouts, p. 225.

Kepler of the action exercised upon the sea by the phases of the moon, as shown by the movements of the former corresponding to the different positions of the latter.*

The following is the judgment pronounced by Desdouits: "Finally, besides the discovery of the gravity of the air, with which the greatest difficulties as to the motion of the earth were removed, Venturi observes† that 'in our days things have totally changed face;' to that discovery have successively been added the discoveries of the aberration of the stars, of the reciprocal perturbation of the planetary movement,‡ of the diminished gravity under the equator, and the true cause of the ebb and flow of the sea, all the now recognized laws of universal gravity, and finally, the velocity acquired by heavy bodies in falling from a height." To those reasons I would add the annual parallax of the fixed stars.

Let us now see the conclusions of the learned author of the article in the *Catholic Universe*, which I cited some pages back.

"I conclude, and I say, that the system of Galileo, of the movement of the earth through the air, is at once contrary to reason and contrary to Holy Writ. The common opinion of modern astronomers, of the movement of the air which surrounds it, is justified by the discoveries of science, and perfectly reconcilable with Scripture. The Holy Office, therefore, was fully justified in condemning the system of Galileo, and permitting the teaching of the modern system.

"To all who properly reflect, the conduct of the Church in this affair will appear veritably superhuman in its wisdom and prudence. Few religions upon earth could have resisted the temptation absolutely to condemn and proscribe a system which must formally deny the sacred text, and which, moreover, was also condemned by reason and science. The Roman Church did nothing of the kind; far from it. Confining herself to warning the learned that the system had as yet no certainty, that it was still the object of a thousand objections, that it was opposed by a thousand difficulties, the most serious of which consisted in its opposition to Holy Writ, the Church forbade them to affirm its absolute and positive truth, but it exhorted and encouraged them to pursue it as *hypothesis*, so that some time the difficulties might be smoothed and the objections removed; so that the *hypothesis*, verified by experience, and thenceforth freed from all error and from every datum contrary to the faith, should become a *thesis*, and acquire, by the progress of science, that certainty which science can give.

"Let us sum up this discussion:

"1. Rome has never condemned the system of the world as it is understood and taught by the astronomers of our day.

* Desdouits, p. 225.

† Part i., p. 274.

‡ Here also must be mentioned the admirable discovery of Leverrier.

"2. In itself, and such as it was condemned, the system of Galileo was condemnable, and equally contrary to reason and to faith.

"3. As *hypothesis*, the Church has always permitted it.

"4. The Church does more. She encourages the hypothesis; and it was to the Roman Church that science owed the book of Copernicus.

"5. Galileo had shown great disrespect to the sovereign pontiff.

"6. Galileo was treated by the sovereign pontiff with the greatest consideration and the most magnanimous clemency.

"7. Endeavors have been made to establish the contrary. Galileo has been misrepresented as a *victim*, as a martyr to science and to truth; and those who have thus spoken have been untrue alike to science, to truth, and to themselves."

I will terminate by replying to an objection made to me by some Englishmen. They said: "There has been a verbal quibble. Galileo was not put in *prison*, but he was detained in a *villa*, and that is imprisonment."

No; the Villa Medici, though not one of the largest *villas* of Rome, has magnificent lodgings facing the four cardinal points. One can live there by turns, according to the season, in the east, west, north, or south apartments; and there are very large gardens and a thickly planted wood. In the year 1633, the lands of that villa were still more considerable. After obtaining from the queen of Etruria the palace in exchange for the academy at the Corso, the French occupied Rome both militarily and administratively. Then their civil authorities had a promenade laid out upon the lands belonging to the villa, and sold the vineyards which stretched away to the *Porta del Popoli*, vineyards in which Galileo could walk when he pleased. We must not judge, therefore, of the former extent of the grounds by their present limits; it were to be wished that all prisoners, excepting thieves and murderers, had everywhere only such a prison. Urban VIII., insulted also as a man throughout this affair, showed a noble and generous kindness which it is useless any longer to deny. Held up to ridicule, he forgot the ridicule; and that kind of pardon is perhaps the one which most proves a lofty and admirably Christian soul.

During the affair of Galileo, Richelieu seems to have been silent; or if he added a few words to the demands of the court of Tuscany, he did so with the indifference with which he then regarded every thing that concerned a court governed by so near a relative of Queen Mary, who was already wandering about Europe, and whom the cardinal, ungrateful no doubt, would have preferred to see settled in Florence. Accordingly, the Count d'Avaux, resident ambassador in 1632, and the count de Créquy, who was sent on an embassy of obedience, do not figure in the debates of that period.

Like all great politicians, Richelieu took good care that foreign gov-

ernments should have enough to do to look after their own affairs; and, then, as we have seen, the French clergy had shown only favorable dispositions towards the pope.

More than ever, moreover, the count duke de Olivares, kept close watch upon the actions of Richelieu; and we shall by and by perceive that the cardinal, for his part, acted with a still happier foresight. We may also add, that a single document composed by Richelieu will tell us not only what he did at that particular time, but also what he did *during his entire reign*.

Confined here to the simple details of history, we will say that Urban was more than ever plunged in grief. France directed armies on Flanders, thence to aid the Dutch; and not content with that menace, which commenced a direct attack upon the Flemish possessions of Philip III., she had secured in Italy the alliance of the dukes of Savoy and Parma, and was rekindling war in the Peninsula. At this moment, Urban sent to Paris Julius Mazarin, who was already known to Richelieu, and esteemed by him. The two courts of the house of Austria demanded the recall of Mazarin, affirming that he, in concert with Richelieu, was striving to produce a universal war. At that juncture, the cabinets of the house of Austria, affirming that they were insulted, charged the Spanish ambassador to complain to Rome against the duke of Parma, who was ready to take up arms and invade the cities of the duchy of Milan. The ambassador spoke thus to the pope: "*The duke of Parma is our feudatory; and you have the right, on our demand, to deprive him of his duchy.*" This is the disposition which threatens sovereign princes, and this time it is not the work of the Roman chancery. On the contrary, we see the pope solicited by powerful monarchs of Europe, the emperor and the king of Spain. Must we repeat to what point that right, that intervention, which drove a king from his States, was part and parcel of the political jurisprudence of the time?

Urban had not always the strong decision of Saint Pius V., Sixtus V., and so many others of the predecessors of those bold pontiffs. He contented himself with sending to the duke of Parma the vice-legate of Bologna, to beg the duke to lay down his arms. Upon the complaint of that prince to France, the count de Noailles, ambassador, was ordered to oppose all action, political or religious, which could disturb the duke of Parma.

There were various causes of discord between the pontifical government and the republic of Venice, on the subject of the boundaries of the territory of Ferrara. Some imprudent advisers irritated Urban. With his consent, under the pretext of continuing the embellishments in the *Sala Regia*, near the Sistine chapel, the ornaments and inscriptions placed there on the

occasion of the peace concluded at Venice between Pope Alexander III. and the Emperor Frederic I. were removed.*

Hostilities against Ferrara were expected. But if the grand council of Venice impetuously adopted prompt and stern measures, it also very often happened that a considerable number of nobles opposed violent plans, and strongly counselled patience and trust in the effect of time. The moderate party prevailed, and it was thought sufficient to declare a renunciation of all system of compromise. Thus, without actual war, the operations of commerce were suspended and the Venetian ambassador to the Holy See was ordered to abstain from all communication with its ministers. We shall see, in the reign of Innocent X., that this intercourse was restored. The wisdom of Venice had foreseen that prudent and necessary reparation.

The duke of Parma, not so well advised, without waiting for the army of Louis XIII., engaged at the time in the difficult passes of the Alps, attacked the Spaniards. The latter threw into the field all their forces stationed in the duchy of Milan, and they were about to drive the duke, possibly forever, from his duchy, when Urban sent to the Spanish camp the bishop of Imola, with orders to conjure the duke of Modena to grant a truce, and then a peace to the duke of Parma.

At this juncture, the duke de Créquy, the same whom we lately mentioned as ambassador of obedience, and who had returned to France after accomplishing his mission, and whom hereafter we shall see in a very different position at Rome, brought aid to the duke of Parma, reproached him with not having waited longer, and forced him to seize upon the Cremonese and the territory of Lodi. Marshal d'Estrées, ambassador from France to Rome, also interfered. Créquy urged d'Estrées to resort to any pretext for speaking warmly upon the subject to the pope. D'Estrées had not yet fulfilled all the long ceremonies necessary to give official existence to an ambassador to Rome. The pope, unwilling to be offended by too vivacious speeches, refused to grant d'Estrées the audience which he solicited. The marshal, who doubtless had secret orders for his actions, complained to Richelieu, and demanded his support. The cardinal would neither employ force in support of the repulsed d'Estrées, nor yield by recalling him, but preferred to treat on the affair directly with the pope, to whom he addressed this remarkable letter.

“MOST HOLY FATHER :

“I do not take up the pen as one having part in the council of the greatest king of all who have the happiness to be *under the guidance of Your*

* See life of Alexander III.

Holiness ; but I venture to address these lines as *cardinal of the Holy Sec*,* impassioned for the interests of the Church and for all that concerns the person and the house of your beatitude.

“As the affair of Marshal d'Estrées may lead to results of the greatest consequence, I should be plainly neglectful of my duty, were I not humbly to interest Your Holiness to consider it prudently ; the marshal having done nothing but by command of his majesty. If his conduct has displeased Your Holiness, it is his majesty and not the marshal whom Your Holiness should blame. Yet I am certain that the good-will and the equity of Your Holiness must sufficiently feel that so great a prince can never have intended to displease Your Holiness in any thing that has passed ; but, on the contrary, to serve Your Holiness, and prevent those who formerly executed their evil designs against the Holy Sée from getting the power, during his majesty's reign, to cause any fear of events similar to those which occurred in other times. Your Holiness having sent, two years ago, a nuncio extraordinary into France, upon a subject as contrary to the interests of his majesty as favorable to the Spaniards,† and having recalled him when they openly declared that they did not like him, as it seemed that they apprehended that he would be for peace, against their inclination, should Your Holiness persist in opposing the Marshal d'Estrées, who has many qualities not at all contrary to what the events of this crown render desirable ; there is no one who will not believe, however falsely, that insensibly and by artifice, Spain has led the goodness of Your Holiness to that which it most desires. That thought will never find a place in my mind ; but it is of the utmost importance that it do not find a place in the minds of others, which Your Holiness will find it very difficult to do, should you continue to treat the king differently from all other princes who have ambassadors at Rome. Your Holiness, I feel sure, will testify the distinction made by you between those who honor you with a cordial and constant veneration, and those who only affect it outwardly when their interests require.

“The piety of the king invites Your Holiness to such a step, and *he personally entreats it of you*. The present state of things seems to pledge your beatitude to it, since nothing can be more contrary to peace than that there should be an apparent division between the person of Your Holiness and that of the king, who, above all others, has always the most desired to be in closest union with Your Holiness.

* A very singular expression, which, nevertheless, is not used with any intention to insult, nor with the desire to use in a strange sense an appellation venerated by all ; for what follows shows the respectful feelings of the cardinal.

† Here the cardinal names the enemies of the king, the Spaniards, who, from the time of Henry IV., had constantly conspired and intrigued at Rome against the king of France.

"It will be as easy as glorious for Your Holiness to *preserve the absolute power that Your Holiness at present has over this great king*; and I venture to promise Your Holiness, that the Marshal d'Estrées will have no greater desire than to serve Your Holiness and to consider the interests of all your house, to render himself useful in so doing to the interests of his master. Should he fail in so doing, I am willing that Your Holiness should blame me, who will receive a new and very sensible obligation, if Your Holiness will grant my very humble supplication,—not considered by itself, but, in so far as it is just, to the prayers of his majesty, which have not, and never will have, any other object than the utmost advantage to the person *and all the house* of Your Holiness. I most humbly entreat Your Holiness to believe this, and also that I am and always shall be, most Holy Father,

"Your Holiness' most humble and very obedient servant and son,

"ARMAND, Cardinal Richelieu."

This time the cardinal was foiled, despite his submissive letter. D'Estrées, in fact, was received, but had to depart immediately after receiving that simple satisfaction.

On the 30th of September, 1636, Cardinal Bentivoglio, attached in heart to France, was accredited as protector of the affairs of France, and in 1637 Mazarin returned, with a mission. The only revenge which Richelieu appeared to have taken for that repulse, was to leave the embassy to Rome vacant for four years.

During those four years, an incident occurred which was communicated to me by one of the masters of the ceremonies of Rome. The Spanish ambassadors endeavored to increase their privileges, hoping that from some abuse or from confessed precedent, they might draw still further advantages, if need be. There existed at Rome a law called *di precedenza*, dating back as far as 1504, under Julius II. By this law European ambassadors are placed, in the ceremonies, in the following order: The ambassador of the emperor, king of the Romans; ambassadors of France, Spain, Aragon, Portugal, England, Sicily, Hungary, Cyprus, Bohemia, Poland, and Dacia.

In 1637, the kingdoms of Aragon, Portugal, and Sicily belonged to Spain; the kingdom of England had no representative; the kingdom of Hungary had absorbed Bohemia and Dacia, and the kingdom of Cyprus was claimed by Venice. Thus the twelve kingdoms represented in 1504 were reduced to four at the utmost. A Spanish ambassador laid claim to four pre-eminences, but he did not clearly explain his idea, and one cannot comprehend how one individual could sit upon four chairs. Did Madrid desire that one nation should have four representatives? As for Cyprus, to recognize a royal ambassador in its name would be to give the royal title to the doge,

his secretary was called *segretario regio*, but Roman etiquette would go no further.

At length an agreement was arrived at. As the Catholic religion had sustained such grievous losses in the defection of England, the higher diplomatic agents were classed thus: The ambassadors of the emperor, France, Spain, and Poland.*

Subsequently, in 1640, the ambassador from Portugal recovered his precedence of the ambassador from Poland.

All those considerations of precedence, when they are wholly dictated by petty vanity, are very paltry; but when a spirit of right and a serious respect for history dictate an order and establish an irrevocable situation, then they are useful and deserving of attention; and at courts, which habitually receive high ministers, they avoid all embarrassment, discontent, and bickering; and in all cases they serve to banish occasions of discord, false pretension, and quarrels, that often lead to fatal results.

Let us now quit political scenes and return to religious affairs.

Meantime, a priest who had gone to China to propagate the Catholic religion there, submitted to the Holy See, in 1637, a question whether, in case of necessity, laymen might not receive sacramental confession. He said that an affirmative reply giving that permission, as applicable only to China, would facilitate the means of hearing the confessions of women, who in that empire are governed with a rigorous jealousy. Urban, not doubting what would be the reply of the Roman theologians, submitted the question to them. They speedily showed that the power and the faculty of remitting sins or retaining them, were granted by Christ to priests only. These theologians did not adopt the passages of canon law that were invoked in favor of lawful confession in such cases.†

In some parts of Christendom disputes still continued on the question of grace, which had been raised by Baius, about the year 1560, and renewed by Cornelius Jansenius, bishop of Ypres.‡

Urban renewed the bulls of Saint Pius V. in 1567, and of Gregory XIII., of 1579; and condemned, by a bull of the 6th of March, 1641, the book entitled *Augustinus Cornelii Jansenii*. Jansenius had been engaged twenty-two years in composing it; "not," said he, "to revive the doctrine of Saint Augustine, which for five hundred years had been banished from the Catholic schools, but to explain the opinions of Baius, and to establish the system which declares that, after the fall of Adam, we are *necessitated* to doing good or evil—good, when grace predominates in us; and evil, when we are under

* By a wise article in the treaty of Vienna, all ambassadors took precedence according to the day on which their credentials were delivered.

† Novaes, ix., p. 248.

‡ Born 28th of October, 1583; died in 1638.

the domination of concupiscence." So, according to the doctrine of this new theologian, our will is the slave of either grace or concupiscence,* without power of resisting whichever predominates; one must surmount the other, and all depends upon the strength of that which dominates in us.

Jansenius further laid down that God has imposed upon men many sins; man cannot avoid them, because he lacks grace, which would prevent him from sinning. On that point, the regent duke of Orleans laughingly said, "that if God had given him the throne of Saint Louis, he would never have allowed, among his subjects, men who, after a revolution or a crime, could allege as an excuse, like the Jansenists, that they had lacked grace."

Jansenius, influenced by misgivings of conscience, never published his work; on the contrary, he repeatedly endeavored to send it to Rome, to submit it to the judgment of the Holy See. In fact, he wrote to Urban a letter, replete with respect and submission; but, before that letter could be dispatched, he died of the plague, and fearing that his partisans would suppress it, he declared, in his last will and testament, that if Rome deemed it necessary to make any alterations in the book submitted to its examination, he respectfully submitted, declaring that he died as he had lived, an obedient son of the Roman Church.

After the death of Jansenius, some of his partisans suppressed the letter,† without speaking of the submission promised by the author, and they published the book, which was first printed at Louvain, in 1640. That edition was followed by two others, one published at Paris, the other at Rome.

In the same year, 1640, the book was prohibited by the Holy Office, and the Jesuits of Antwerp were the first to declare war against the doctrines contained in that book, by publishing a work entitled *Theological Theses upon Grace*.

Notwithstanding the condemnation of that book, in a bull published by Urban VIII., about 1642, it found defenders in the university of Louvain, where Baius had been dean and Jansenius professor of Sacred Scripture. The resistance of that academy continued during eight or nine years. The university sent to Rome deputies to complain of the pontifical bull, and to Madrid, to prevent the immediate publication of it in Spanish Flanders.

The Catholic king, notwithstanding this device, ordered the bull to be published in Brabant, and forbade any one, under penalty of five hundred florins fine for the first offence, and six years exile for the second, to attack the bull or to oppose its publication. After some time, the resistance grew weaker in the Low Countries; and those same doctors subsequently distin-

* Novaes, ix., p. 252.

† We should know nothing about that letter, had it not fallen into the hands of the prince of Condé, who published it after the taking of Ypres.

guished themselves against Jansenism by a great number of decrees, which displayed the purity of their doctrine.*

Meantime, the book of Jansenius was defended by Duvergier de Hauranne, his best friend, known under the name of Abbé de Saint Cyran, who died in 1613, after various painful vicissitudes. To him succeeded Anthony Arnauld. These doctrines having seduced a great number of religious communities, bishops, and persons of various conditions in society, spread in France. To obviate those evils, the effects of which we shall perceive in the reigns of the following pontiffs, Urban, on the 2d of January, 1644, sent forth his bull, *In eminenti*, which he had published on the 6th of March, 1641, to the faculty of theology of Paris, sitting at the Sorbonne, which ordered its members not to approve the doctrine condemned by that bull.

That sufficed to urge Arnauld to a barefaced defence of the book of Jansenius, of which he published an apology. It was refuted by Monseigneur Hebert, subsequently bishop of Vabres, but Arnauld pretended to justify his first apology by another. This latter was prohibited in 1647, by the archbishop of Besançon, and by the parliament of Burgundy in 1648. In fact, Arnauld, otherwise a man of so much merit, continued, to his death, the obstinate defender of Jansenius. We shall have to speak of the consequence of that fatal dispute in our account of the next reign.

The long pontificate of Urban gave his nephews the opportunity to acquire immense wealth; and the older he grew, the greater became the power of Cardinal Francis Barberini, who, in an imperious tone, disposed of all authority.†

Meantime, Ranutius and Odoard Farnese had contracted enormous debts at Rome. On that subject, new disputes arose between Rome and those princes, who suffered great ruin from a war of their own causing.

On the 16th of September, 1641, Urban made a promotion of cardinals, among whom, especially on account of his name, was the distinguished Francis Maria Machiavelli, a noble Florentine, cousin of Cardinal Barberini, nephew of the pope. It does not appear that he was related to the Florentine secretary. To that promotion belongs Julius Mazarin, who was born on the 14th of July, 1602. At first a captain of infantry, he was next employed at Milan, in the absence of the pontifical commissary, Francis Sacchetti. Subsequently, he accompanied the legate Cardinal Antonio Barberini to Lombardy, where he displayed his prodigious ability in the management of affairs. On his return to Rome, he became canon of Saint John Lateran, and vice-sommist of Cardinal Barberini, who was vice-chancellor. Subsequently he was sent as nuncio extraordinary into France, where he remained two years.

* Novaes, ix., p. 254.

† Ibid., p. 225.

As vice-legate at Avignon, he made himself valued for his talents. Louis XIII., who liked him, recalled him to France, and at the request of that prince, Mazarin was made a cardinal. On the death of Cardinal Richelieu, Mazarin became prime minister of France. The other details of his life do not belong to this part of our annals.

A promotion of cardinals readily makes known two important facts: 1. The situation of the political affairs of the Holy See with regard to some of the powers, and the degree of favor those powers obtain at that distribution of the great Christian rewards; 2. The spirit of justice or of nepotism which animates the pontiff, and which causes him to seek out men of distinguished reputation, or which prepares in advance for furnishing to the nephews their re-enforcements in the coming conclave.

The list of the new cardinals also includes the name of Ascanio Filomarino, a man whose nomination all parties could approve. Then came Mark Antony Bragadino, a personage of singular probity, bearing a name celebrated at Venice. His nomination was unsolicited, and made to conciliate the friendly feeling of the great council.

It was necessary to take care not to honor Venice to the neglect of Genoa, her rival. Octavius Raggi, a Genoese, was the next cardinal: he was a great patron of Italian men of letters. Pietro Donato Cesi, of the house of the dukes of Aquasparta. He attained the purple by passing through various offices in the Roman court. If a pontifical minister wished to set aside the prelates who choose that thorny and difficult path of labors and of sacrifices, he would deserve reproach, rarely made to secretaries of state.

Jerome Verospi, a man of talent and of wit, who was to be one of the soldiers of the Barberino in the next conclave. Vincent Marcelani, son of a Lombard mason. He had entered the order of the Dominicans, where, by the encouragement of his superiors and the remembrance of his father's business, he had greatly promoted the art of architecture and the study of the theological sciences. He excelled in drawing plans, and before the purple was bestowed upon him, he was sent to Malta to superintend the building of the fortifications which the Holy See erected on that island. The promotion of Marcelani was a public homage to the learned.

Francis Peretti Montalto, the last scion of the family of Sixtus V. This nomination was a tribute of pontifical gratitude for the glory acquired by that great pope.

Virginus Orsini, a Roman lord, a man of sense and the friend of the poor, a member of the celebrated family of that name, and considered likely to become pope. That ingenious instinct which predicts popes from reputations for virtue, ability, and prudent conduct—that instinct which can second a well-calculated foresight, is a kind of sagacity very common at Rome, where, moreover, it is *indigenous to the soil*.

Julius Gabrielli, a noble Roman, who held the cardinalate for forty years. Novaes mentions the excessive leaning of that cardinal to economy.

Rinaldo d'Este, of the family of the dukes of Modena. He had followed the career of arms; whence, says Novaes, he passed into the ecclesiastical militia, at the request of the house of Austria.

There was no Frenchman included in these creations. The differences arising out of the rejection of Marshal d'Estrées, were, apparently, not yet settled. But that would have been a mistake and a neglect of the interests of a great kingdom. Though Richelieu was seriously ill, and it was publicly known that he had been busied on his last will and testament, of which more or less authentic copies were already in circulation, Roman prudence provided for every thing by naming Cardinal d'Este. He was pointed out to France as the next protector of that crown. He was so in fact. Abbeys and rich pensions were bestowed upon him, which his eminence disbursed in showers of gold in supporting the regency of Anne of Austria in both its interests and its honor, and those of the commencement of the reign of Louis XIV.

Shortly before that promotion, Urban had published a constitution which Novaes does not mention, but which, nevertheless, deserves to be cited among the most courageous acts of that pontiff.

It was to preserve from all prejudice or infringement the rights of the Holy See and of the inferior churches. The pope restored to vigor bulls published under Alexander III., Innocent III., Clement VII., and Leo X.; and they were thenceforward to be executed, notwithstanding the opposition of any emperor, king, republic, or other sovereignty whatsoever. If any legates, *a latere*, vice-chancellors, or nuncios have authorized such prejudices or infringements, they have acted reprehensibly; they had no warrant for authorizing any spoliation of the property of the Church, or the imprisonment of any ecclesiastical subjects. Finally, every right exercised in the name of the Holy See is declared valid and exempt from all exception. This constitution was given at Rome, near Saint Peter, under the ring of the Fisherman, on the 7th of June, in the year of our Lord 1641, and of the pontificate the eighteenth. It is signed, M. A. Maraldi.

We now approach an event which was to cause excitement in every capital. In January, 1642, all Europe looked attentively towards France. The health of Richelieu was daily declining, and he was said to be busied upon his last will and instructions. Voltaire incorrectly denies the authenticity of the testament. Fonce-magne has triumphantly replied to him. The testament of his eminence, which Fonce-magne published, is authentic; and there is no longer any doubt about that historical fact.

I learned at Rome that there was preserved there, but mislaid, the dedication of that testament to Louis XIII., written in Latin by the cardinal

himself. It must have been in the chanceries of other countries, as it had been sent to Rome by the nuncio, Monseigneur Bagni, archbishop of Athens.

But after many researches the mysterious document was not to be found, and attention still returned to the work published by Foncemagne, entitled *State Maxims and Political Testament of Armand du Plessis, Cardinal Duke of Richelieu*,* and preceded by another introduction.

It will not be out of place, if, after having given to the reader the testament of Philip II., the rival of France, we here insert the testament of Richelieu, who endeavored to destroy whatever credit the house of Austria might have with other powers, and especially with Rome.

I shall especially extract what concerns the connection of France with the Holy See.

One of the principal cares of Rome was to watch over, everywhere, whether in or out of Christendom, all those *pursuers of universal monarchy*, who were to greater or less extent incapable of succeeding in their views without destroying the power and influence of the pontificate, which took part in every thing because she was appealed to from all parts. Without entering into the thousand details which we shall not forget in tracing the last lines of this work, we shall simply recall some of the facts of the fifteenth century, and of the first half of the sixteenth. Rome for some years had no longer to watch the Turk, who had been conquered at Malta, but Elizabeth of England, who on one hand held the balance that Henry VIII. had left her, and on the other listened to the flattery of Bruno; and Henry IV., excited by Sully to establish France as almost the sole independent State in Europe: at the same time, in a parallel line—fortunately parallel lines never meet—Philip II., dreaming of false glories, and confessing to us his long mistakes and his insatiable greed, which were so justly punished; and later, Richelieu, whose mere name announces an iron will, as inflexible as a rock, an uninterrupted succession of ideas, all tending to one end, even the most cruel. All these announcements, all these threats, and these submissions, no less alarming than the hates and angers, excited the attention of the pontiffs. It was no longer the crescent that deprived them of the *gift of God*—sleep; but emperors who served Mass like Charles V.; kings who affected to charge themselves with the duty of the Holy Office; a Protestant (Sully) still tainted with an evil leaven, although loving and faithfully seconding a prince who had become a sincere Catholic; finally, a priest, a cardinal of the Holy See, as he himself said, aspiring to dominate the world in the name of an incapable king. What more could be needed to excite consternation in Rome? But let us specify the projects of the cardinal. We acquit him of all design hostile to the Holy See; neverthe-

* Two vols. 8vo, (Paris, 1764.)

less, we cannot conceive what reply he could make as to the dangers that he evoked for Catholicity, in aspiring to be the sole arbiter of the entire world. A great politician commences, I am willing to own it, a gigantic war; and he conquers—I admit that too. But what will the successors of that redoubtable Jupiter do with that glory? May they not allow that to escape which the inventor of sole power was anxious to preserve? It is to write over again the history of Rome, to write a part of that in which all mingle who would fain devour Rome, like Charles V., or leave her defenceless, a prey to the first comer, as Richelieu might in spite of himself. The revelations which I am about to repeat (possibly which I am about to publish for the first time), will instruct in the first place the Catholics of all countries, who are content to admire Richelieu pacifying France and all Europe, and who have done well in doing so; but these documents will also place before the eyes of the pontifical government the danger with which it is menaced by each colossus who arises to threaten Europe. For it is indubitable that on the day when there shall be only one or two masters there, the nations will be partitioned off, the pope will be despoiled of his cities and his territory, and it will everywhere be buzzed about that each is *free* to have his own patriarch, and to regulate his own canonical doctrines without going beyond his own country.

Previous to giving the document, let us see a portion of what Richelieu says in the *political testament* given by Foncemagne:

“DEDICATION TO THE KING.

“As soon as it pleased your majesty to intrust me with a part in the management of your affairs, I determined to forget nothing and neglect nothing which my industry could do towards facilitating your great designs, as useful to the State, as glorious to your majesty’s person.

God, having blessed my intentions to such an extent that the strength and successes of your majesty, which are the astonishment of this age, and will be the admiration of the ages to come, it seems to me that your majesty’s glorious successes oblige me to write your history,—partly lest some circumstances, which ought never to die in the memory of men, should be buried in oblivion, through the ignorance of men who cannot be as well acquainted with them as I am; and partly that the past may serve as the rule of the future. Shortly after thinking thus, I began the work, believing that I could not too promptly commence what I could end only with my life. I not only amassed with great care the materials for such a work, but, what is more, I partially reduced them to order, and put the events of some years into the state in which I intended to give it to the world. I confess that although there was more pleasure in furnishing materials for history than in reducing them into form, I had no little pleasure in representing that which was done with

so much and such difficult labor. As I began to enjoy the sweetness of that task, the diseases and the inconveniences to which my constitution is subject, added to the cares of State, compelled me to abandon it till I could obtain more strength and leisure.

“ Being reduced to that extremity that I cannot do that which I passionately desired for the glory of your person and for the advantage of your realm, I have concluded that I cannot, without being responsible for it before God, dispense myself from at least leaving your majesty some memoranda of what I esteem the most important for the government of this kingdom.

“ Two things oblige me to undertake this work. The first is the mingled fear and desire that I have to finish my days before yours shall be ended; the second is the faithful passion that I have for the interests of your majesty, which causes me to desire not only to see you loaded with prosperity, during my life, but also to provide for its continuance when the inevitable debt that all must pay to nature shall render it impossible for me to witness it.

“ This document will see the light under the title of my POLITICAL TESTAMENT, because it is intended to serve, after my death, the policy and government of your kingdom, if your majesty deem it worthy to be so; because it contains my last desires in that respect, and because in leaving it to you I consign to your majesty the best that I can bequeath when it shall please God to summon me from this life. It will be couched in the briefest and clearest terms that I can command, as best suited to my disposition and fashion of writing, as well as to the taste of your majesty, who always like people to come to the point briefly, and who value the substance of things as much as you dislike the prolix talk in which most men obscurely express their ideas.

“ *If my shadow, which will appear in these memoirs, can, after my death, in aught contribute to the regulation of the great realm, in the management of which it has pleased you to give me a greater share than I deserved, I shall esteem myself extremely fortunate. To arrive at that end, judging rightly that the fashion that it has pleased God heretofore to give to the resolutions that your majesty has taken with your most faithful subjects, is a powerful motive for your consenting to follow the advice I respectfully proffer as to the future, I shall commence by placing before your eyes a picture of your great actions in the past, which have heaped glory upon you, and may justly be considered the solid foundation of the future felicity of your majesty's kingdom.*

“ This relation will be made with such sincerity, in the judgment of those who are faithful witnesses of the history of your times, that it will give every one cause to believe that the counsels I have given to your majesty

have had no other object than the interests of the realm and the advantage of your person, of which I shall eternally be, sire,

“The most humble, most faithful, most obedient,
most impassioned, and deeply obliged

subject and servant,

“ARMAND, Cardinal Duke of Richelieu.”

For the present I shall content myself with extracting from the body of the work, the following passages :

In page 8, vol. i., of the edition cited, there are various details which confirm what I said many pages back concerning the marriage of Henrietta Maria. My authorities had almost copied the cardinal.

“The prince of Wales intrusts himself to the discretion of a prince who, being master of his person, can impose upon him such law as he pleases, and passes incognito through France to go and marry the infanta of Spain.

“King Philip III. places the uncrowned prince on his right. The marriage is broken off, and shortly afterwards that with the French princess is negotiated, agreed upon, and accomplished, on conditions *thrice as advantageous for Catholicity* as those which were projected to be proposed in the time of the late king.”

Let us proceed to page 105, where Rome had noticed this passage concerning the capacity and presumed conduct of the bishops named by the king.

“I have often apprehended that people of good family confine themselves with more difficulty to their duty, and are less regular in their lives, than men of humbler origin. Many persons, sharing that fear, consider that doctors of as good life as low birth are better fitted for such employments than those of higher extraction; *but many things are to be considered on that subject.*”

These words prove that Richelieu endeavored to keep himself in a perfect medium between his doctrine of absolute minister, and the respect due to the Roman court.*

“Order, which God requires to be observed in all things, requires me here to represent to your majesty that even as princes are bound to recognize the authority of the Church in all that concerns the spiritual power that God has placed in her hand for the salvation of men, and even as it is the duty of princes to honor the popes as successors of Saint Peter and vicars of Jesus Christ; so, on the other hand, the princes should not yield to the enterprises of the popes, if they stretch their power beyond its proper limits.†

“If kings are bound to respect the tiara of the sovereign pontiff, they are

* Vol. i., p. 166.

† Is this meant as a kind of reply to the Constitution of 1641?

equally bound to preserve the power of their crowns. That truth is recognized by all theologians; but there is no little difficulty in rightly distinguishing the extent and the subordination of the two powers.

"In this we must believe neither the lawyers, who commonly estimate the power of the king by the shape of his crown, which, *being round, has no end*, nor those who, in an indiscreet zeal, openly make themselves partisans of Rome. Reason requires that we should hear both, and have the difficulties afterwards solved by persons too learned to deceive themselves through ignorance, and too sincere to allow either the interests of the State or those of Rome to sway them against reason."

At page 10 of the second volume, Richelieu speaks of the government by women, but in such unmeasured terms, that I omit them here, although they would give me the advantage of supporting my previous remarks on Elizabeth of England.

I have announced a second dedication of the *Political Testament*, very different in its energy, as a whole, from that just quoted, which Fonce-magne left us, and in which we with difficulty recognize the style. This new preface, written in a style worthy of Tacitus, and in the language of that illustrious annalist, is as follows :*

"DEDICATION OF RICHELIEU'S POLITICAL TESTAMENT TO LOUIS XIII.

"Political Testament of the Most Illustrious Politician, Cardinal Richelieu, addressed, in his dying hours, to the Most Excellent King of the French, Louis XIII.

"Ready to depart this life, I speak nothing but the truth, in an hour in which no man lies. Listen, O posterity, to these words which I pronounce beyond life, though still living. Read this testament, written beyond time, that it may not deceive, and in eternity, that it may not perish forever!

"Chosen prime minister of my king, I, in the first place, proposed to make my king the first of kings. It was my will that the Most Christian king should be also the most powerful king: it was my will that the first-born of the Church should also be the first of Europe: I willed that he

* I found it in the imperial library. It was copied by Brequigny from the Harleian library. I believe this extraordinary document, of which I give the translation, has not previously been printed. Father Joseph, the cardinal's confidant, also wrote. It is possible that the thought may belong to his *Gray Eminence*; but even so, it is probable that Richelieu enlarged that thought, and deeply traced it with his *pen of adamant*. I cannot help telling my readers that I give them this document with a certain feeling of alarm; but what Rome then proceeded against, as she rested from the anxieties that the Turk had caused her, and the wounds received from Luther and Calvin—that which Rome then feared and strove against, was the realization of the dreams of a universal monarchy. What we are about to quote is more than the rudiments of that doctrine of pest and pride. For the rest, let us courageously contemplate those quenched firebrands, that had been prepared for the most horrible moral conflagration that could threaten the world.

should be just, in order that he might give its rights to the world, and the world to himself.

“My first thought was of the majesty of the king ; my second, of the grandeur of the kingdom. I found France smaller than she had been. Every thing was dwarfed, excepting the language ; that extended beyond the kingdom, and was everywhere the French language. Peoples formerly our subjects, denied that subjection in our own language : Frenchmen had become the enemies of the French. The enemy used us against ourselves ; the Frenchman was at once vanquished and victorious. The same man was strong for a foreign glory and for its abasement.

“The object, therefore, of my ministry was to restore to France the limits that nature had appointed to give to the French and to the French king ; to confound France with France, and to restore new France wherever old France had been. Three obstacles opposed my views. France, her own enemy, was opposed to herself. Then there was the opposition of Spain, who thought of making the whole world only one household, if he could but make France a part of it ; and then there was the obstacle of the peoples of the frontiers—that is to say, friends of Spain, because not strong enough to be her enemies.

“To break down these barriers, I reconciled France with herself, that the enemy should depart from her. I gave Spain occupation in her own house, that she might attend to the business of no other houses.* I exhibited liberty to our allies ; and I compelled others, even in spite of themselves, to be free.†

“Two evils tormented France—heresy and liberty. Louis destroyed both these evils by his own arms, and by my counsels. The first evil had obtained such general credit, that in one kingdom several kingdoms were supposed to be tolerated by the king. Religion (Protestantism) barely tolerated the legitimate king. Two hundred citadels erected to establish security, were just so many ramparts of rebellion. In a hundred cities there were a hundred republics. Rochelle had sheltered the ‘reformed’ religion within its own walls. Hence that city commanded the sea, signed treaties with the enemies of France, encroached upon the royal authority, and, refusing to serve one legitimate king, was enslaved by many petty kinglings.

“I attacked that monster, which, before my time, other ministers had dreaded. I besieged Rochelle ; and Louis, in a single city, conquered

* *Occupavi Hispaniam domi, ne essent negotia foris. Ostendi sociis libertatem, et coegi alios etiam invitos liberos esse.*

† He gave liberty to the foreigner, but enslaved France—that is to say, he gave liberty where it threatened him not at all, or not immediately ; and he destroyed it where he desired to dominate.

all the elements. Subsequently, he recovered three hundred citadels in a single year, and had a triumph almost daily. In France herself, he subjected another kingdom. He thus made himself twice king; and that none should doubt the sanctity of his cause, while Louis combated with his arms, God combated with his miracles.

"The other evil of France was liberty. The royal dignity was beloved, but not the royal power. The subjects were feared, and they committed offences that they might make themselves more feared. Offences were redeemed with gold, which ought to have been condignly punished; and pensions were given, lest rebels should become more rebellious. There were at once liberty of conscience and necessity of crime. It was my will that love was a debt due to the king, and not a thing that the king must purchase; and that gold should be the reward, not of crime, but of virtue. I willed that fidelity; I ordered implicit obedience: on that point, I willed that the French should be *almost monks*.

"After raising France, it was necessary to depress Spain, which had depressed France by so many attacks. Two things gave majesty to Spain—the gravity of the cabinet and the power of the kingdom. The council of Madrid was so sacred that one might suppose it composed of all the virtues. Religion presided there to introduce piety, or its false appearance, into public business. Wisdom and prudence were there to divine and foretell what did not yet exist; and wisdom was accompanied by fidelity, which revealed no intention till the intention had culminated in accomplished fact.

"I disturbed the wisdom and prudence of Madrid. When I had discovered its secrets, I said nothing about the things they expected to happen, that I might the more surely prevent them from happening. I acted first, that they might not be able to do so. I objected to things already done, so that Madrid should not dispute that which still might be done.

"I took away all strength from the counsels of Madrid, by taking away the subject advised upon. I forestalled their projects, by acting before they could. I scraped away the paint from the face of Madrid's wisdom, and I saw what Madrid's wisdom really was.

"Spain was astonished that plots should be discovered which she had not formed. I divulged secrets of which she had never thought, and I succeeded in causing things to be done by others that she had thought of doing. Then she perceived that others had the art of knowing—*ars sapiendi*—which previously she had taught; then she was compelled to imitate that which she had invented; and then Madrid was astonished that Madrid was at Paris, and that Paris was not at Madrid.

"The other foundation of the Spanish fortune was its power; it was a house at once one and multiple, the same and different, a small part of the world, and a smaller world within that part. She saw the sun rise and set

upon her possessions; she had found those other worlds which Alexander only saw in his day-dreams; she had added a fourth division to the three divisions of the world that were already known. Spain, who could not fill her own country, aspired to occupy all Europe. To attain that end, she exhausted the new world to enrich the old, and already she had thrown into the latter such a profusion of gold, that gold was more rare where it was found native, than where it was sold. Spain had purchased or corrupted almost all Europe, whose people either loved gold or feared it. It created friends and allies, and purchased slaves. Spain would assist any city with gold, and subsequently call for more than its return. Nowhere did she more freely or more pleasurably prepare that poison than in France, believing, as Spain did, that if France could be bought, all Europe could. With that gold the fidelity of subjects was corrupted, the power of nobles was tempted, the friendship of heretics was solicited, and the fidelity of those whose faith displeased was purchased.

“In order to remedy this evil, I carried division into that *united* house, in order that it might not become greater; I entered into the house itself, and I found it empty, because, being only a guest, it occupied the house of another. A hundred cities and seven provinces were conquered: France became a third larger than she had been, and to that extent Spain had lost. Each of those powers returned to its ancient limits. One of them had to renounce those new frontiers. Not only did I get back her frontiers for France, but I annexed the neighborhood which had been a third evil. The allies had abandoned France because France had abandoned them. They had endeavored to become the friends of Spain, in order that they might not be made her slaves; they were bought with promises and loaded with titles: and all that was only a more respectable slavery. I exhibited liberty to Europe when I showed Europe the king. I showed Louis *strong*, that he might defend the others; *just*, and therefore incapable of keeping what belonged to another; a *friend*, who was ready to become a benefactor, *gratis*. Show what we owe to the world, and what you owe to yourself. Receive this book, which your own life has dictated. You will find in the first part the art of war, which I have borrowed from you, O hero! In the second part you have the art of peace, which I have learned from you, O pacific! In the third part you will find the kingly art, which I have described after you, O king! Throughout, you have the *art of the political minister* whom you have yourself formed!”

After having thus developed that dark policy which was somewhat akin to insanity, I do not think that it shows any tendency towards the founding by Richelieu, and in his interest, of a new Christianity, provided with its dignitaries in France and by France, under Armand as first patriarch of that country so honorably recovered by the *arms of Louis*, to which were

joined the *miracles of God*. That phantasmagoria of the patriarchate originating under Francis I., excited no alarm in the far-seeing Roman court. In France, Calvinism was enough: two different contagions never affect the physical system at once. Anciently, each heresy awaited the downfall of its predecessor: petty minds changed a word to a doctrine, took a different name, and, supported by some imbecile prince, shed around a pale and feeble light, which the heroic courage of Rome well knew how to extinguish.

There are French historians who maintain that the archbishop of Bourges, after absolving Henry IV., was embarrassed how to reply to intriguing subordinates, who said to him: "Your absolution is valid—maintain it: you have sufficiently paid homage to Rome in adding, *saving its approbation*." The archbishop did not lend himself to that iniquity, which Henry IV. would not have suffered, and which I must believe that Rosny would have opposed. At present we see Richelieu inculpated, but he was too great a calculator in the meditations of human policy to bury himself in absolute impossibilities. It was enough that he could oppress his king, and make him hear a voice that never yielded. To destroy the credit of a brother of the master; to intimidate the servants of a prince of the blood-royal; to tear away from Louis his servants, one after the other; to lay low one of the most glorious heads of the State—a Montmorency, of that old race which had always marched in the front rank at the side of the French monarchs, and had even been allied with them in marriage; to excite the parliaments to shed the blood of the malcontents, even of those who could plead excuses such as only a Richelieu could reject,—all this was not only possible, but actually enacted. But to attack Rome at the same time as Spain, which, from its *Escorial*, agitated the Vatican; to carry, with an unexampled audacity, trouble and dissension into a part of Germany which had remained faithful to the papacy; to alarm England, which had great affairs on hand at home—hearing the Catholics demanding privileges, and seeing the Puritans ready to kill their king as a preliminary to killing religion;—what resistance would he not have encountered from Spanish America, whose spirit at that time we can judge of from its spirit now, when, after so many mischievous writings and labors have been thrown away upon her, and so many perfidious invitations given to her, she has sternly said her final word upon religion, a final word for a long time to come—"The Catholic religion alone will be the religion of the country; no other will be publicly tolerated!"

No; Richelieu probably loved Rome more than he allowed to be seen. There was already too much of that axe which crushed out the life of rivals for power. Richelieu did not contemplate erecting the scaffolds of Elizabeth. By his guards who carried him from place to place in a litter, and

never quitted him, king as he substantially was of that France which he had restored to life, he replied alike to the anxieties of his friends and to the enterprises of his enemies. But guards, parliaments, and even his true king himself, would not have resisted an excommunication which he would have drawn upon himself, a *public interdict* launched against his very person by the same Roman court which had seen, kneeling for its forgiveness, culprits guilty of a similar crime, though called by another name. It must be admitted that the Calvinists might seduce some peevish spirits, hostile to all authority; but what could be said of a Catholicity without a head, resting on the health of a man who could scarcely receive food, who was worn out with toil, who could not sleep, and who finally preserved in his clear head the thought of the object he wished to attain,—in the success of which he saw the blessings of history, though preceded, it is true, by the maledictions of his contemporaries. As to religion, Richelieu had a just, we should almost say a timid mind. For the reservations of his *medium*, where he says what is to be *required* on one side and considered on the other, may lead us to believe that he left nothing to chance. If Richelieu's mind was just, he did not desire the patriarchate. I can conceive a second-rate imbecile, who would accept that part by order of an ambitious prince; but I cannot conceive, in presence of the greatness and magnificence of Rome—I cannot conceive that a master who was born a subject, who had not yet, even, surmounted all obstacles, and who saw in his long sleepless nights the near approach of death, could contemplate as consolations in the great miseries he suffered, and for succor in a state so tortured, the agonies, the poisons, and the steel which, had he attempted such a crime, might at any moment and in any one of so many ways have terminated an existence which was so loved, and, torn by natural sufferings, already seemed near its end. The statesmen of Rome whom I have consulted deem Richelieu clear from all suspicion, and of even all indirect blame, in spite of all accusations. At the utmost, had the cardinal lived longer and been still secure of the favor of his master, the rancor of the defeat he sustained in the case of Marshal d'Estrées would have produced such language as the duke de Créquy subsequently uttered. I persist in that sentiment, because I have much studied this question with reference to the patriarchate proposed by an *aid-de-camp* to Cardinal Gregorio, during the occupation of Rome. At the moment, the cardinal replied only with a laugh, but on the morrow he replied with a holy indignation. Subsequently he studied those fragments of history which were calculated to throw some light upon that strange hallucination, and he defended Richelieu with a witty and logical energy, not perceiving, that good cardinal, that that vivacity honored himself, and at the same time constituted him one of the most generous supporters of the Holy See, and one of the most brilliant ornaments of the

Roman Church. Let us, then, congratulate sublime Rome. She has recently had occasion to rejoice over another instance of that universal fidelity which has made for us, and will make for our children, the foundation of an eternal power.

Reassured as Urban VIII. in his time was, as to imaginary dangers, let us return to him ; let us finish our description of the reign of that pontiff. His courage was not diminished. The marquis de Fontenay, ambassador from France, a man of moderate disposition, who from the first moment comprehended Rome, gave assurances of friendship to the pope, to which Urban replied by testimonies of an affection all the more precious to the Louvre, because after the death of Richelieu, on the 4th of December, 1642, the king's health insensibly declined. He was to die four months and ten days after his minister. Urban gave de Fontenay advice at once affectionate and sound, as to the prudence which would be necessary on the eve of a regency which was to care for the policy and the interests of a king only four years and a half old. In the continual struggles between France and Spain, it seemed that the latter must have the advantage, as it was governed by a king thirty-eight years old, who had been on the throne for more than twenty years. But that king possessed in his disposition no more determination than is ordinarily displayed by a council of regency. Urban, therefore, hoped that he might live still long enough to restore and maintain peace between the two countries. These ideas absorbed all his cares ; Germany had little to demand his attention, and he gave up all hope of protecting, in England, Charles I. and Henrietta, overwhelmed by persecutions and by those griefs which often deprive us of all love of life. In 1643 the pope reflected on the great number of holidays. The poor made many complaints to the pontifical government, that owing to these they could not always easily earn bread, and that on such holidays they abandoned themselves to vice, and especially to drunkenness. The pope thought fit to suppress a great many of these holidays, and he signed the constitution *Universa*, dated on the 13th of September, 1642, but not published till 1643. He also erected between Modena and Bologna a fortress, called, after himself, Fort Urban. He founded the College *De Propaganda Fide*, which was also called, after him, the *Urban College*. He added new lines to the castle of Saint Angelo, on the side which is towards the Leonine city ; he ordered the construction of the fine fountain in the Piazza di Spagna, and to him Rome also owes the fountain near the Barberini palace facing the *Trinità de' Monti*.

A treaty of peace was then concluded, by the intervention of France, between the pope, Edward Farnese duke of Parma, and the combined princes of Italy. Its preamble marks the usual desire of the popes :

“ His Holiness, Pope Urban VIII., having always with paternal care and

benign zeal desired and procured, by many actions and mediations, concord and union between Christian princes, and the tranquillity and repose which the people enjoy from such peace, has viewed with extreme displeasure the events which compelled him to take up arms, and involve his temporal subjects in sufferings and labors from which His Holiness has endeavored, and endeavors, with so much loving and ardent interest, to deliver the subjects of other Christian princes."

Ransoms were still paid ; for article nine of that treaty says : "All prisoners made in the present war, or on account of it, will be reciprocally delivered and restored on both sides, without paying any ransom or aught else for their liberty."

Subsequently, a supplementary treaty was signed, the seventh article of which says : "All jealousies and doubts which might cause suspicions and ill-will, shall cease on both sides." To which end, each was to demolish such fortresses as had been erected on account of the war that had just terminated.

These treaties were signed by Cardinal Donghi, the pope's plenipotentiary ; Cardinal Bichi, plenipotentiary of the queen regent of France ; John Nani, agent for Venice ; John Baptist de Gondi, minister from Tuscany ; and Hippolito Tassoni, minister from Modena.

Peace was thus concluded, and Urban hoped to enjoy its benefits ; but falling sick, he soon perceived that his illness was beyond remedy. He called for the succors of religion, and died on the 7th of July, 1644, at the age of seventy-seven years, after governing the Church twenty-one years, all but seven days. He was interred at the Vatican.*

* I will first give my own three medals :

1. VRBANVS VIII. PONT. MAX. The head of Urban, uncovered. RESERAVIT ET CLAVSIT. AN. IVB. MDCXXV. The holy door, closed in the year of the Jubilee.

2. S. PETRVS PRINCEPS APOSTOLORVM. AN. XVII. Saint Peter, surrounded by a glory.

3. TE MANE TE VESPERE. The pope kneeling near the helmeted archangel Michael, who holds scales in the right hand and a crucifix in the left ; at the feet of the pope, the tiara. The pope was created on the 29th of September, Saint Michael's day, and he had a great devotion to that archangel.

Du Molinet adds :

1. FACIT MIRABILIA MAGNA SOLVS. The Transfiguration.

2. FIAT PAX IN VIRTUTE TVA. Justice seated, and holding the scales in the left hand, and a drawn sword in the right. A memorial of the peace concluded between Spain, the duchy of Savoy, and France.

3. PONAT FINES SVOS PACEM. MDCXXV. See Psalm cxlvii. The pope, kneeling, surrounded by his cardinals and bishops, closes the holy door.

4. RESERAVIT ET CLAVSIT. AN. IVB. MDCXXV. The holy door, closed. This medal presents some variations not seen in No. 1.

5. ORA PRO ME BEATA MARTINA. Those words are engraved in the field, without any figure. Under the reign of Urban, the body of Saint Martina was discovered near the arch of Septimius Severus. This medal was then struck, and distributed by the pope. Urban himself composed the service in honor of that martyr.

Urban had enriched his nephews. Novaes affirms that he has read in a manuscript account of the death of that pope, that Urban when dying expressed his regret for such prodigality, and that the cardinal-nephew generously offered to restore the property.* We read in Feller:† "The

6. TRANQVILLITAS REDVX. A sitting female, holding an olive-branch. Struck on account of the peace.

7. HOMINIBVS BONÆ VOLVNTATIS. Pilgrims kneeling before the holy door.

8. CONSECRATA S. PETRI BASILICA. This Basilica having received the ornaments ordered for it, Urban consecrated it on the 18th of November, 1626. The following inscription was placed upon it: "Urban VIII., sovereign pontiff, in solemn ceremony consecrated the Vatican Basilica, founded by Constantine the Great, dedicated by the Blessed Sylvester, and raised in the most ample form of a temple by the religious magnificence of many pontiffs." In the middle of the field a cross, surrounded by rays.

9. S. PETRI BASILICA CONSECRATA. The pope, wearing the pontifical attire, consecrates the temple, surrounded by cardinals and prelates. In the exergue: ROMA.

10. ECCLESIAE B. VIRGINIS CONCEPTÆ P. O. IACTO LAPIDE. The pope, surrounded by cardinals standing, and by prelates kneeling, lays the first stone of a church. At the solicitation of the duke of Nevers and Mantua, the pope had created the order of *The Conception of the Blessed Virgin Mary*. Subsequently, the pope, to gratify his brother, the cardinal of Saint Onuphrius, who had belonged to the order of the Capuchins, laid the first stone of a church which was to be served by that order, and which was to be, under the rule of Saint Augustine, the chief place of the order of the Conception. The church was also to be under the patronage of Saint Michael and Saint Basil.

11. BEATO ANDREA INTER SANCTOS RELATO. In the exergue: ROMA. The Holy Father, on his throne, reads the act of the canonization of Saint Andrew Corsini. Above, the Holy Ghost. The Confession of Saint Peter, behind the throne. Two of the torsi columns, in bronze, which support the high altar, are distinctly seen. They are represented as they at present appear.

12. INSTRVCTA MVNITA PERFECTA. The tomb of Adrian converted into the castle of Saint Angelo, with its fortifications. In the exergue: M.DCXXIII. ROMA, cut in two by a shield representing the Barberini bees, placed, like the French *fleurs-de-lis*, two and one.

13. ELISABETH REGINA LVSTITANIE A DEO SANCTIFICATA. Elizabeth crowned, in a glory, in which the last three words of the legend come. Leo X. had decreed the sacred honors to that holy princess, and permitted her feast to be celebrated, but only in the diocese of Coimbra. The medal is of oval form, and seems to be intended to be suspended to rosaries. This queen distributed bread to the poor. As she one day met King Dennis, her husband, who would see what she was carrying, the bread was suddenly changed into roses. After the death of Dennis, she joined the order of the Poor Clares.

14. HINC RE PERFECTO. The newly fortified port of Civita Vecchia, with galleys. Facing the port are the antemurals begun by Trajan. Right and left, the bees of the Barberini. Struck on the completion of the works. *Res*, masculine, signifies profit, advantage, utility. Terence thus uses it.

15. ORNATO SS. PETRI ET PAVLI SEPVLCHRO. The high altar of Saint Peter's, with its twisted bronze columns.

16. MATER MISERICORD. SAVONÆ. The Virgin, crowned and with the glory, appears to a kneeling peasant.

17. MONAST. INCARNATIONIS IESV CHRISTI. Three stars, surrounded by a framing of leaves in the form of a heart; the letters V. C. F. E. Struck at the dedication of the church of the Incarnation, on the Quirinal, by Urban, and belonging to the Carmelite nuns, living under the rule of Saint Teresa.

18. AVCTA AD METAVRVM DITIONE. In the exergue: ROMA. Urban carried his frontier to the Metauro, which bounds the duchy of Urbino. In a crown of flowers, Pallas, or Rome, seated

* Novaes. vol. ix., p. 217.

† Feller, vol. v., p. 683.



moderation and prudence of Urban were especially remarkable in the affair of Galileo the philosopher, whose dogmatizing temper he restrained indeed, but without at all interfering with his opinion as an astronomical hypothesis. Galileo himself lauds the goodness of Urban's treatment of him, in which Urban imitated the conduct of Paul V."

and helmeted, holding in her right hand the spear, and in the left the model of the cathedral church of Castro Durante, founded by the pope in that duchy. This church, like Saint Peter's, has a great dome and two lateral domes.

19. *ÆDES BIBIANÆ RESTITVTÆ ET ORN.* In the exergue: ROMA. The façade of the church, with three doors.

20. *SECVRITAS PVBLICA.* Fort Urban, built near Bologna. Saint Petronius, the patron of Bologna, in the clouds, holding in his right hand the model of that city, and in the other hand the cross.

21. *ÆDE EXORNATA FACIE RESTITVTA. MDCXXXVI.* The ancient church of Saint Anastasia, built by Saint Damasus, and enriched with favors by Popes Hilary and Leo III. Having become ruinous, Urban restored it. At the arch of the tribune are two fine marble columns from Mount Penteles, near Athens. The Italians now call that marble *Porta santa*.

22. *ORNATO CONST. LAVACRO ET INSTAVRATO. ROMÆ.* In the field, the baptistery, ornamented nearly as it now is, with its octangular form, near the church of Saint John Lateran.

23. *DENVO EXÆDIFICATA.* The restored church of the pontiff Saint Caius, near the Nomentan gate.

24. *INCOLVMITATI PACIS.* Urban built an arsenal in the Vatican. Above the gate, in a shield, the three bees of the Barberini.

25. *SVBVRBANO RECESSV CONSTRVCTO. ROMÆ.* Castle Gandolfo, near Albano, still the country house of the popes during the season of *villegiatura*, though altered.

26. *MVNIFICENTIA ANT. BARBERINI S. R. E. CARD. CAM. SOC. IESV ANNO CENTESIMO PIE CELEBRATO SALVTIS. MDCXXXIX V KAL. OCTOBRIS.* A statue of Urban was erected, beneath which was the inscription: "To the mighty king of ages, the humble and grateful Society of Jesus; it places and renews its century in the brightness of thy countenance." Cardinal Antonio Barberini defrayed all the expenses of this centennial anniversary.

27. *VRBANO VIII. PONT. MAX. SEDENTE.* Jesus Christ in the fountain; in front of him, six little hills, like those in the arms of Sixtus V.

28. *ANNO DOMINI MDCXXXIX.* The words separated by bees. In the field, *MONS PIETATIS DE VRBE FVNDVIT*—*Urban founded the Mont de Pieté in the city.* The medal, without figure, was struck on the founding of the Mont de Pieté. The word *mont*, in this sense, implies *collection*, accumulation of the pledges on which people borrow money. When the word *monte* was first applied to desire to lend, on the deposit of pledges, the word *piety* was added to point out that it was from a motive of religion that this was done, and that money was thus lent to the poor to enable them patiently to await the moment when, *for a very trifling interest*, they could redeem their pledges.

29. *AD ÆDIVM PONTIFICVM SECVRITATEM.* Urban erected additions and walls to improve and defend the palace of Monte Cavallo. The palace appears on this medal, nearly as it now exists.

30. *FERRI FODINIS APERTIS.* In a wreath of laurel, workmen engaged in casting iron. Urban began to work old mines just discovered.

31. *VBERIORI ANNONÆ COMMODO.* Spacious granaries, near the baths of Diocletian, were repaired, which had formerly been built by Gregory XIII. and Paul V.

32. *FORTITER EGIT PRVDENTER PATITVR.* The principal virtues of Urban are represented in this medal—fortitude, prudence, and peace. Fortitude holds the sword, Prudence the mirror; while Peace has the olive-branch and palm.

33. *ADDITIS VRBI PROPVGNAVLIIS.* Urban erected ramparts from the Janiculum to the Tiber. Bonanni adds:

1. *IN VERBO TVO.* Saint Peter casting his nets.

We mention this in support of what we had previously said about that affair.

The sacred Latin poetry of Urban was printed at Paris, in the Louvre, under the title of, *Maffei Barberini Poëmata*. He also published Italian poems (Rome, 1640, 12mo). They consist of seventy sonnets, two hymns, and an ode. All those works are admired. Whatever prejudices some authors may have accredited against Urban, he was a great pope, and must have a place among those who have the most illustrated the papacy. His reign consists of lofty actions, and of ideas which strongly remind one of those of Sixtus V., Paul V., and Gregory XV., whom he seems to have taken as his models, and whom he endeavored to resemble, as far as the bent of his disposition and the strength of his mind would allow.

The Holy See was vacant one month and fifteen days.

2. TRANQVILLITAS REDVX. A female seated, and holding a dove with the olive-branch.
 3. DORICÆ VRBIS INCOLVMITATI. Struck on occasion of the founding of a lazaretto at Ancona. A colony of Dorians passed into the Peloponnesus, according to the statement of Strabo, and founded two States—the Lacedemonian and the Corinthian. Thence they entered Sicily; and then Italy, where they especially founded Ancona under Exchile, in the third year of the seventh Olympiad.
 4. TV DOMINVS ET MAGISTER. Often repeated with different types. Two of them have in the exergue: EXEMPLVM DEDI VOBIS.
 5. SALVA NOS DOMINE. See medals of Clement VIII.
 6. DOMINE QVIS SIMILIS TIBI. Engraved with a remarkable elegance and fineness; it is one of the most beautiful medals in the collection.
 7. XRS. REX VEN. IN PACE ET DEVS HOMO FACT. EST. The same figure as medal No. 6.
 8. REGINA ANGELORVM. The Blessed Virgin crowned, and with the glory, holding upon her knees the infant Jesus, who is giving the benediction.
 9. ECCE ANCILLA DOMINI. In the exergue: FLOREN. The archangel, kneeling; the Virgin crowned, and with the glory, pronouncing those holy words. The idea is from a picture in the church of the Annunciation, Florence.
 10. MONSTRA TE ESSE MATREM.
 11. ANNA COL. PHIL. COL. DVCIS PAL. ET. C. FILIA VXOR. THAD. BARB. VR. PRÆF. VRB. VIII. NEP. ET. C. ÆD. CÆLI REGINE IN SIGNV. SVÆ PIETATIS D. 1643. Words on a laurel wreath. Anne Colonna takes the title of *Prefectissa*—the prefecture being in the Colonna family; and through Anne, her husband, the duke of Paliano, had the title of *prefect of Rome*.
 12. S. BAS. MAG. S. NILVS S. BART. The three saints. Above, in a cloud, the column, the arms of the Colonna family. They are revered in the church of *Grotta Ferrata*, near Frascati. Saint Nilus, to avoid the Saracens, came from the country of the Brutians at Tusculum; Saint Bartholomew founded the monastery which still exists.
- Venuti gives a variation of medal 32.



240. INNOCENT X.—A. D. 1644.



INNOCENT X. (John Baptist Pamphili) was born at Rome, on the 7th of March, 1572, of a very noble family, originally of Gubbio.

Placed in the Roman college, the resort of the young Roman nobility, he applied himself to all the studies that could enhance the advantages of his birth. At twenty he was received as doctor, and soon after made consistorial advocate and auditor of the Rota, when his uncle, Jerome Pamphili, who had occupied that honorable magistracy, was created cardinal.

John Baptist filled the post during twenty-five years, and drew up with admirable learning more than seven hundred and fifty decisions, which the princes his heirs carefully preserve in their library.

Gregory XV., aware of his talents for business, sent him as nuncio to the court of Naples. Urban VIII. recalled him to accompany his nephew, Francis Barberini, whom he had accredited to France and Spain. In reward of his labors, John Baptist was promoted to the dignity of patriarch of Antioch, and made nuncio apostolic, resident at the court of Philip IV. On the 19th of November, 1629, the same pope invested him with the purple.

After the funeral of Pope Urban VIII., fifty-six cardinals went into conclave, on the 9th of August, 1644. As frequently happens, there were several members of the sacred college who were worthy of the papacy; the choice was difficult to make, and it was foreseen that the conclave would be long.

Cardinal Bentivoglio was first named; but the great heat so affected him that he was obliged to leave the conclave, and in a short time his life was even despaired of.

We insert here, as being the fit place for it, the speech addressed to the cardinals in conclave by the marquis de Saint Chamond, knight of the order of the king, councillor in the king's council, lieutenant-general of the king's army, and ambassador from France to Rome.

"Although minds have existed so perverse as to disobey the divine ordinances, there have never been any so perversely subtle as to imagine any thing greater than the Divinity; and if any, for a time, have given to their ignorance or to their malice that which they denied to their own reason, they have always been forced to humble themselves, and to confess the

great truth that there is an Almighty God who must be obeyed ; and, recognizing that he has in himself all the perfections of created things, without any share in their defects, they have adored him, exclaiming—*Oh omnia, et nihil omnium !*

“ It is true that we can only recognize that greatness by its effects ; but there is also a necessary connection between the work and the workman, so that we cannot reflect upon the excellence of the one without admiring the power of the other ; and especially in the greatest external work of God, which was not the creation of the world, but the salvation of souls, for the latter required a hundred times more years than the former did days.

“ But the great blessing of the redemption of man would not have been accomplished if Goodness had not, in the merits of his precious blood, formed a Church with a visible head, and promised to them both that they should endure as long as the world, to manifest to all men and in all times that it was not more miraculously established than it has been miraculously preserved against the efforts and the crimes of the greatest tyrants.

“ Eternal Providence ordained that for many centuries past that visible head of the Church, who was to hold the place of God here upon earth, should be selected from this august company ; and Pope Alexander III., by divine inspiration,* gave you the right to elect the pope. In that, Heaven has given to your eminences some portion of the infallibility of the Church, as you have received it in entirety for the providing of a good pastor for her, and for Christendom a common father. In which you should recognize your privilege and your greatness, which do not consist solely in the honor of the purple, which causes you to be recognized as princes of the Church, but chiefly in your being raised to a dignity the nearest to the divine, and in every respect the most elevated among men. To say all in a few words, your eminences have the power to crown him who has *the supreme power over all crowns*, and who has among his subjects all those whom nature or fortune has rendered masters of the world.

“ But this great prerogative is not given to you without responsibility ; it obliges your eminences to divest yourselves of all the passions of flesh and blood, and to retain only those of the glory of God and of the universal welfare of religion,—to give a great vicar to the one, and to the other a father as holy as the title he bears.

“ Your eminences should have no will but to submit to the voice of the Holy Ghost ; you should select from among this venerable company, him whom in your consciences you believe to be the best fitted for that great

* The ambassador was mistaken. Alexander specified that the elected pope must have a two-thirds vote, that is to say, forty out of sixty electors, thirty-six out of fifty-four, and so on.

responsibility, and whose conduct past and present can furnish reasonable evidence of what he will be and do in the future.

“The great affair of eternity should never yield to that of time, but it is very necessary to abridge the latter as much as possible, to avoid the difficulties that delays so generally produce when too great.

“Those at the elections of Martin I., Nicholas IV., Saint Celestine V., Clement V., John XXII., Urban VI., and Pius III., with an infinity of others, sufficiently prove that; and history shows that of all the schisms that have afflicted the Church from its beginning, the majority have originated in the vacancy of the See; for it is easy to divide children who are fatherless, and whose mother is gentle and kind, but not strict enough to enforce obedience.

“The perfect knowledge which your eminences possess of those disorders, added to the probity which usually marks all your actions, gives us reason to hope that we shall not witness in our own days that which we cannot without horror read of as having occurred in the days of our ancestors; and that to the other miseries of this age there will not be added that of partiality in your votes, but that you will be unanimous in giving them to a worthy candidate, for the love and honor of Him who alone should be the rule of our thoughts and the object of all our desires.

“Our kings, truly most Christian, have indisputably, more than all other monarchs, increased the revenues and the authority of the Church. A Charles* founded twenty bishoprics, or important mitred abbeys in Germany. Many other French kings have by their gifts increased the patrimony of Saint Peter, and all have taken up arms, and employed their power, when it was necessary, to defend the spouse of Jesus Christ against insult or against injury to her interests; it being certain that France has twenty-three times† delivered the Holy See from the wars and oppressions by which it was disturbed.

* Charlemagne.

† De Saint-Chamond will perhaps be deemed too bold a calculator. Yet he might have done France far ampler justice. I will rapidly examine the facts, supporting my statement by events recorded in this history of the popes; and it will be seen that the orator, as the Italians phrase it, who spoke in the name of his king, might have greatly added to his account of French devotion to the Holy See.

I give the dates as well as the facts, which it is easy to do with a book so full as this of both.

1. Under Ormisdas, towards 518, Clovis, king of the Franks, sent the pope a crown of gold; from which it resulted that the Goths, under their king Theodoric, dared not continue their persecutions of that pontiff.

2. Pelagius II., in 500, asked the support of France, and his request was zealously received by an eminently Catholic people.

3. France, in 1603, contributed to extend the authority of Gregory the Great, by accepting the reforms in discipline proposed by that great pontiff.

4. Under Saint Gregory III., in 732, Charles Martel ordered Luitprand, king of the Lombards,

"The sacred college may expect the assistance of my royal master on this occasion, and on all others, since he was born amidst miracles, victories, and triumph, and is a scion of the race of Saint Louis, and son of the most devout father and the most pious mother that ever bore the sceptre. Moreover, he is educated under the incomparable care of the queen regent, inimitable in all virtues, who is like none but herself, and who instructs him

to leave the new Roman State free. In the same year the battle of Poitiers entirely freed Italy, and increased the power of the pope.

5. The support given by Pepin to Rome in 782.

6. Saint Paul I., in 757, maintained the most friendly relations with Pepin. That king gave moral support to the Holy See.

7. In 773, under Adrian I., Charlemagne visited Rome. The same year, that monarch put an end to the authority of the Lombards, those tyrants of the Holy See.

8. In 781, a new journey of Charlemagne to Rome, and new favors under the same pope.

9. In 787, third journey of Charlemagne to Rome, under the same pope.

10. Saint Leo III. was received in France and restored to Rome by Charlemagne, in 799.

11. In 816 Stephen V. went to France to crown King Louis.

Charlemagne was declared emperor of the West in 800.

12. In 816, Pascal V. went to France, to crown, as emperor, Lothaire, son of Louis the Pious.

13. In 828, Gregory IV. was honorably received in France.

14. In 853, Saint Leo IV. crowned Louis II. as emperor.

15. In 872, John VIII. crowned as emperor Charles the Bold, with whom he then went to Paris. The empire having fallen into the hands of the German princes, France had for some time less opportunities to protect the Holy See, but those opportunities soon recurred.

16. In 1049, Pope Saint Leo IX. went to Rheims, whence he returned to Rome after consolidating the alliance between France and the Holy See.

17. In the dispute between Rome and Henry IV., king of Germany, Gregory VII. was always secure of the support of France.

18. In 1090, Urban II., a Frenchman, was constantly loved and supported by France.

19. Under Pascal II., who greatly contributed to the undertaking of the crusades, the taking of Jerusalem by the French greatly enhanced the glory and safety of Rome.

20. About 1120, Gelasius II. asked for shelter in France, from Louis VI.

21. In 1120, Callixtus II. obtained the same advantage in France.

22. In 1130, Innocent II. asked for shelter in France, and was received there, says Lessos, with great honor, by the same king, Louis VI.

But while speaking of these favors, we must not conceal the fact that they were occasionally interrupted by pontifical severities. Innocent II., on account of an act hostile to the legitimate interests of Peter de la Chatre, whom the pope had named archbishop of Bourges, laid an interdict on all the lands dependent on that archbishopric; but, under Celestine II., in 1143, peace was restored, and Louis VII., king of France, sent an embassy of obedience, whose arrival had for its first result the glorification of the Holy See, and the imposing of peace upon the enemies of the pope. Then His Holiness raised his hand, making the sign of Benediction towards France, and freed her from the interdict.

Such, well reckoned, are the signal services rendered to Rome by France. Having thus proved that de Chamond spoke truly, with his twenty-three instances, I might pause here, for the above-mentioned facts are all in various ways acts of protecting affection. But de Saint-Chamond spoke thus in 1644. He might have said much more. Alexander III., when he concluded a peace with Venice and the Emperor Frederic, owed the success of that negotiation to the good understanding established between him and Louis VIII., in the year 1164, when that king received His Holiness at Paris.

In the year 1215, Innocent III. saw his authority increased at Rome, because he had blessed the arms of Philip Augustus, conqueror, at Bovines, of an excommunicated emperor.

more earnestly upon no point than that of honoring and supporting the Church, and who in this can indicate to him no finer examples, whether ancient or modern, than those of his own royal house, and of more than sixty kings, his predecessors, who have always kept a great and close union with the Holy See. This union too gives duration to all things natural and moral, while the division that is opposed to the Church injures or entirely ruins them. And it is on that account that God, who is the essential principle of all happiness, is *one*, and in the unity of his essence he governs absolutely both heaven and earth, and orders us to hold ourselves united with him for his glory, and among ourselves for our own benefit.

“I am here, then, to assure you that their majesties will preserve inviolate that union with the Holy See, and with this holy and august company, and that they have no other desire than to see the chair of Saint Peter filled by a person worthy to occupy it. And to arrive at that end, and to maintain the freedom of the conclave, I offer your eminences the arms of their majesties; arms whose strength is better known by the mouths of their guns than by those of their ambassadors. I again offer you the power of France, that all other nations must love and fear, because she has always made her greatness consist in repressing the ambition of the proud, assisting the weak and the oppressed, and in everywhere rendering truth and justice mistresses of violence and of tyranny. But the power of France has chiefly been exerted in the defence of the Holy See, and in the ruin of kingdoms and empires which refused to recognize it. And as the king my master has this great advantage over all others, of being the eldest son of the Church which your eminences represent, I protest to you also that you will receive from his majesty the clearest proofs of his most sincere affection, and that he would rather lose his life, than you, if need be for it, shall lack his assistance.”

The conclave was deeply moved by this speech.

The nephews Barberini favored the election of Cardinal Sacchetti, and

Under Gregory IX., the attacks of Frederic II., in 1238, were neutralized by the power of Saint Louis.

Under Innocent IV. was held the Council of Lyons—the thirteenth general council. It was presided over by Innocent IV., and Saint Louis loaded His Holiness with honors and with marks of sincere veneration.

I leave the reader to continue the list of what France did for the Holy See in the course of the events from 1254 to 1644.

I have been anxious not to allow any doubt to exist as to the veracity of the French ambassador, Saint-Chamond, and to that end I have served him with my researches, my care, and my respect; or, at least, I have wished so to serve him, as I had the honor and happiness directly to serve, since 1814, other ambassadors, who, sent by the Most Christian kings Louis XVIII. and Charles X., evinced to the Holy See so much affection and disinterested good-will, and showed themselves, in so doing, such devoted sons of the holy Roman Church.

that choice was warmly supported by Cardinal Panciroli, his old friend; but Cardinal Albornoz, speaking in the name of twenty-six electors, opposed it. Cardinal Francis Cennini succeeded in obtaining twenty-six, and then twenty-eight votes. There remained in the conclave fifty-four cardinals; the two-thirds vote, therefore, required a candidate to have thirty-six.

Saint-Chamond had terminated his speech, which was generally approved. Cardinal Anthony Barberini determined to profit by the feeling; and as the ambassador seemed on more than one account to deserve the confidence of the sacred college, his eminence urged Saint-Chamond to demand the exclusion of Pamphili, who was attracting attention. The ambassador soon repented his interference, and on the representations of Cardinal Teodoli, he withdrew his exclusion. Application was then made to Anthony Barberini, who, from being the enemy of Pamphili, became his friend, and readily consented to the proposed election of that cardinal. These intrigues gave offence at Paris. Barberini, who had provoked the exclusion, was deprived of his title of Protector of France, and Saint-Chamond was recalled from his embassy for having consented to it. The merit of having suspended it proved insufficient to defend him against the envious. In this state of uncertainty the partisans of Cennini insensibly grew colder, and Pamphili obtained forty-nine votes,—that is to say, thirteen more than the two-thirds requisite to make the election canonical.

It will not be useless to allude to the joy felt by Rome on the accession of Cardinal Pamphili.

With reference to that election, the following account was published in France at that time.*

“The Holy Apostolic See being vacated by the death of Pope Urban VIII., of happy memory, when the bark of the Catholic Church was tossed by tempestuous winds, it has pleased the Divine mercy, at the end of forty-nine days of conclave, to console his people by the election of a Roman pontiff, aged seventy years, to which that dignity was as it were predicted to him when he was baptized by the name of John Baptist.†

“The father of His Holiness was Camillus Pamphilus, Roman, and his mother Mary di Boufale, a Roman lady of an ancient family, noble, esteemed and loved in all times by the Roman people, having only one nephew, also named Camillus, twenty-four years of age, and the follower and imitator of his ancestors in all their noble, wise, and virtuous qualities, son of the illus-

* At Paris, by Peter Targa, printer to the archbishopric of Paris, at the Golden Sun, Saint Victor street, Paris.

† The name was not without its own signification; I will say with Saint Ambrose, as it can be explained by an anagram: *Joannes Baptista Pamphilus altis in spinis Papatum habeo*. And in this time this ought to show how much need the world, teeming with thick and thorny bushes, had need of such a Moses, and of such a universal pastor of our mother, Holy Church.

trious Pamphilus, brother-german of His Holiness and of Olympia, of the house of Maldachini and Gualtieri, both noble, and long resident in the city of Viterbo.

“His Holiness, before his pontificate, filled posts in the holy Church; he rose by continual vigils and studies. In the twenty-third year of his age, he was received as doctor, and began, with general admiration, to exercise the office of advocate in the court of Rome; and in the year 1600, he was made consistorial advocate by Clement VIII., a very learned pope, who, having learned the value of John Baptist Pamphili, honored him, in 1604, with the office of auditor of the Rota, which became vacant by the promotion to the cardinalate of his uncle, Jerome Pamphili, who was vicar and governor of Rome.

“In the year 1621, Gregory XV., of happy memory, sent him as nuncio to Naples, where he behaved generously, and merited great praise; and by Pope Urban VIII., in the year 1626, he was sent as datary to Cardinal Barberini, legate in France. In the following year he had the like post in his legation in Spain, where, with the title of Patriarch of Antioch, he remained as nuncio in ordinary with great justice and piety, and to the satisfaction not only of the pope, but also His Catholic Majesty, and all the kingdom; whence he was promoted to the dignity of cardinal, on the 30th of August, 1627, having been kept *in petto* by His Holiness, who afterwards declared him cardinal of the title of Saint Eusebius, on the 19th of November, 1629. In the year 1630, having returned to France, to the great gratification of all the court, he was employed in various congregations, on the highest and most difficult business of holy Church, and especially in the congregations of sacred Ceremonies, the council, the Holy Office, the Propaganda, Ecclesiastical Immunity, jurisdictional controversies, State, and others.

“His election took place on the 15th of September of the year 1644, on Thursday, about nine in the morning, by ballot and *accesso*. He took the name of Innocent X., having been reared by Cardinal Innocent del Bufalo, his relative, who was nuncio in France.

“The adoration having been made, the musicians of the papal chapel chanted *Ecce Sacerdos Magnus*, and Cardinal Francis Barberini, instead of the prince-cardinal of Tuscany, first deacon, to whom that duty belonged, but who was ill, took the cross to the balcony, where the benediction is given, to announce to the people that a new pope was created. This was confirmed by the thunder of the guns of the castle of Saint Angelo, and immediately all the bells of all the quarters of Rome caused the populace, who awaited the news, to thrill with joy, and to shout with one voice, *Live Pope Innocent X.!* And, hastening in crowds to see their prince, they gathered so numerously, that Duke Savelli, marshal of the Church, for the safety of the conclave, and for the peace of the city, ordered the barrier to

be closed, to keep back that rush of people who, impatient in their joy, impetuously rushed towards the Vatican palace.

“His Holiness, attired in his pontificals, and having the mitre on his head, was carried in a chair from his palace to Saint Peter’s; and then, the Swiss guard having signalized that fact to the castle of Saint Angelo, the cannons and other artillery were discharged more rapidly than ever, which caused more rejoicing in the hearts of the people. Then His Holiness, seated upon the great seat of the apostles, was adored by forty-eight cardinals, who first kissed his slipper and then his hand, and afterwards embraced him, the other infirm cardinals being unable to attend.

“The square of Saint Peter’s being full of soldiers, both cavalry and infantry, drawn up in fine order, the people, above forty thousand in number, shouting, Live Pope Innocent X.! and His Holiness with gentle countenance and paternal words, and with tearful eyes that attested the tenderness of his heart, giving the universal benediction, followed by an acclamation that shook the welkin. And on the same evening, and the two following evenings, the castle of Saint Angelo discharged its artillery, and the whole city, by its illuminations, bonfires, and fireworks, gave perfect tokens of its joy. A beautiful sight was presented by the squares of Navona and Pasquin, which are by the Pamphili palace, where His Holiness lived when he was cardinal. Then all the surrounding palaces, especially those of the Orsini, of Don Maria Pamphili, and of the Marquis Tassi, put torches and wax-lights in their windows; and at the palace of the Orsini, beside the fine Navona square, there was upon the lodge a great papal tiara, in high relief, gilded, and beneath, the three *fleurs-de-lis*, and the dove with the olive-branch in its beak, which are the arms of His Holiness, together with a fine array of lights, which resembled so many twinkling stars. The same was done in the palace of the dukes of Parma and Florence, and many other of the Roman palaces, and the lodgings of the ambassadors of the kings and princes, which for three nights rivalled in splendor the moon at her full.

“Some particulars must be mentioned that had been noticed as presaging the exaltation of Cardinal John Baptist Pamphili to the pontificate,—namely, that in the casual allotment of the cells or dormitories of the members of the conclave, that of His Holiness was opposite to the lodge of the general benediction; and during the said conclave a dove was seen to circle round the cell of Cardinal Pamphili, as was seen and pondered by many; and it was even seen to alight upon the portico and drink from the fountain, calling to mind the arms of His Holiness, a dove, and the dove of Noe’s ark, sent forth to ascertain the state of the deluge, and returning with the olive-branch in its beak, the emblem of peace. To which end, peace, His Holiness directed his first cares, for to that end he appointed eminent cardinals



INNOCENT XI.

as legates from the Holy See,—Spada, to the Most Christian king; Sacchetti, to the Catholic king, and Barberini to the emperor; and he intrusted the government of Rome to one of his own relations.

“Those selections excite the hope that His Holiness, filled with a great zeal, will elevate the condition of the Catholic Church, pacifying the monarchs and all the princes, and giving them the opportunity to devote their arms and their duties to the service of God and to the extirpation of the enemies of that cross upon which the price of their salvation and the salvation of all men was so charitably and so bitterly paid.

The following epigram tells, in a few words, many things about the arms of His Holiness :

‘Stemma refert pacem, cuctorum nomen amorem
Spondet; præstabit pastor utrumque novus.’*

“On the 4th of October, the pope was crowned by Cardinal de Medici, first deacon; and on the 23d of November, His Holiness took possession of Saint John Lateran. On that occasion, gold and silver medals were distributed to the cardinals and the Roman princes, with the Immaculate Conception, and these words in the exergue: *Unde venit auxilium mihi.*”

The anxieties attendant on a newly acquired authority forbade all delay in the attentions of a pontiff zealous for religion.

In the month of December, 1640, a revolution broke out in Portugal. Urban VIII. had anxiously watched the course of events, his health precluding further steps. What Philip II. styled “the petty kingdom of Portugal,” was wrested in a moment, and without a battle, from Philip IV. But what is lost by blunders and mal-administration ceases to be little in the eyes of vanity, which is more affected by the feeling of having lost than by the value of the thing itself. Spain strained every nerve to prevent the recognition of the house of Braganza as rulers of Portugal. At Rome, especially, Spain haughtily demanded that John IV., the new king, should be left to his own resources; that no bishops presented by him should be instituted; nay more, that an interdict should be issued, especially against Lisbon. Innocent, however, was not inclined to such violent proceedings, and he calmly replied in the words of Richelieu’s testament, referring to the French bishops: “There are many things to be considered on that question.” As we meet the steps taken by King John IV., and the threats of the cabinet of Madrid, we shall give an account of the events, as far as they concern the power of the pontificate.

By his second constitution,† Innocent confirmed the decree of the congregation of Ceremonies, requiring the cardinals, however otherwise elevated

* Manuscript in the imperial library. Saint Germain, No. 873.

† *Bull. Rom.*, vol. iv., p. 228.

in dignity or lineage, to confine themselves simply to the title of cardinal, without any addition of secular dignity, and directing them to be addressed only as *Eminence*, and not to surmount their arms with any ducal or royal crown, but only with the cardinal's hat.

We mentioned, in our life of Urban VIII., that an inscription relating to the reception given by the Venetians to Pope Alexander III. had been removed by order of Urban VIII. Innocent X., anxious to consolidate universal peace, restored the inscription, which honors a victory gained by the Venetians over the son of Frederic. That victory resulted in a treaty of concord made with Frederic, who had so much persecuted Alexander III. In 1646, the celebrated revolt, headed by Massaniello, or Tomaso Aniello, broke out in Naples. Innocent was advised to profit by the event to send troops into Naples, and recover the old sovereignty, which had devolved upon the Holy See. Innocent magnanimously replied that it would ill become the common father of Christendom to aggravate the misfortune of a neighbor; and he immediately sent to the viceroy thirty thousand *doppie d'oro*, and gave him permission to levy troops in the Ecclesiastical States, assuring him, at the same time, that the Holy See would faithfully defend the interests of the Catholic king.

That assurance and aid, added to the inexperience of the leader of the revolt, and to the lack of courage among the foreigners who had plotted it, assisted the viceroy in warding off the worse evils that had threatened, and shortly to recover his authority.

In his third promotion, Innocent named only one cardinal, John Casimir, of Poland, son of King Sigismund III. At thirty years of age he had become a religious of the Society of Jesus, and four years later, without having anticipated it, he was appointed cardinal-deacon. It was believed at the time that it was in compliance with the solicitation of Spain. The brother of John Casimir, Wladislas, king of Poland, having died without children, John Casimir renounced the hat in 1648, as, being only a cardinal-deacon, he had a right to do, and he married Mary de Gonzaga, daughter of the duke of Mantua, and widow of John Casimir's brother, Wladislas. John abdicated the throne after occupying it twenty years, and retired to France. He was there kindly received by Louis XIV., who gave him the revenues of the abbey of Saint Germain des Près, where he died in 1672 (some affirm that he died at Nevers), at the age of seventy-six. He gained victories over the Russians and the Swedes, and displayed his zeal against the Socinians.*

* Socinus, born at Siena in 1525, was the founder of the Socinians or Unitarians. They regard the Eternal Father as the one sole God, and hold Jesus Christ to have been a man, superior indeed to other men, but merely a master and model, not a mediator. The Socinians, like the other sects of the time, denied a visible Church, the sacraments, original sin, &c. John Casimir expelled them from Poland in 1658.

In 1647, the high dignity of senator being vacant at Rome, the pope granted it to James Inghirami, a Tuscan noble, and granted him new privileges, which made that rank equal to that of a prince. At the same time, the pope gave the conservators of the Roman people the right to sit on the third step of the pontiff's throne, at his right.

The institute of the regular clerks of the Christian doctrine, which had been founded by the Blessed Cæsar de Bus, was confirmed by Innocent, who separated it from the Somascho congregation, to which it had been united. The decree arranged that, on the division, the regular clerks should return to the secular condition. He confirmed the congregation of the Noble Widows of Dole, instituted to extend devotion to the Immaculate Conception of the Mother of God.

He next suppressed two ancient orders—Saint Basil of the Armenians and the Good Jesus of Ravenna, because they had deviated from their primitive rule.

On the 12th of May, Innocent X. published a brief on the controversy that had arisen between the bishop of Puebla, in Mexico, and the Fathers of the Society of Jesus.*

The bull commences thus :

“Innocent X., pope. For a perpetual memorial.

“Understanding that differences have arisen between our venerable brother John, bishop of Puebla, on the one hand, and our beloved sons the regular clerks of the Society of Jesus on the other, with respect to the office of preaching the word of God in the churches of the said regular clerks, only by asking for the benediction of the bishop, and also in other churches than their own, &c., &c. His Holiness referred the examination of that business to a congregation of cardinals.

“That congregation has decided that the said religious, in the city and diocese of Puebla, could not hear the confessions of secular persons without the approbation of the bishop of the diocese, nor preach the word of God in the churches of their orders without first obtaining the said bishop's benediction ; and in the other churches, without previously obtaining his leave and license, nor even in the churches of their own order against the bishop's prohibition ; and that the bishop, as delegated by the Apostolic See, can punish, even by ecclesiastical censures, any such contraventions, in virtue of the bull of Pope Gregory XV., *Inscrutabili Dei Providentia*.

“Moreover, the holy congregation seriously exhorts in the Lord, and warns the said bishop, that, remembering Christian gentleness, he should act with paternal affection towards the Society of Jesus, which, according

* That brief was printed at Paris, with a translation opposite, by Antoine Vitré, 8vo, 1648.

to its laudable institution, has so untiringly and so usefully labored in and for the Church. The said bishop should recognize in that society a most useful assistant in conducting his church, treat it with favor, and resume his primitive good-will towards it. He will do this, because the sacred congregation knows his zeal, his piety, and his vigilance."

The remainder of the bull resolved various doubts which had been proposed by the parties.

On the 7th of October the pope made a promotion of cardinals, and gave the purple to Michael Mazarin, of the Dominican order, and brother of the celebrated cardinal of the same name, who was then prime minister of France.

Meantime, on the 24th of October, 1648, peace was signed at Munster, between the Empire, France, and Sweden.* By his nineteenth constitution (*Bullarium Romanum*, vol. vi., p. 269), the pope manifested his disapproval of some of the articles of that peace. But we are called upon to consider the condition of affairs in England and Ireland, and of the part taken by the Holy See in the latter country.

[We have detailed at length the marriage of Henrietta Maria to Charles I. of England, and the admirable counsels addressed to her by her mother. Catholicity had indulged in the fondest hopes from this union between the daughter of the converted Henry IV. and the grandson of Mary, queen of Scots, who could not be insensible to the influence of the true faith in presence of such piety in his wife and heroism in his ancestor.

But the Reformation in England, the work of the crown and the nobility, had assumed a form unpalatable to the masses. Suddenly a revolt began, at once religious and political. Charles endeavored in vain to obtain a parliament to second his views, but a civil war ensued. Fleeing to Scotland, he was delivered up to the parliament, arraigned before a new-made court, condemned to death, and executed.

Amid this terrible period, the queen had taken refuge in France, with her two eldest children, after displaying on the throne every example of virtue, and affording, by her very presence for many years, a protection which the Catholics had long needed.

Meanwhile, Ireland was in a position which required the most anxious solicitude of the Holy Father. There the Catholics of English as well as of Irish origin had formed a confederation, known as the Confederation of Kilkenny, to maintain their rights. A general assembly of the Irish nobility,

* After a thirty years' war, two treaties of peace were signed in 1648—one at Munster and the other at Osnabruck; collectively, they are generally spoken of as the Peace of Westphalia. The kings of France and Sweden were the principal promoters of that peace, which secured the electoral rights and the liberty of the electors, the princes, and the States of the empire. During some years, those rights had greatly been infringed upon.

clergy, and people, met at Kilkenny, on the 24th of October, 1642, and actually assumed the government. For a time, Ireland rose to her position as a State. France, influenced by the queen of England, was unfriendly to the movement. Charles used but too successfully means to win and divide them. Pope Urban VIII. had sent Father Scarampi, of the Oratory, with money and arms. This envoy, on learning the position of affairs, joined those who advocated total independence.

In 1644, Belling, the secretary of the supreme council, was sent to Rome, where he arrived about the end of February, 1645, and was presented by Father Luke Wadding to the then sovereign pontiff, Innocent X., by whom he was received as the accredited envoy of the confederate Catholics. On receiving his report of the state of Irish affairs, the pope resolved to send an envoy to Ireland qualified with the powers of nuncio extraordinary; and chose for that purpose John Baptist Rinuccini, archbishop of Fermo. This distinguished prelate set out on his arduous mission early in 1645, and arrived in Paris, where he was detained about three months, chiefly by negotiations with the English queen, then at Saint Germain.

Cardinal Mazarin was but little inclined to expedite the journey of the papal envoy, although he gave him twenty thousand livres for the use of the Irish, and five thousand more to fit out a ship for his expedition. At Rochelle the nuncio purchased a frigate of twenty-six guns, called the *San Pietro*, in which he embarked at Saint Martin, in the Isle of Rhé, with a retinue of twenty-six Italians, several Irish officers, and the secretary, Belling. He took with him a large quantity of arms and warlike stores, among the rest, two thousand muskets and cartouch-belts, four thousand swords, two thousand pike-heads, four hundred brace of pistols, and twenty thousand pounds of powder. In addition to the money furnished by the pope, Father Wadding had given a sum of thirty-six thousand dollars. The *San Pietro* was chased by some parliamentary cruisers on her passage; but a fire having broken out, providentially, on board a large vessel which was foremost in pursuit, and which was thus obliged to slacken sail, the frigate anchored safely in the bay of Kenmare on the 21st of October, 1645. On landing, the nuncio took up his abode in a shepherd's hut, where he celebrated Mass, surrounded by peasantry from the neighboring mountains. The nuncio then proceeded to Kilkenny, where he was received with great honor by many thousands of the gentry and people. He entered the city riding on a richly caparisoned horse, and wearing the pontifical hat and cape as insignia of his office, while the secular and regular clergy walked in processional order before him, preceded by their several standard-bearers. At the entrance to the old cathedral of Saint Canice, he was received by the venerable David Rothe, bishop of Ossory, who was too feeble to walk in the procession, and then advancing to the altar, he intoned the *Te Deum*, after

the chanting of which he pronounced a blessing on the vast congregation. After the religious ceremony, he was received in the castle by the general assembly, the archbishops of Dublin and Cashel meeting him at the foot of the grand staircase, and Lord Mountgarret, president of the assembly, receiving him standing, but without advancing a step from his chair; and a seat, richly decorated with crimson damask, was fixed for him at the president's right hand, yet so that it was difficult to say which of the seats occupied the centre. The nuncio then addressed the president in Latin, declaring the object of his mission, which was: 'To sustain the king, then so perilously circumstanced; but above all, to rescue from pains and penalties the people of Ireland, and to assist them in securing the free and public exercise of the Catholic religion, and the restoration of the churches and church property, of which fraud and violence had so long deprived their rightful inheritors.'

The nuncio was no party to the unwise treaty of March 28. It left wholly untouched the great objects on which he had fixed his mind—the restoration of the Catholic Church to its legitimate position, and the deliverance of the Irish people from the degradation to which he saw them reduced; and he had before this induced nine of the bishops to sign a protest against any arrangement with Ormond or the king that would not guaranty the maintenance of the Catholic religion.

The nuncio then became, in fact, the virtual head of the national party in Ireland. Under the influence of his presence, Bunratty was taken, and Owen Roe O'Neill, put at the head of an army, marched out to annihilate Monroe at Benburb.

Meanwhile, Pope Innocent X., misled by the treaty of March, was about to sign a treaty with the queen of England, when Charles repudiated that signed in his name. The nuncio still struggled to nerve the Irish leaders to union and vigor, but they lent too credulous an ear to the false and deceitful proposals of Charles and his servants, and the golden opportunity was lost.

Rinuccini endeavored to uphold Owen Roe O'Neill by excommunicating all who took part in a suicidal truce; but all was lost, and on the 23d of February, 1649, he embarked at Galway, in his own frigate, to return to Rome.

His mission was unsuccessful, but its failure is to be attributed to the recreant and temporizing party who, from the very day when they found themselves involved in the war, were prepared to sacrifice the principles for which the country had taken up arms. Rinuccini desired to raise the Catholic Church in Ireland to the dignity to which it was entitled, and the native race of Ireland to the social state for which he saw them fitted. These were the principles for which he contended. The only fault with which

even his enemies could charge him was, that he was uncompromising. And for the rest, it can hardly be denied that on his side was all that the confederation could boast of as chivalrous, high-minded, and national; while on that of the Ormondists we find intrigue, incapacity, and cowardice.*]

Notwithstanding the benefits promised by the treaty of Westphalia, Rome was tormented by seditions which had broken out at Fermo. It was necessary to levy troops without delay, and as the germ of discontent might possibly reach the capital, the pope was obliged to raise troops and put down sedition.

At the end of that year, 1649, as the most terrible misfortunes are not allowed to interrupt the great solemnities of the Catholic Church, Innocent opened the holy door. An immense concourse of pilgrims arrived.

In the year 1650, the pope celebrated the thirteenth Jubilee of the Holy Year, which he had published on the 4th of May, 1649. Notwithstanding the war between France and Spain, pilgrims reached Rome in great numbers. On the 15th of March, two Tuscan princes, Mathias and Leopold, brothers of the grand duke of Tuscany, arrived. The Princess Mary of Savoy received the hospitality of the ladies of *Tor de' Specchi*, and the duke of Mirandola was welcomed at the novitiate of the Jesuits.

Donna Olympia, sister-in-law of the pontiff, prioress of the Hospital of the Trinity, in order to procure aid for that institution, selected forty-two ladies who were to collect, during the year, alms to meet the immense expenses occasioned by the Jubilee. In consequence, the hospital was enabled to receive, lodge, and maintain, for three days each, two hundred and twenty-six thousand seven hundred and eleven men, and eighty-one thousand eight hundred and twenty-two women. The Holy Father also sent to that hospital a considerable sum from his own treasury.

Innocent continued to embellish Saint John Lateran and its approaches; he also assigned funds for perfecting the interior of Saint Peter's; he laid the floor of the naves with precious marbles, and he ornamented the chapels with bas-reliefs by the most skilful masters. In consequence of some abuse, he forbade the use of tobacco or snuff in the chapels, in the sacristy, or in the portico of Saint John Lateran. Seventy-five years later Benedict XIII. modified that prohibition, which Urban VIII. had especially extended to the cathedral of Seville.

Innocent determined to share the glories of Sixtus V., by erecting in the Piazza Navona an obelisk of red granite adorned with hieroglyphics, fifty-one feet high, which Caracalla had brought from Egypt and set up at the baths. At the corners of the pedestal were four colossal statues by Bernini,

* The important mission of the papal nuncio in Ireland, we give from *Haverty's Ireland*, in place of details of the death of Charles I., not relevant in a history of the popes.

representing the four great rivers of the world. The Ganges, with his oar, was sculptured by Claude, a Frenchman ; the Nile, by Anthony Fancelli ; the La Plata, by Francis Baralta ; the Danube, the best of all, by Andrew the Lombard. Four streams of the Aqua Vergine, to correspond with the rivers, issue from the pedestal. On the same square are five other fountains, constructed by the celebrated Chevalier Bernini.

In front of the capitol, on one side, was the palace built by Michael Angelo. Innocent ordered a corresponding wing on the other side, after the same design. It was necessary to level a hill near the church of Araceli. The senate in gratitude caused a bronze statue of the pope to be placed in the capitol, with an elegant inscription composed by the Jesuit William Dandini. It enumerated the principal benefits that the Romans had received from Innocent, and cited the monuments which the eternal city owed to him.

We will now rapidly mention the most important services rendered by that pontiff to the Church ;—namely, the sums of money sent to Ireland for the defence of the Catholics ; to the island of Malta and the Knights of Saint John, who were thus timely succored against the Turks ; Dalmatia, belonging to the Venetians, saved from the Mussulman arms ; the possession of Poland, confirmed in the hands of King Wladislas ; the conversion, in Germany, of Edward, count palatine ; of Oderic, duke of Wurtemberg ; of the duke of Alsace Lunenburg ; of Ernest and Eleonora, landgraves of Hesse ; of Wolfgang Frederic de Hoffman, baron of Moravia ; and of Herard, count of Truchsess.*

Meantime, the troubles excited by the book of Jansenius still continued in France. There was abundant writing on both sides upon that subject. At the end of July, 1649, the syndic of the Faculty of Paris presented to the assembly six propositions extracted from that book, which he stated to be the cause of all the perturbation. These propositions were examined by nine doctors, deputed from the Sorbonne, and they declared them to deserve the severest censures. Louis Garin de Saint Amour alone opposed that decision. He induced sixty doctors to join his party, and, with them, appealed to the parliament. But the commissioners, not recognizing the parliament as competent judges in such a matter, had recourse to the tribunal of the bishops of France.

Eighty-five prelates of that kingdom, to whom three others were added, received the cause from the commissioners, and reduced to five the six propositions of which the syndic had complained ; and by a letter of the 12th of April, 1651, transmitted them to the pope, in order that the successor of Saint Peter, they said, might teach the universal Church what to

* See Father Krauss, *Exempla convers. ad fid. Cathol.*

think of those five propositions. The disciples of Arnould and the abettors of Jansenius sent four deputies to Rome to prevent the condemnation of the five propositions, and the French bishops also sent their deputies to solicit the condemnation.

The following are the five propositions which caused so much anxiety and trouble in the Church.

1. Some of the divine precepts are impossible to the just, who desire and endeavor to observe them according to their strength, because these just men lack the grace which would render those precepts possible.

2. In the corrupt state of nature, interior grace is never resisted.

3. To merit or not to merit, in the corrupt state of nature, it is not necessary for man to have a liberty exempt from the necessity of operating, but a liberty exempt from all violence suffices.

4. The semi-Pelagians admitted the necessity of an interior and prompting grace for each particular action, even for the principle of the faith; and they were heretics precisely because they maintained that that grace was of such a nature that the will of man could either resist or obey it.

5. It is an error of the semi-Pelagians to say that Christ shed his blood or died for all men without exception.*

On the 20th of April, 1651, Innocent named a congregation consisting of the most learned men in Rome, and of all the Catholic schools of the various religious orders.

They heard the parties, and after an examination of some months, before the cardinals, after ten or eleven congregations before the pope of three or four hours each, between the 10th of March and the 7th of July, 1652 (they even consented to hear once more doctors, who arrived from France, in defence of Jansenius), the cardinals and the consultors, excepting the two Dominicans, with Wadding, the Observantine Franciscan, and Visconti,† procurator-general of the Augustinians, and five others who, before the discussion ended, were defenders of Jansenius, pronounced that the five propositions were entirely contrary to the Catholic faith. Innocent then condemned them on the 31st of May, 1653, by his constitution 167, *Cum occasione*. The ambassador of France incessantly urged, in the name of his master, an absolute decision.

While the consultors mentioned above were engaged in such labors, eleven French bishops, headed by de Gondrin, archbishop of Sens, all of whom were deluded by the Jansenists, wrote to the Holy Father a letter which was presented by Saint Amour. In that letter it was maintained that this cause should be referred to the bishops of France, to judge it in

* See the *History of the Five Propositions*. (Liege, 1699, two vols., 8vo.)

† Novaes, vol. x., p. 37. Also the *History of the Five Propositions*, book i., p. 88.

the first instance, or else postpone its consideration to a more fitting season ; but eighty-five bishops, their colleagues, had written to the pope, saying that it was the custom to submit to the pope all important causes, and that the mischief done in France during ten years was their just reason for having recourse to the judgment of the Holy See, which they confessed to be infallible. The Jansenists finding themselves condemned, resorted to the wretched consolation of insulting their judges, and calumniating the pious men who had always opposed them.

That this pontifical bull might be received in his kingdom, the government of the Most Christian king ordered a convocation at Paris of all the bishops who were then in that city or its neighborhood ; and to hasten the acceptance of the bull, the king, on the 4th of July, 1653, dispatched letters patent* addressed to all the bishops of France.

On the 11th of July, thirty bishops assembled in the palace of Cardinal Mazarin. Among them were the bishops of Chalons, Valence, and Grasse, three of those who had written to the Holy Father in favor of the five propositions. All, including these three bishops, accepted the bull of Pope Innocent, and on the 15th of the same month wrote to the Holy Father a letter worthy of the learning, the piety, and the zeal in which they congratulated His Holiness on having given a bull so useful to the Church, and confessed that Saint Peter spoke by the mouth of the pontiff.

It was the first time since the Council of Bâle that the French, united in a solemn act, confessed that the pope, without the council, could dictate definitions of the faith to the Christian world. On the same day they dispatched their declaration to the other bishops who conformed to the determination of their colleagues.

It seemed that the decision of the head of the Church, the support of the French government, and the authority of the French bishops, must needs vanquish the resistance of the Jansenists ; but it was not so.

The bishop of Rennes had taken the bull to the Sorbonne on the 1st of August, and it had been registered there. A month afterwards the same theological faculty declared that if any one of its members should defend any of the condemned propositions, he would be excluded from that body and struck off the list of doctors.

Notwithstanding so many uniform opinions, the archbishop of Sens, on the 23d of September, 1653, the bishop of Comminges, on the 10th of October, and the bishop of Beauvais, on the 12th of November, published three pastorals which attacked the bull. The Holy Father immediately named bishops to proceed against those three bishops. Cardinal Mazarin

* Monseigneur Lafitteau says these were the first letters patent by which the Most Christian king supported a dogmatic bull of the Holy See. He mistakes, similar ones had previously appeared.

committed the same affair to the judgment of twelve bishops, and the archbishop of Sens promised to submit to another assembly of bishops which assembled on an occasion of which we are about to speak.

The Jansenists, desiring to avoid the apostolic censure, resorted to another stratagem—to confess, on the one hand, that the five propositions, considered in themselves, were justly condemned; but they maintained that, on the other hand, they were not found in the book of Jansenius, and that they were not condemned in the sense of that same book. On the 9th of March, 1654, thirty-eight bishops assembled at the Louvre, and named eight commissioners to examine the book of Jansenius in regard to the five propositions.

After ten sessions, the assembly declared, on the 28th of March, that the five propositions *did* exist in the book of Jansenius, and that they had been condemned in the sense of that book.

The archbishop of Sens and the bishop of Comminges then submitted and signed the decision. On this it was sent to Pope Innocent, who, on the 25th of April, again condemned the book of Jansenius, as well as all books up to that time published in its defence; and further, by a brief of the 29th of September, he thanked the French bishops for the excellent deliberations of their assembly, and declared that he had condemned in the five propositions the book of Jansenius, which was contained in the book entitled *Augustinus*.

Still, Anthony Arnould would not yield. On the 10th of July he published a letter addressed to a duke and peer, in which he maintained that Jansenius had not taught the condemned propositions; but, to repress that resistance, one hundred and thirty doctors of the Sorbonne condemned that letter, and decided that if within fifteen days Arnould did not retract his erroneous opinion and sign their censure, he should be degraded from the doctorate and excluded from the Sorbonne.

This took place on the 31st of January, in consequence of his refusal to submit to the decisions of Rome, because he kept up troubles in the Sorbonne, and because he had printed the condemned propositions. The same penalty was applied to seventy other doctors, who, like Arnould, would not recognize the censure of the Sorbonne; which then, to render its decree permanent, decided that no one should be admitted to any of its degrees who did not recognize that decree. Under the reign of the succeeding pope,* we shall see the progress of the Jansenist heresy.

Amidst the disturbances caused by the Jansenists, the pope again condemned the book entitled, *The Greatness of the Roman Church, established on the authority of Saint Peter and Saint Paul, and justified by the Doctrine of*

* Novaes, x., p. 41.

the Popes and of the Councils, and by the Tradition of all Ages (1645, 4to). The now-forgotten author, Martin de Barcos, maintained that Saint Paul was equal to the Prince of the Apostles in the administration of the Church, and not at all subordinate to Saint Peter, as to the sovereign pontificate. At the same time the Holy Father, not content with having condemned the wild doctrine, ordered learned religious to refute it.

On the 9th of February, 1652, Innocent had given the purple to John Francis Paul de Gondi, known in history as Cardinal de Retz ; to Dominic Pimentel, minister from Spain to Rome ; to Fabian Chigi, subsequently pope under the name of Alexander VII. ; to John Jerome Lomellini, a Genoese ; Louis Alexander Omodei, a Milanese ; Pietro Ottoboni, subsequently pope under the name of Alexander VIII. ; Marcellus Santa Croce, a Roman ; Frederic of Hesse, of the family of the landgraves, converted from Lutheranism ; and Charles Barberini, grand-nephew of Urban VIII.

In 1653, the pope recalled from Paris the nuncio, Monsignor Bagni, who had made himself loved and esteemed there by his prudent zeal, distinguished politeness, and liberal alms.

Monsignor Corsini was sent to replace him ; but he was not received, and it was not until after long explanations that he was admitted into France, where his wit, his profound knowledge, and the purity of his accent, at once Tuscan and Roman, speedily made him acceptable.

At the close of 1654, Innocent fell ill. Some time after, when the pope was convalescent, the Roman people hoped that the pope would withdraw from his sister-in-law, Donna Olympia, the favor which she had too extensively enjoyed. With reference to her abuse of it, Novaes says : "If the Church had no cause to complain of the pontiff, Innocent X., who was really deserving of remembrance on account of his excellent qualities, it had room to complain of Donna Olympia, who seemed in her use of his favor to aim at obscuring the virtues of that pope."*

The death of the pope had been feared ; but he regained the appearance of health. His great age, his long-standing infirmities, with others scarcely endurable, and the quarrels among his relations, forced him to leave the cares of government to his ministers, and the care of his person to his sister-in-law, whom he had sent away from him, and whom he now recalled, notwithstanding the opposition of the cardinals. She soon regained her former ascendancy, and succeeded in consolidating the reconciliation of her house with that of the Barberini, by marrying a grand-niece of the pope to Don Maffeo Barberini, then an ecclesiastic, and afterwards prince of Palestrina. Olympia's sole care then was to prolong the life of Innocent, already past eighty.

* Novaes, x., p. 53.

Whether she feared some guilty attempt against his life, or deemed it necessary to subject him to a strict regimen, she was present at all his meals, and allowed no one to enter the kitchens unless when she was present.

At the close of December, 1654, the pope felt himself more than usually weak, and the physicians despaired of his life. Olympia dared not warn him of his danger ; but Cardinals Chigi and Azzolini surmounted all obstacles and caused the sacraments to be administered to him. Innocent received the news with firmness, and said to Cardinal Sforza, "You now see where the grandeurs of the sovereign pontiff must terminate." He sent for his nephews and nieces, and gave them his benediction, receiving again to favor those to whom he had shown severity.

On the 7th of January, 1655, assisted by Father John Paul Oliva, general of the Society of Jesus, his preacher and confessor, he yielded up his soul to God, at the commencement of the eighty-first year of his age, after governing the Church four years, three months, and twenty-three days. He had created forty cardinals, and he left but one hat vacant.

Feller* says of this pope: "He had much elevation of mind, fire and vivacity, prudence and discernment. Firm under the most difficult circumstances, and inflexible in his resolutions, he yet never formed them till he had thoroughly considered them. He was very temperate, living upon little, hating luxury, as chary of superfluous expense as magnificent in that which was necessary ; which enabled him to leave seven hundred thousand crowns, which were not subject to the bull of Sixtus V.,—an amount of saving of which there are but few examples. He tenderly loved his subjects, and was scrupulously just ; in fact, not an error or a fault could be attributed to him, had he but been somewhat less attentive to the interests of his family."

It must be remarked here that Innocent cannot justly be too violently censured for nepotism, seeing that he left above six hundred thousand crowns to his successor, for the abolition of an impost which was burdensome to the people of Rome ; one which always rendered breadstuffs dearer in the market than was needful.

We have said that he left vacant only one cardinal's hat. At his death, therefore, there were sixty-nine cardinals.

Innocent was of strong constitution and tall ; his features were not at all handsome, although they were imposing. He was temperate, economical in ordinary matters, splendid in pontifical pomps, and he is said to have borne nobly his age of eighty-one years, walking with dignity in the ceremonies.

Hyacinth Gigli, in his diary, relates an extraordinary occurrence. "The

* Vol. iii., p. 607.

body of Innocent," says that author, "had been exposed at Saint Peter's during three days, and no one took any measures for his interment. Olympia was asked to order coffin and shroud for him; her reply was, '*I am a poor widow.*' The other relations and nephews of the deceased pope did not in the least bestir themselves on the occasion. Finally, the deserted corpse was carried into a room in which the masons were accustomed to deposit their tools.* One of these men compassionately took a tallow candle thither and placed it at the head of the corpse. As it was said that there were many mice in that room, another person paid, from his own poor means, a man to watch over the body. On the following day, a chief major-domo, who had been discharged, purchased a coffin, and paid for the interment of his late master."†

* The same fact is mentioned in the *History of Mazarin*, by Priorato, which has been translated into French. In vol. ii., p. 458, we are told, "The pope was to be interred, but the coffins of lead and cyprus were unfinished, and he was deposited in a room formerly called the Interest Chamber, which was used as a tool-room by the workmen." That interest chamber, apparently, was a place where the business accounts of the Vatican were settled.

† The numismatic collection of Innocent X. is very rich. I possess these:

1. INNOCENT X. PONT. MAX. ANN. VII. He wears the tiara. Reverse: FIAT PAX IN VIRTUTE TVA. The Eternal Father on a cloud—above, a triangle, the symbol of the Trinity—blesses with the right hand, and in the left hand holds a globe, surmounted by a cross.

2. TV DOMINVS ET MAGISTER. Saint Peter, seated, his hand raised in astonishment. Our Lord washes the feet of the apostle. In the exergue: EXEMP. DEDI VOBIS.

3. AGONALIVM CRVORE ABLVTO AQVA VIRGINE. The circus, called Agonal, from the Greek word ἀγών, was built by Alexander Severus, and covered a large space, the form of which is still discernible. It was called *Agonalis Circus*, on account of the Agonal feasts celebrated there in honor of Janus. Originally devoted to chariot races, it was subsequently made the arena of pugilists and wrestlers, and at length gladiators were introduced, who killed each other there to the great delight of the spectators.

The field represents the place as it now appears. In the middle appears the celebrated obelisk set up by Innocent X.

Behind, on the square, as one comes from the Corso, is the church of Saint Agnes, where, as we lately mentioned, Pope Innocent has his tomb; it is placed at the principal door of the church. All that I have explained is faithfully represented on the medal, which is one of the finest struck at that period. The dome of Saint Agnes and the Pamphili palace are distinctly seen.

Du Molinet adds:

1. INNOCENTIVS X. PONT. MAX. Reverse: in the field, REPLEVIT ORBEM TERRARVM. Within an olive wreath, the Holy Ghost with wings spread. It is said that this medal was struck on the occasion of the condemnation of the five propositions.

2. FRVCTVM SVVM DEDIT IN TEMPORE. The cross in the middle of the field; on the right and left, angels praying. Innocent was elected on the day of the exaltation of the cross.

3. VNDE VENIT AVXILIVM MIHI. The Blessed Virgin standing on a cloud; on the right and left, two angels, praying. Innocent often said that he owed his election to the Blessed Virgin.

4. IVSTITIA ET CLEMENTIA COMPLEXÆ SVNT SE. Distributed on the accession, the reverse being already in existence.

5. DECOR DOMVS DOMINI. In the exergue: MDCXLVII. This medal signalizes the repairs and embellishments of the church of Saint John Lateran, in the part which faces the walls of Rome; and the interior part of the church, where the repairs were finished in three years.

6. AGNETI VIRGINI ET MARTYRI SACRVM. These words are inscribed within a crown of flow-

Father Pallavicini, who was present at the time, and who subsequently became cardinal, repeats the same facts, at the head of a manuscript life of Alexander VII., and adds: "A great lesson for the pontiffs! It teaches what affectionate returns they may expect from the relatives for whom, nevertheless, they compromise both conscience and happiness."

It was unfortunate that at that time the arrangements for the funeral were not intrusted to the government, and that the senior cardinals of the three orders did not act.

Such ingratitude might be in some degree excused, if the relatives could not without personal danger appear in public; but even in that case reliable men should be employed to take proper measures to have the last duties paid to a sovereign who but the day before was all-powerful in Rome. As poor masons could with impunity be charitable, the servants and friends of the family, surely, might at least join with those generous mechanics to avoid the scandal that was given to the Christian world.

ers, in the centre of the field. The church of Saint Agnes, near the Pamphili palace, was nearly destroyed; Innocent rebuilt it.

7. VT THESAVROS ANNI SANCTIORIS TECVM APERIAM. Saint Peter, on a cloud, holds the keys in the right hand, and a book in the left. Struck at the opening of the holy door at the end of 1649.

8. Without a legend. Within a crown of olive, the holy door, open; in the field, two fleurs-de-lis, on the right and left of the door; in the exergue, the third fleur-de-lis. These arms had been granted to the Pamphili family by the cardinal protectors of France, who often solicited that favor for persons whom they knew to be well affected towards that kingdom. The Pamphili generally bore those arms in the upper part of the field; sometimes, in the blazon of France, they are arranged two and one; but sometimes, also, azure, three fleurs-de-lis in the same line. The illustrious Doria family have inherited property and titles from the Pamphili family.

9. In the exergue: OSTIVM COELI APERTVM IN TERRIS. The pope opens the holy door, and he is surrounded by a great number of cardinals and bishops. Half of the door is demolished. At present the ceremony is much more brief; the door being sawed through beforehand, falls at a few blows given by the pontiff.

10. LAVDENT IN PORTIS OPERA EIVS. The pope closes the gate which he opened at the close of 1649.

11. In the exergue: ÆDIFICAT ET CVSTODIT. Repairs made to the Pamphili palace on the Piazza Navona. In the upper part of the shield, the arms of the family, the three fleurs-de-lis arranged in one line; in the lower part of the shield, the dove with the olive-branch.

12. The same legend. Variations in the form of the building.

13. VATICANIS SACELLIS INSIGNITIS. Interior view of the Vatican. The church is newly ornamented with marbles and with gilding that reaches to the roof.

Bonanni adds also:

1. S. PETRUS APOST. The head of the saint surrounded by the glory.

2. Another medal representing Saint Peter, looking to the left. The head is not so bold as in the foregoing medal.

3. INNOCENTIVS X. PONT. MAX. The port of Civita Vecchia, with three galleys.

4. JESVS ET MARIA SINT NOBIS IN VIA. The heads of Jesus and Mary, seen in profile. The head of Christ is bare; that of the Virgin bears a veil, on which a star is visible.

Venuti gives the following medals, known to neither Bonanni nor Du Molinet:

1. OMNIA AD VNVM. OMNIA AB VNO. In the field the equilateral triangle, symbol of the Trinity.

2. PAVLVS APOST. Head of Saint Paul.

Innocent X. did not deserve such an indignity. The fact must be true, since Pallavicini, one of the most honorable cardinals of that time, affirms it. We must endeavor to account for it. Each may have relied upon the action of the other—the family upon the action of the government, and the government upon the action of the family.

Be that as it may, we were obliged to state the fact, which is a deplorable one; especially as there was no sedition to prevent matters from being otherwise managed. The failure of duty was in some sort atoned for by the nephew, Camillus Pamphili, who commenced a very fine tomb for his uncle: it was magnificently completed by a great-nephew, John Baptist Pamphili, and stands in the church of Saint Agnes, in the Piazza Navona.

The Holy See was vacant three months.

241. ALEXANDER VII. — A. D. 1655.



ALEXANDER VII. (Fabius Chigi) was born at Sienna, on the 13th of February, 1599: son of Flavius Chigi, who, by his mother, Agnes Bulgarini, was nephew of Pope Paul V., and of Laura Marsigli, daughter of Antonio, lord of Collechio. The members of the Chigi family had, for five centuries been counts of Ardenghesca.

Fabius was held at the baptismal font by the Chevalier Francis Vanni, a very distinguished painter. In his infancy, young Chigi had an attack of apoplexy, and his life was so despaired of that preparations for his funeral were actually commenced. Though he did not die, he remained very weak, and it was often necessary to give him strengthening medicines. His mother, Laura, herself taught him to read and write, as well as the first elements of grammar. He then studied the first sciences in his own place. For his masters in philosophy and in law he had Andrew Cardi, John Baptist Borghesi, and Celsus Cittadini, one of the most learned men of that time. When he was eleven years old, the precocious boy composed a poem upon the battle of the Pigmies and the Cranes; and when only twelve he maintained philosophical theses in his parents' house; but his delicate health suspended these studies. He resumed them, however, as soon as his health improved. At twenty years of age he publicly maintained philosophical theses more difficult than



SAINT AGNES

his earlier ones; at twenty-one, theses of civil law; and at twenty-seven he answered all theological questions whatever. He dedicated these last theses to Father Mutius Vitelleschi, general of the Jesuits.

All those cares and labors had a definite object. The young student desired to be favorably received when he should go to Rome, where his name already was honorably known. The great Augustine Chigi, under Pope Julius II., had filled the office of superintendent of the pontifical finances, and he became the most generous Mæcenas of the artists who then adorned Rome, and especially of Raphael.

"Business frequently calling him to Rome," says Quatremère de Quincy, "Augustine at length made that city his residence, where he was considered the wealthiest private individual in Italy. The extent of his connections may be inferred from the protests and demands which he addressed to the court of France, on the subject of several vessels it had seized from him when the war broke out between Julius II. and Louis XII. No wealthy person ever made a better use of riches. His great wealth was derived, it was said, from the mines of salt and alum which belonged to the Holy See, and which were farmed out to him. He might have employed his vast means in ostentation and vain luxury, but his purer taste, better directed by a laudable ambition, inclined him to the more refined enjoyment that is yielded by the works of genius, and by the friendship of the most celebrated artists. Those noble sentiments caused his name to be associated with theirs, and his memory to survive together with their master-pieces,—benefits which mere opulence cannot secure for those who demand from the productions of mere luxury only the rarity of the material or the costliness of the workmanship. To Augustine Chigi, and to his affection for Raphael, we owe those fine paintings of *The Prophets* and *The Sibyls* in the Church of *Saint Mary of Peace*, and the beautiful chapel of *Saint Mary of the People*, which he designed to be his burial-place.

"Augustine Chigi then desired thus to perpetuate, in a palace appropriate to his passion for the arts, alike his name and his renown which his posterity has preserved to him as a man of taste.

"Having acquired a handsome and suitable site in Trastevere quarter, he selected the celebrated Balthazar Peruzzi of Sienna to erect upon that site a residence, more remarkable for the elegance of its architecture than for its dimensions.

"Augustine Chigi proposed to himself to gather together in his house all that the genius of the arts could produce of excellent in every style. To that end he brought from Venice Sebastian, surnamed *Del Piombo*, who, renowned for his coloring, executed in that palace paintings, not equal indeed to Raphael, but of high merit. It seems to have been the design of Chigi to intrust solely to the latter the decoration of the whole exterior

as well as all its embellishments: this seems established by the ornamental objects, whether finished or unfinished. On the ground-floor, besides the *loggia*, otherwise called the vestibule, or portico of five arcades, which contain the fable of Psyche, that daughter of an unknown king, that part of the building also contained a gallery of the same length, arranged by the architect for the reception of a series of paintings in compartments. Only one of the paintings was executed, in which we admire the triumph of the celebrated nereid immortalized by Raphael.

Fortune continued to smile upon Augustine. The relatives of Pope Julius II. recognized him as belonging to the Rovera family, and he consequently placed in his arms the oak of Rovera with the six hills of Chigi.

But all this prosperity seemed to terminate under the reign of Paul II. The Chigi family, surnamed at Rome *The Magnificent*, as Lorenzo de Medici had been at Florence, was obliged to return to Sienna. The beautiful villa on the Tiber then passed to the house of Farnese, who added it to their adjoining palace, the whole receiving the name of *Farnesina*. The Chigi had to leave that delightful garden which had, at three banquets, been honored with the presence of Pope Leo X., accompanied by all the cardinals present in Rome. After so much magnificence, a first misfortune soon was followed by others. The family no longer possessed great wealth when Fabius was born; but the magnificence and liberality of Augustine were still remembered at Rome, and Fabius hoped to be honorably welcomed. Moreover, some of his relatives, in favor there, were prepared to patronize him.

When Fabius had obtained all the doctorates, he set out for the capital of the Catholic world. He there presented to Urban VIII. a memorial, the only petition he in his whole life presented to the Holy See; and Urban appointed him Referendary of both Signatures. After seven months' prelacy, he, for five years, held the office of vice-legate at Florence. As nuncio at Cologne, and nuncio-extraordinary at Munster, in 1644, Fabius Chigi took part in negotiating the treaty of Westphalia, and preserved to his death the pen with which he signed that treaty. On that occasion many presents were offered to Chigi. He refused them all, and even entreated the pope not to order him to accept them.* On the 22d of February, 1652, he was named cardinal.

After the funeral of Innocent, sixty-two electors went into conclave on the 18th of January, and four more joined it on the 5th of February.

At the outset there were four different factions. The first, and the most

* While on that mission, he said that Mazarin did not wish peace. The remark was repeated to the Cardinal by some one of those who heard it; and he was so much offended, that, in spite of several reconciliations, he always resumed his anger.

considerable of them, was headed by Cardinal Barberini, consisting of a great many of the creations of Urban VIII.

The second, composed of the adherents of Spain, was ostensibly directed by Cardinal Charles de Medici, uncle of the grand duke, dean of the sacred college, and protector of Spain, but really directed by Cardinal John Charles, his nephew, a man of more ready intellect and well acquainted with political affairs.

The third consisted of friends of France, few in number, directed by Cardinal Rinaldo d'Este, brother of the duke of Modena, and protector of the crown. In this faction was included Cardinal Antonio Barberini, who was generally opposed to the views of his elder brother, the head of the first faction.

The fourth and last faction consisted of cardinals created by Innocent. Most of them were young, and all the more free to give the tiara because they had the least hope of obtaining it. These last were favorable to Fabius Chigi; and one of them, Cardinal Ottoboni, frankly and plainly proposed him for the suffrages of the cardinals. During some ineffectual scrutinies, another party was formed of what is commonly called the *flying squadron*.* The duke of Terranova, ambassador from Spain, sided with these cardinals. They declared that they had in view only the welfare of the Church, without any other thought, and without any mental reservation; and that they were, in that sole view, ready to give aid and assent wherever they should in that view be needful. These cardinals formed a party of eleven, that afterwards was joined by two more. Meantime, some desire was felt in other quarters to put forward Cardinal Rapaccioli, who was not considered ineligible on account of the position he held. Every one knew that he was the son of a merchant, and had bought the place of head of the pontifical treasury; and that, subsequently, his learning and his prudence had raised him to the purple. But he suffered severely from the stone, and it was evident that he would not be long-lived; besides which, as he was only forty-six years old, he was deemed too young, as there were so many old men who were worthy of the tiara. To these disqualifications was added the exclusion given by France. It is true that that exclusion, always cruel and nearly useless, was, in this instance, speedily retracted; but the mischief was already done. On the subject of these exclusions, a paper appeared, which, at first, was attributed to Cardinal Albizzi, but was afterwards acknowledged to come from the pen of the advocate Lini. He urged that the princes who gave these exclusions were

* This name is settled by custom. Priorato, in his *History of the Ministry of Cardinal Julius Mazarin* (published at the Hague, 1710), gives, in his second volume, the names of the cardinals composing that party, all men of mark—Lomellino, Homodei, Ottoboni, Imperiale, Borrómeo, Albizzi, Aquaviva, Donghi, Rondanini, Pio, Gualtieri, and Azzolini.

guilty of a great mistake, and were censurable for all the consequences arising from such exclusions; and that the electors seriously sinned when, to please a prince, or to serve some private interest, they refused their votes to the most deserving. Cardinal de Lugo, of the Society of Jesus, replied by another paper, and proved that the fathers in the conclave ought not to concur in the election of one who is excluded by a monarch.* Mr. de Lionne, ambassador extraordinary from his Most Christian majesty to all the Italian princes, having arrived at Rome on the 23d of January, 1655, went a few days afterwards to the conclave, paid his official compliments to the cardinal, and delivered a letter from the king, in which "his majesty protested that he had no interested views as to the election that was about to be made. The king asked only an election that would redound to the glory of God, the honor of the Church, and the peace of Christendom. His majesty conjured the cardinals to be guided only by these just sentiments, and to raise to so sublime a dignity only one whose recognized merit, exemplary life, and sincere piety made him worthy to be loved as the father of all Christendom, and to be respected as God's vicar upon earth.

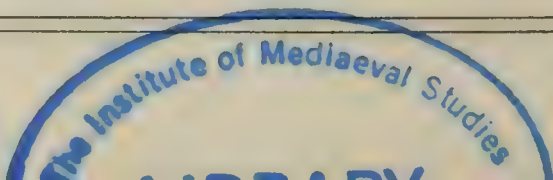
"By the example of the kings his ancestors, and in his quality of eldest son of the Church, the Most Christian king found himself, more than all others, bound to do all in his power to aid so pious a design. And he, at that juncture, offered to the cardinals all that depended upon his authority that could maintain them in freedom of voting; to which end he was also incited by the piety of the queen-mother, and the good advice of their colleague—Mazarin.

"Finally, he anticipates that by their choice Christendom would receive a pastor from the hand of God,—that hand no more lying heavy upon us for the chastisement of our sins, but open, in his goodness, for the consolation of the faithful."

The conclave had lasted two months. The electors again thought of Fabius Chigi; but he had had the exclusion of France, because, at Munster, he had freely spoken of Mazarin's little real inclination towards peace. Cardinal Sacchetti wrote a strong letter on the subject to Mazarin, who then retracted the exclusion. The party that had become generally favorable to Chigi became so much increased and strengthened then, that the heads of all the factions agreed that on the following morning he should be unanimously elected.

After the scrutiny of the evening, which was vague and without enthusiasm, the two Medicis, the two Barberini, and Cardinal d'Este repaired to the chamber of Cardinal Chigi with that intelligence. Without even re-

* We shall speak of these exclusions in our history of Innocent XIII.



turning thanks, he told them that he had many known faults, and also many which were not known; that he advised the cardinals to think further upon a matter of such importance, and to remember that he, Chigi, *had ninety relations*. Other cardinals arriving, he endeavored to reply rather in words of humility than in terms of courtesy or gratitude.

The morning of the 7th of April arrived. Chigi insisted, before going to the scrutiny, on saying Mass, as he did daily. On leaving his chamber he was met by Cardinal Homodei, his most affectionate friend, who said to him, "At length that day has come, so desired by me, and so happy for the Church!" Chigi, without changing countenance, replied calmly, in these verses of Virgil:

"Jamque dies, ni fallor, adest, quem semper acerbum,
Semper honoratum (sic dī voluistis) habebo."

With the same gravity, and the same modesty, he entered the chapel of scrutiny. Cardinal Carafa having died, there were only sixty-five electors. At first he had twenty-five votes—forty-three being the requisite number. At the *accesso*, thirty-nine votes were added to the twenty-five. Chigi thus had sixty-four out of the sixty-five, his own being given in the scrutiny to Sacchetti, and in the *accesso* to Palotta.

Thus, at the end of eighty days,* on the 7th of April, 1655, Cardinal Fabius Chigi, at the age of fifty-six, was elected pope. He then prayed for some time to decide, in his own mind, whether he should accept the heavy responsibility that was laid upon him. Then, remembering to have read in Saint Francis de Sales, that "an ecclesiastic ought to ask for nothing and refuse nothing," he accepted the tiara with every sign of deep sensibility. The pope gave as the reason for this acceptance the words of Saint Francis de Sales, quoted above. At the close of the conclave one of the cardinals laughingly said to him:

"What a singular thing! The Spaniards disinterestedly wished you to be pope; the French wished it, though they had at first excluded you; the young men chose a man already aged, and the Barberini a man who was not their own creature!"

* On this conclave and its result, Gregory de Pina, a Portuguese priest, wrote:

"Plus solito conclave moras hoc nexuit: unus
Exeat ut cunctos qui regat orbe pater.
Scinduntur variæ studia in contraria mentes
Quisque petit votis, ille vel ille suum.
Postquam ter latuit luna, et ter fulsit in orbe,
Erit ALEXANDER, qui fuerat FABIVS.
Romanus lente pugnat. Senensis in urbe
Eligitur lente. Lentus uterque fuit.
Maximus ille armis, pace hic ter maximus alma:
Ille fuit vindex, hic amor orbis erit.

After his exaltation he found his chamber completely stripped, in accordance with an abuse then customary, and he was obliged to ask shelter from Cardinal Gabrielli, whose chamber was surrounded by solid walls; and, as it happens on great occasions, every thing was in such confusion, that when Chigi, overcome with fasting and excitement, begged for food, he could procure nothing better than one egg. He then gave audience to the personages who arrived to congratulate him. Cardinal Barberini and other cardinals advised him to take the name of Alexander, in honor of his fellow-citizen, the third pope of that name. On the 18th of April he was crowned by Cardinal Trivulci, first deacon, and on the 9th of May he took possession of Saint John Lateran. That day, the 9th of May, was consecrated by the Church to Saint Gregory Nazianzen.*

On the 14th of May, Alexander published a universal Jubilee, as had been done by Sixtus V., Gregory XV., Urban VIII., and Innocent X.

The general subject of conversation in Italy was the Princess Christina Alexandra, the abdicated queen of Sweden, who chose Rome for her residence. She was introduced to the presence of the pope by two cardinal legates and four apostolic nuncios, who had been sent by the pontiff to meet her. For the entrance of that princess the pontiff had the Flaminian gate (*the Porto del Popolo*) ornamented by Chevalier Bernini.

The reception given to the queen was unusually magnificent. The pope received her with every sign of regard. She was to address His Holiness in a speech, which she had previously prepared and committed to memory; but the majesty of the escort, and the imposing gravity of the pontiff, so greatly disconcerted the princess, that she could not deliver her speech without embarrassment of both words and tones. The pope considerably interrupted her with praises, and commenced a kindly conversation with her, which restored the self-possession she had momentarily lost.

On the 23d of December the queen made her solemn entry. At the villa of Pope Julius III., her majesty mounted a palfrey, and, with the two legates on either side, arrived at the Flaminian gate, where the sacred college, on horseback, waited to escort her to the Vatican.

Two days afterwards she was conducted to the Vatican Basilica, where the pope gave her confirmation. It was then that she received from the pope her second name of Alexandra, the feminine form of his own.

On the following day she was invited to dine† with the Holy Father. The upper table was somewhat raised above the lower one, but the canopy

* He was very devoted to that saint, because, twelve years before, at Cologne, when it was his custom, as in the Society of Jesus, to choose by lot a patron saint for the month, the name of Saint Gregory was drawn by him.

† When the pope has any one to dine with him there are two contiguous tables, one somewhat elevated, for the pope alone; and another somewhat lower, for the guest, but immediately by the higher table.

was equally over both tables. Afterwards the pope, attended by his court and guards, paid an especial visit to the princess.

A vexatious difference had arisen between Pope Alexander and the French government. We have seen that the archbishop of Paris, John Francis Paul de Gondi—known in history as cardinal de Retz—had received the dignity of the purple. Cardinal Mazarin, prime minister to the queen regent, deeming cardinal de Gondi hostile to his policy, ordered his arrest, and kept him in prison on a charge of felony.

The complaints and demands of Innocent X. had been unavailing to obtain the liberty of cardinal de Retz. An agent had been sent from France to explain to the pope the reasons for the conduct of the French government, but that agent had no proofs to support his accusations. Cardinal de Retz, weary of his imprisonment, sent in his resignation of the archbishopric of Paris, where Mazarin considered him the promoter of dangerous disturbances.

Innocent would not accept the resignation of the archbishopric, which resignation de Retz, once at liberty, most probably would not have confirmed. Subsequently de Retz made his escape from prison, and his very first act was to revoke his renunciation, as being extorted under duress.

De Retz arrived in Rome previous to the assembling of the conclave, entered it with his colleagues, and was one of the most zealous supporters of Fabius.

After the conclave, accusations were published at Rome against that French cardinal. He was accused of being guilty of rebellion. Ministerial writings were presented to Alexander, but, as before, no proofs accompanied the accusations. Meantime, Gondi addressed threatening letters to the French clergy, and sent into his diocese vicars who were very disagreeable to the court. He also solicited the pallium, which the pope granted to him in private ceremonial. Thence arose fresh complaints against Alexander, as though he had designed to canonize an archbishop dangerous to the kingdom.*

The pope then wrote to France, calling to mind that the king ought to have recognized the paternal affection of the Holy See in the silence that it had maintained during the long detention in prison of a cardinal, and the condemnations to which he had been subjected without any reference to a competent judge, and without any valid proofs against the prisoner. "The pope," said that letter, "was under great obligation to the cardinal, who, at the cost of personal injury,† had delivered the Holy See from the necessity of employing spiritual arms against the violators of that holy dignity."

The pope could not refuse the pallium to the archbishop. On the pres-

* Novaes, x., p. 91.

† The cardinal, in making his escape, had dislocated a shoulder.

ent occasion, neither the protector of the crown, nor any other cardinal, had raised any objection after the letter written from France in the name of the king. It was a mere accusation, and His Holiness could not make any use of it, lest he should make public that which the French government had privately communicated.

With respect to the vicars sent into France, and who were stated to be Jansenists, the pope confessed that they were not agreeable to himself, because after the publication of the bull concerning those questions, they had not given in their adhesion to the condemnation of such doctrines. Moreover, the cardinal himself appeared to retain some remnant of affection, not perhaps for the opinion in itself, but for the party which maintained it. Still, this would not warrant the granting to a secular power permission to depose an archbishop, or condemn him, *in Rome*, on account of merely extra-judicial suspicions. The pope would be glad if the cardinal would recall his vicars, but he had the right to name others agreeable to the king. Those sentiments of the pontiff, and others, replete with gravity, sound reason, and moderation, softened or at least stilled the government of France, which till then had seemed implacable.

Cardinal Mazarin retained all his hostility to de Retz, but was opposed to any judicial action, believing that the accusation of treason would of itself be sufficient to ruin the archbishop of Paris. In that discussion, Mazarin, minister at Paris, did not abide by the maxims of a cardinal deliberating at Rome. Ought the rancors of the Louvre to prevail against the rights of Rome?

In this state of things, Alexander, unwilling that so important a diocese should be deprived of pastoral care, and foreseeing difficulties pregnant with new troubles, when naming a vicar-apostolic, adroitly sent the brief to the nuncio Monsignor Piccolomini, archbishop of Cæsarea, with orders not to deliver it until he was certain of the assent of the assembly of the clergy.

The assembled clergy learning this determination, exclaimed that such a delegation of power during the life of the archbishop offended the customs of the French Church. Mazarin, seeing this resistance, yielded. De Retz was thus well and duly recognized as archbishop. The minister then applied directly to cardinal de Retz, begging him to renew a project of his suggestion, which the French government had refused. That project was that the king should name six from whom cardinal de Retz should make his own selection of one to be his vicar. The consent should be subscribed by de Retz and sent to Paris, without any intimation to de Lionne, ambassador from France to Rome, a minister disliked by the pope from the libellous character of his dispatches and a strong suspicion of Jansenism.

A truce therefore existed between the Holy See and France; but embar-

rassments and differences arose between the former power and Spain. Innocent had sent Francis Gaetani, cousin of Cardinal Astalli, with the title of nuncio, into Spain, authorizing him to assume the name of Pamphili. But the pope, for several reasons, was not pleased with the services of Gaetani, and sent Monsignor Massimi, clerk of the chamber, a confidant of Donna Olympia and of Cardinal Barberini, to supersede him. At Barcelona, Massimi was met by an order to proceed no further.

Such was the situation of the affair when Alexander ascended the pontifical throne. This pope, jealous of the pontifical authority, disapproved the resistance of Gaetani, who would not leave Madrid, and the pontiff ordered all dispatches to be addressed to Massimi, as though he were the recognized ordinary nuncio. At the same time, Massimi received a letter from the pope to the king, announcing the pontiff's accession to the throne. That letter the king consented to receive, and welcomed Massimi with great honors, but without giving him the title of nuncio in ordinary.

The Spanish letter, in reply to the notification of the pope's accession, was couched in terms of respect, submissiveness, and more than usual devotion; but the treatment of Massimi, the representative of the Holy See, was thereby only rendered the more insulting. Alexander bitterly complained of this to the Spanish ambassador, and asked him how it was that in a letter from his king that sovereign went so far as to offer his life for the service of the pope, while the pope's nuncio was treated with so much severity, and denied the power to open the tribunal of the nunciature, a right of which no other nuncio had been deprived in Spain. Meantime, Gaetani, returning to Rome, in vain endeavored to obtain an audience of the Holy Father.

At this time the sceptre of Poland had passed into the hands of John Casimir, of the house of Sweden; a prince of delicate constitution and weak understanding, which diminished the esteem that otherwise might have been felt for his person.

This prince had first desired to enter the order of the barefooted Carmelites, and subsequently into the Society of Jesus. He, however, again changed his mind and accepted a cardinal's hat; and, without the approbation of his brother Ladislas, had embraced the cause of the French faction, although he had zealously served the Spanish party. On returning to Poland, before the death of his brother Ladislas, Casimir resigned the purple. Having become king by the death of Ladislas, he married that prince's widow, aunt of the duke of Mantua, by whom he had no issue. Casimir, disliked by his subjects, found himself involved in frightful wars with the Muscovites in Lithuania, and with the heretical Cossacks, who had become rebels, in Podolia. There were revolts against Casimir, and the pope endeavored to be a mediator between that prince and his revolting subjects.

The Catholic cantons suffered great injury from the Protestants, who were encouraged by Cromwell. The aid of Alexander was not withheld from the Catholic cantons that implored it. In a very obstinate battle the Protestants were defeated, and the Catholics thanked the pope for the aid he had given them.

On the 31st of March, 1655, the pope confirmed a decree of the congregation which approved the immemorial cultus of the Blessed Ferdinand III., king of Castile and Leon, called the saint, who was born in 1189, and who died on the 29th of May, 1252. The grant of *immemorial cultus* is equivalent to a beatification without solemnities.*

Alexander had sent for none of his relations, although a year on the throne. Many importuned him to send for his brother Marius Chigi, said to be very well qualified for the management of temporal affairs, having long held high administrative office under the grand duke of Tuscany.

Alexander turned a deaf ear to all these entreaties, and it was not known that he even exchanged letters with any of his relations.

However, in the consistory of the 24th of April, 1656, he commenced a discourse to the cardinals; prefacing it by requiring from them the most profound secrecy as to what he was about to say. He then proceeded to propose that he should call his relations around him. He asked that each of the cardinals should privately give his opinion, in writing, if he preferred that mode, and in but few words. The cardinals soon gave a written consent, with conditions attached in some cases. The pope then addressed a single brief to his brother and two nephews, inviting them to Rome. They were warned that their conduct there must be innocent and holy. The pope's secretary, Jacopo Nini, took the brief to Sienna. The Chigi set out immediately, and repaired to Castel-Gandolfo, where the pope received them with much gravity, allowing them to remain kneeling during the whole of their first audience.

On his return to Rome, the pope ordered his nephews Flavius and Augustine to go and perform the exercises of Saint Ignatius at the novitiate of the Jesuits, where those exercises had been performed by Saint Charles Borromeo, also nephew to a pope. Flavius, destined to the ecclesiastical career, prepared himself to receive holy orders, and obtained the priesthood on the 3d of June. Alexander had strongly recommended to his relatives that they should accept no presents. But as his brother Marius would be put to greater expense by residing at Rome than at Sienna, he thought it right to assist him by making him general of the holy Church, and governor

* The life of Ferdinand III. was published in 1627, in folio, by the Jesuit, John Pinedal; by Hippolytus de Vargas, Ossuna, 1630, in 8vo; by Father Michael Angelo Laurati, Naples, in 1680, 4to; by Ranuccio Pico, Rome, 1622; by Francis Boutard, a friend of Bossuet, Paris, 1759, 8vo; and by many other authors.



of the castle of Saint Angelo. Augustine was named general of the guards. The pope at the same time determined that they should lodge in the apostolic palace, so that they might be constantly under his eyes ; and he would not allow Flavius to inhabit the apartments usually appropriated to cardinal-nephews.

At that time, the pestilence appeared in the city of Naples—carrying off more than a thousand persons each day. Marius, who, under similar circumstances, had saved Sienna from that scourge, was named general health commissioner, and in concert with some prelates, devised means to save Rome and the papal State from a horrible evil already spreading beyond the vicinity of Naples.

But a fisherman carried the contagion to Nettuno, whence it speedily extended to Rome. The whole of the island of Saint Bartholomew was appropriated as an immense lazaretto. It was encircled by thick walls, and provisions were regularly supplied to the inhabitants, who were not allowed to communicate with the city. Marius continued his vigilant administration. Nor was Cardinal Barberini one of the least careful or the least watchful conservators of the public health ; and sanitary regulations were published worthy to serve as models for all places visited by such a scourge. Such cares, with the blessing of God, caused the pestilence to disappear. Alexander and his nephews received public testimonies of the satisfaction of the Romans.

Meantime, Queen Christina learned that the Swedes had confiscated all her revenues, in spite of all precautions which, with the aid of able jurists, she had taken against receiving so gross an insult and so cruel an injury. Living in a state of dependence in a foreign land, the Swedes alleged as the reason for their conduct that as the princess had become a Catholic, she ought to have mentioned that fact in the reports on the administration of her revenues. She resolved to visit some sovereigns to solicit the restitution of her rights, and, without alleging any reason, she asked the pope for the use of his galleys, with the avowed intention of disembarking at Marseilles. The pope did not approve of her request ; he feared that the princess would abandon the Catholic religion, and he refused the galleys. The princess then explained herself more clearly, and the pope, thus appeased, consented to her journey.

During her stay at Rome, the princess, ill advised, had indulged in senseless expenses, and was now completely destitute of means. The Holy Father learning that last misfortune, sent to her by a religious a purse full of gold medals, struck at the commencement of the second year of his pontificate, together with a sum of ten thousand crowns, and an apology for not sending more.

The queen knew how to appreciate the delicacy of that present ; for the

gift of the medals would alone be publicly known, and the accompanying money would never be thought of. The princess departed, arrived at Marseilles, and from that city addressed a letter to the pope, expressing the utmost veneration, and promising a speedy return to Rome. The Venetians had gained over the Turks one of those doubly fatal victories which at once warn the vanquished of his danger, and subsequently entail upon the victor the most unexpected evils. The republic naturally implored the aid of the pope. The Turk had seen his fleet beaten under the very guns of the Dardanelles, and he meditated a speedy vengeance. The pope addressed entreaties to all the Christian princes, but especially to the king of France, for aid to the Venetians.

But in France, the pope's nuncio, Monsignor Piccolomini found Mazarin at the head of affairs. That all-powerful regulator of the cabinet of France thought the pope ill-disposed towards that kingdom, and especially towards its minister. It was especially this affront that Mazarin chose to repel. He constantly felt that cardinal de Retz, remaining archbishop of Paris, would succeed in supplanting him, already called *the foreigner*, and depriving him sooner or later of all his power. The pope incessantly endeavored to dispel these suspicions, and, on the other hand, labored like a good pontiff to restore peace between France and Spain. While he gave his attention to such important labors, the Jansenists resisted the censure of Innocent X. To evade it, they affected to say that though the Church had imagined that the five known propositions were found in the book of Jansenius, yet the Church had in fact been mistaken, as it is not infallible when judging a mere question of fact.

In September, 1656, the general assembly of the clergy of France determined to oppose the propagation of that pernicious iniquity, by declaring that "the Church judges questions of *fact*, inseparable from matters of faith, with the same infallibility which belongs to her when she judges of the faith itself."

At this time, Alexander, who in the reign of Innocent X. had been cardinal reporter of the whole business when that pope condemned the five propositions of Jansenius, and who had an accurate knowledge of all the projects of the sectarians and of all that had then been said and done, selected a new congregation, heard its opinion and its desires, and on the 16th of October, by a dogmatic bull (Constitution 136, *Ad sanctam*),* which was received by the whole Church, declared that the five propositions that had been condemned by Innocent, were really in the book of Jansenius, and that he, Pope Alexander VII., condemned them anew.

The assembly of the clergy received the pontifical bull which the nuncio

* *Bullarium Romanum*, vol. vi., part 4, p. 150.

presented to that body on the 14th of March, 1657; and in February, 1661, the assembly drew up a formula of faith which, for the future, was to be signed by all regulars of both sexes, and by all the secular ecclesiastics, such as doctors, regents, &c. That deliberation was authorized by a sentence of the king's council, on the 13th of April, in the same year. On the 2d of May, the Sorbonne ordered all its members to sign the formula, under pain of a deprivation of the doctorate in case of refusal.

In spite of all these precautionary measures, the dissidents would not sign. Subsequently, the king, on the 10th of April, 1664, registered a declaration by which he absolutely commanded that signature; and this was the first declaration of the Most Christian kings presented to the parliament in support of the decision of a dogmatic bull of the Church of which they had declared themselves the eldest sons. The following are the terms of the declaration which every ecclesiastic was to sign; it is similar to that drawn up by the clergy of France.*

Alexander, in order to restrain those disobedient Christians, at the entreaty of some French bishops, and on the invitation of the king himself, published, on the 16th of February, 1665, a bull strictly commanding signature to the formula, which was in the following terms: "I submit myself to the apostolical constitution of Innocent X., of the 31st of May, 1653, and to the constitution of Alexander VII., of the 16th of October, 1656, both sovereign pontiffs; and in the sincerity of my heart I reject and condemn the five propositions extracted from the book of Cornelius Jansenius, entitled *Augustinus*, and in the sense understood and intended by the same author, as the Apostolic See has condemned them by the said constitutions; and this I swear. So God and God's holy Gospels aid me."

The king immediately published a declaration, as forcible as that of the preceding year, and went in person to have it registered by the parliament, commanding all prelates in his kingdom to sign the pope's formula; and the king at the same time declared that if any bishop for three months neglect or refuse his signature to it, he should be proceeded against according to the holy canons.

Notwithstanding these orders and declarations, four bishops—Nicholas Pavillon, of Alet; Nicholas Chouart de Bujenval, bishop of Beauvais; Francis Gaulet, bishop of Pamiers; and Henry Arnould, bishop of Angers—would not obey. On the contrary, by their pastoral letters, they protested and declared that, as to the fact of Jansenius, there was due to the Church only a deferential obedience, consisting in the observance of a respectful silence. The king suppressed those pastorals on the 10th of July, 1665; and the pope, by a decree of the congregation of the *Index*, condemned

* Novaes, i. p. 112.

them on the 18th of February, 1667. Subsequently, the pope, at the request of the king, ordered that nine bishops should take proceedings against the four refractory bishops; but death prevented him from proceeding in this very delicate business, to which we shall have to return when we give an account of the reign of his successor, Clement IX.

We must not omit to mention that, at the same periods when the matter of the Jansenius propositions was discussed, the Holy Father also condemned, on the 24th of September, 1663, twenty-eight other propositions taken from some authors on moral theology. Subsequently, on the 18th of March, 1666, Alexander, by the same censure, condemned seventeen other propositions on the same subject, and thus restored the pure discipline that several writers had either wilfully or mistakenly endeavored to corrupt.

In reward of that pontifical zeal, Alexander had the happiness to receive into the Catholic communion Isaac la Peyrère, a Calvinist, and author of the work entitled *Præadamitæ, sive exercitatio, super versibus 12, 13, and 14, cap. v. Epistolæ Pauli ad Romanos, quibus indicantur primi homines ante Adamum conditi* (1655, in 4to, and 1656, in 12mo).*

La Peyrère maintained that Moses gives an account of the origin of the Jewish people, and not of that of the human race; and that the earth was inhabited long before Adam, who was the progenitor only of the Israelites. The parliament of Paris condemned that work to be burned. La Peyrère, having gone to Rome, presented his work to Alexander VII., and with humble submission, asked pardon for the errors which he had committed. The pope then offered him some positions which he respectfully refused.

The Jesuits still remained exiled from Venice, because they had observed the interdict pronounced by Paul V., as related in the life of that pope.

Alexander professed great esteem for them, and testified it by Constitution 418, *Debitum*, given on the first of January, 1663, in favor of those Fathers. He endeavored to restore them to their former situation, as had been earnestly attempted by Pope Gregory XV., his nephew the Cardinal Ludovisi, and the king of France, Louis XIII., who in that followed the example of his father, Henry IV. By a brief as affecting as complimentary, the pope begged the Venetian senate to restore to the disciples of Loyola the possession of their former houses. The senate complied with that request, and the pope was thereby the more moved to recommend to the Catholic princes the interests of the republic, continually threatened by the Turks. There was on that subject an exhortation especially addressed by the pope to the Roman princes who had received favors from the popes their relatives, in the form of nomination to some other office in the Church.

* The 12mo edition includes a third part, entitled *Animadversiones in librum Præadamitarum, auctore Eusebio Romano*, which is a refutation of the work by Philip le Prieur. And also a refutation of John Dannpawer.

Those worthy Romans, the prince of Sulmona, the prince of Piombino, the prince of Palestrina, and Cardinal Barberini, set a noble example. If, in the course of these narratives, we have sometimes felt obliged to speak warmly upon the subject of nepotism, we must not forget to say that these men, enriched by great liberalities, frequently came to the aid of the State. On this occasion, they fitted out vessels at Venice, and showed themselves zealous defenders of the Catholic interests. We shall hereafter see that, at the time of the treaty of Tolentino, the nephews of Pius VI. and other Roman princes bore a great part of the burdens of the State.

The sacred college, also, in the moment of peril, was invited to give to the Venetians testimonies of affection and of sympathy. Mazarin alone sent them a hundred thousand crowns. It was easy for that powerful minister to contribute such a sum, but he was outdone in generosity by another cardinal, of no great wealth. Cardinal Nicholas, of the family of the counts of Guidobagno, sold his furniture, his palace, and the villas that he possessed upon the territory of Albano, and thus did in his lifetime all that could be done by the executor to a will, ordering every thing to be turned into money. When he had sold all, he realized thirty-eight thousand crowns, the whole of which he immediately sent to Venice, not even retaining anything for his own subsistence. If Guidobagno gave less money than Mazarin, the former did more generously, giving as he did his whole patrimony towards the expenses of that war.

This cardinal had previously been general of the troops of the Church, and had excited admiration by his magnanimity on all occasions where he had to care for the well-being of his soldiers. He also, with a rare benevolence, cared for the wants of prisoners whom the fortune of war threw into his hands.

Having become an ecclesiastic and a cardinal, he crowned an admirable life by the act just mentioned, which well deserves a place in history. And how many other generous acts did that one generous act call forth! How gladly did those Romans who remained rich rival each other in endeavoring to assist, in their turn, a cardinal whom such a noble cause had reduced to absolute penury!

We have now to contemplate Alexander in connection with his internal government of Rome. From Sicily there had been imported into Rome certain secrets in the art of poisoning, which were hawked about by wicked women. The effect of the poison was so secret and so terrible that it was impossible to be on one's guard against it. It both looked and tasted like pure water, and it killed after an illness of a few days, without any of the symptoms of ordinary disease. The detestable women who vended that deadly poison professed to do so from a feeling of charity towards wives who complained of their husbands. "This," said they, "will deliver you

from the intolerable tyranny of your husbands." Other persons were also guilty of the same murderous crime, to rid themselves of their enemies ; and they did so feeling secure from all danger of discovery. Rome thus was ravaged by another kind of pestilence, the cause of which was as yet hidden from all eyes but those of the criminals. The wretch who directed those frightful women was a Sicilian named Girolama. Hypocritical and cunning, she had succeeded in obtaining the patronage of great personages. Though sometimes called before the supreme authority, Girolama had always found means to exculpate herself.

Meantime the atrocious misdeeds of that *silent butchery** had strongly excited the attention of the government. At length, a woman discontented with her husband had bought a phial of the terrible water, and the husband soon after died. Then the woman told all the particulars of what she had done, and thus unfolded the frightful plot that had already destroyed so many innocent victims. The source of the evil being thus known, Girolama and her accomplices were arrested. The subordinate wretches confessed their guilt, but Girolama persistently refused to do so. Her accomplices being handed over to the officers of justice, were promptly executed. On that occasion it was that Alexander published the still existing edicts, which adjudge the most terrible penalties to all who make, sell, or keep these poisons.

The imperial throne had been vacant since the death of the Emperor Ferdinand III., in 1657. Alexander ordered his nuncio in Germany to see carefully that the successor of Ferdinand should be Leopold, king of Bohemia and Hungary, eldest son of the last emperor. Intrigues were on foot to place the crown on another head ; but Leopold was elected in 1658, and he hastened to thank the pope for the effectual cares he had bestowed upon the insuring of that election, thus securing the satisfaction of the legitimate desires of Leopold.

Saint Pius V. had constituted a new college of penitentiaries in the Basilica of the Vatican. The previous college had been composed of both regular and secular members, and it was impracticable for them all to live under the same discipline, because they were all subject to various laws and customs.

Then, Saint Pius V. gave the office of penitentiaries to the Jesuits exclusively, being rightly convinced that as they were subject to a uniform rule, they would compose that college in a perfect agreement of spirit and intention.

But, as Saint Pius had not published the bull, Alexander confirmed it by the bull *In Apostolicæ*, of February 22, 1659. He gave directions for every

* Novaes, x., p. 122.

thing concerning the habitation, the number, the government, the importance, and the privileges of the penitentiaries. At that time they inhabited the former college, situated near the Vatican Basilica, in the place where the fountain of the square is, on the left side opposite to the Basilica. The pope thought of having the buildings erected which we now see towards the colonnade; he therefore had the college pulled down, and removed the residence of the penitentiaries to its present place on the square of the church called Coxa Cavalla.

On the 9th of March, 1661, Cardinal Julius Mazarin died, after much suffering, and before he had time to enjoy the glory of the Peace of the Pyrenees.

Rome had reason to complain of some of the stipulations of that treaty, relative to the duchy of Castro. The pope even, instead of restoring that duchy to the duke of Parma, declared that it remained incorporated with the possessions of the Church, and was, consequently, subject to the action of the bulls which forbade the alienation of the property of the Apostolic chamber.

Many authors have traced the portrait of Cardinal Mazarin. The President Henault speaks of him thus: "This minister was as gentle in manner as Cardinal de Richelieu was violent. One of the greatest talents of Mazarin was his knowledge of mankind. The characteristic of his policy consisted rather in finesse and patience than strength. He thought that force should only be employed when other means were lacking, and his intellect supplied him with courage suitable to the circumstances;—bold at Casal, tranquil though not inactive in his retirement at Cologne, enterprising when it was necessary to arrest the princes, but insensible to the satires and jokes of the Fronde, despising the bravadoes of the coadjutor, and listening to the murmurs as one hears from the shore the voices of the ocean-waves. There was something greater in the character of Richelieu, something loftier, and less concerted; and in Mazarin more address, more moderation, and less error. The one was hated, the other satirized; but both alike were masters of the State.

"Armand and Julius both amassed money; but Armand cared for money only as an instrument of power for himself and of utility to the country.* He had gained openly; and by the highest posts and the richest benefices had accumulated the income of a king, which he dispensed in kingly fashion. Mazarin, on the contrary, loved gold for its own sake, with that foresight which smacks somewhat of the financier, though mingled, in his case, with some elevation of soul. From year to year he heaped up miserly treasure. Nevertheless, he sometimes made a noble use of it. He ordered the foun-

* *History of France*, by Henry Martin, vol. xiv p. 379.

dation of the College of the Four Nations, devoted to the gratuitous education of sixty noble youths or citizen's sons of the four provinces united to France by the treaties of Westphalia and the Pyrenees—Artois, Roussillon, Alsatia, and the district of Pignerol. In addition, Mazarin bequeathed his library to that college, on condition that all literary men should have access to it. Not content with that act of generosity, he gave to the crown, to the two queens, and to the king's brother, diamonds and valuable objects of art. Nor did he forget the city of Rome, to which he owed so many obligations. Rome had some reason to reproach Cardinal Mazarin. He knew all the secrets of government, of administration, of all those political mysteries, incessantly tending, however, towards peace, which were in the possession of Rome, and which, under the reign of nepotism, she was obliged to confide to men who were at once without the pontifical powers, and without the virtues and the loftiness of soul that the pontifical power impresses upon the holy intentions of the aged pontiffs.

Mazarin more than any one else could disturb Rome, because a servant who must have been accustomed to frequent the least known parts of a palace which has hiding-places on every story, could readily introduce strangers there. And Mazarin knew the meaning of expressions the most simple, the studied embarrassment of a reply, and the line of courage and resistance traced in a few simple words.

We have now arrived at the period of the sad quarrels about the franchises or privileges claimed by some of the ambassadors.

The *sbirri*, or police, endeavored to arrest for a debt of ten crowns an artisan who resided in the palace of Cardinal d'Este, protector of the crown of France. The cardinal's servants prevented the arrest. In the evening the *barigel** arrived with a stronger guard, but was also forced to retire. Then Don Marius Chigi ordered the Corsican guard to assist the police, and arrest not only the debtor, but also the cardinal's servants who had opposed his arrest. The cardinal's household, indignant, took up arms and were powerfully aided by other ambassadors' servants, and by Romans who were attached to France. The order of Marius was not then executed, but Rome was full of armed men. Barricades were thrown up and troops posted at important points. Meanwhile the numbers of the self-appointed defenders of the cardinal increased. Men spoke loudly of those franchises† respected from time immemorial by successive pontiffs. A serious convulsion threatened. When the pope was aware of the importance of the affair, he requested the diplomatic body to quiet men's minds. Rome then recov-

* The chief of the *sbirri*, who directs their operation. The *sbirri*, though without uniform, are easily recognized, and go armed.

† Not only the ambassador's house but adjoining residences within sight were called *franchises* at Rome.

ered its former tranquillity, but new embarrassments resulted, to the great annoyance of the pope, as they tended to create a breach between Rome and France.

Alexander meanwhile devoted himself to his duties as supreme pastor and universal judge of the Church. By his bull of December 11, 1661, drawn up by his own hand, and kept for several days under the consecrated stone of the domestic chapel while he celebrated Mass, he renewed the decrees of his predecessors, particularly of Sixtus IV., Paul V., Gregory XV., and Saint Pius V., in favor of the opinion which affirms that the soul of the Blessed Virgin, at its creation and its union with the body, was filled with the Holy Ghost and freed from original sin.* At the request of the king and bishops of Spain, Alexander by another bull, of December 18, 1661, renewed these decrees. Philip IV. ordered the bishop of Placenza, his ambassador at Rome, to return his warm thanks to the Holy Father for his decrees in honor of the Immaculate Conception of the Blessed Virgin.

The best understanding at this time prevailed between France and Rome, but the insult offered in 1662 to the duke de Créquy, an avowed enemy of the clergy, and a man by no means conciliating, brought on troubles which attracted the attention of all Christendom.

Since the resistance of Cardinal d'Este, complaining of the violation of the franchises of his palace, an ill-feeling had prevailed between the domestics of ambassadors and the police.

The servants of the duke de Créquy were occasionally guilty of acts of insolence which he neglected to repress.

In the month of August, three soldiers on patrol entered a wine-shop where a French fencing-master and some of his comrades were seated. Without even the shadow of an excuse, for the place in which they were seated was certainly no privileged one, these men disarmed the soldiers and expelled them with insulting language.

The governor of Rome, after making formal inquiry into that affair, condemned to exile, with the sentence of death in case of return to Rome, the insolent fellow who had struck the soldiers and led the attack upon them; and Frenchmen who had come to Rome with no good intentions showed a determination to take vengeance.

On the 20th day of this same month, the ambassadors' servants sought a pretext for quarrelling with the Corsican soldiers of the pope's guard. Those Corsicans, as they always have been, and still are, while serving in the pontifical *gendarmérie*, were very courageous men, and strongly inclined to make their uniform, their rights, and their orders respected. The Corsicans disarmed by the duke de Créquy's people threw off all subordination

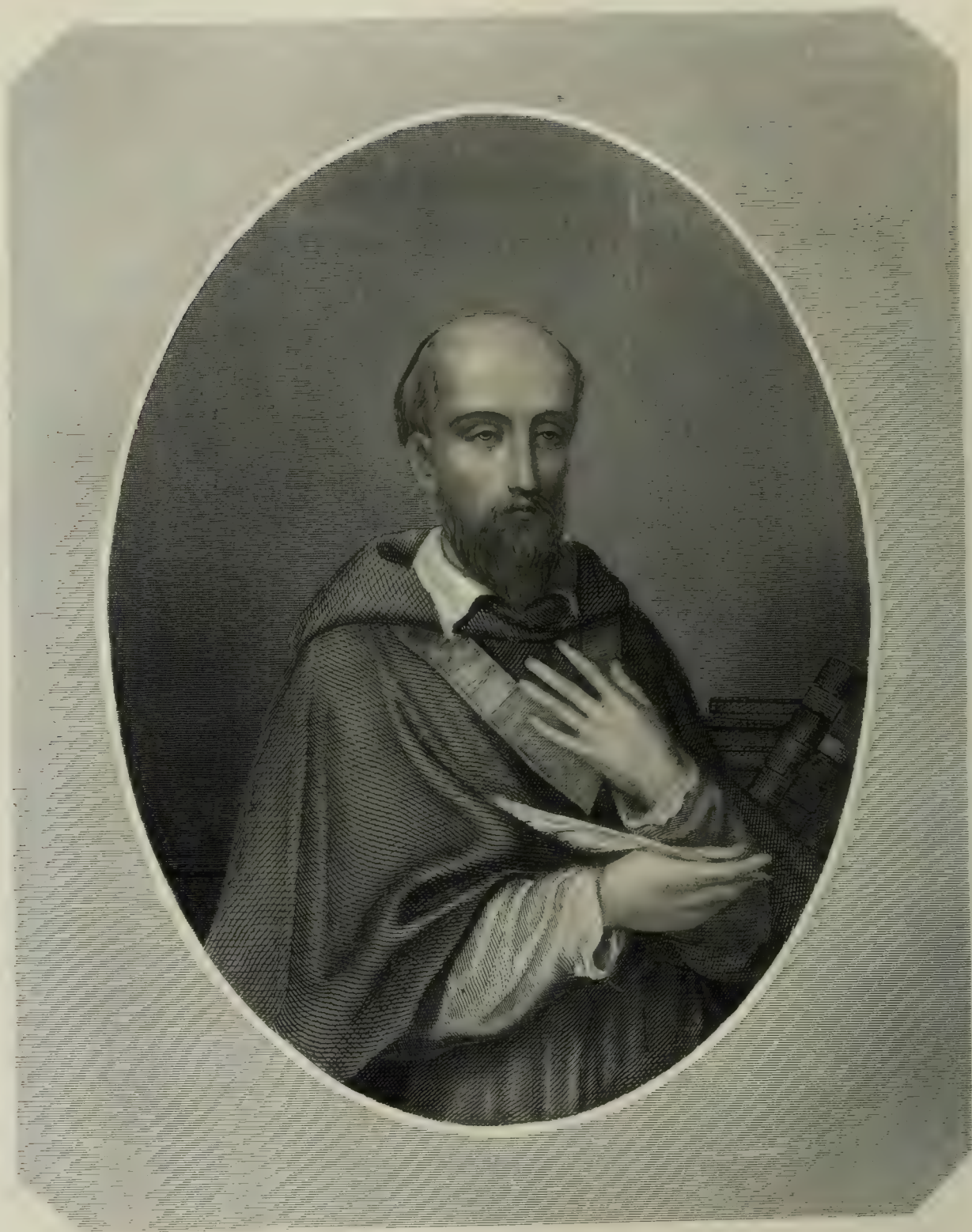
* Lambertini, *Canonization of Saints*, book i., ch. 42.

to their own commander, and with drums beating advanced to revenge the insult that had been offered to them. They killed several Frenchmen, and pursuing others even to the Farnese palace, then occupied by the French ambassador, discharged fire-arms at the very windows. All subordination was now cast aside by those soldiers, who would have listened to reason if the government had offered timely interference, while the soldiers had assembled only in so small a number that they could have been effectually and promptly dealt with. But at that juncture no one did his duty. On the night between the 21st and the 22d of the same month, the Corsicans met the carriage of the ambadress, fired at it, cruelly killed one of the pages of the duchess, and compelled that lady to take refuge in the palace of Cardinal d'Este.

The affair now became important and threatening. The ambassador sent to Paris an account of all that had taken place, expressed offence at a visit of apology paid to him by the pontiff's nephew, Cardinal Chigi, and retired into Tuscany, together with all the cardinals attached to the French crown. From Florence the duke returned to France; and Louis immediately ordered the nuncio, Piccolomini, to be taken under an escort of fifty soldiers from Paris to the frontiers of Savoy. The king at the same time demanded proper satisfaction, seized upon Avignon, and put his troops in motion to intimidate the pope. The whole year 1663 was consumed in negotiations. The pope was ready to take all measures calculated to restore peace, and to do on the instant every thing that was just and proper. Accordingly, he frequently sent to the Most Christian king and to the principal personages of the French court briefs, that most touchingly expressed his regrets; but still without success. Then he convoked a consistory, in which he exposed the severity of the king of France, and asked the advice of the cardinals.

Some were of opinion that the dignity of the Roman court should be supported, even if it were necessary to resort to arms. That opinion was absolutely destitute of wisdom. The pope neither would nor ought to listen to such a resolution. He had recourse to the mediation of the king of Spain, the grand duke of Tuscany, the republic of Venice, and other Italian powers, entreating them to cause a treaty to be concluded, establishing the innocence of the pontiff, who ought not to be blamed because some members of his government had not been sufficiently watchful over the public tranquillity. It could not be disputed that a Frenchman had commenced the quarrel; but the Corsicans had retorted shamefully, and there was something savage in the attack upon the escort of the ambadress, who went out with an escort that was much more slender than that of the ambassador, who was always surrounded by a crowd of gentlemen on horseback.

Alexander at length deemed it proper to send into France Cæsar Rasponi, an able and prudent prelate. But that envoy was not received into



the kingdom. However, he succeeded in getting an interview with the duke de Créquy, at Pont de Beauvoisin, which then, as now, was on the French frontier. There, in virtue of the mediation of the ambassadors of Spain and Venice, the principal points were settled that were needed for the re-establishment of concord. But France still more prominently brought forward pretensions offensive to the pope; the meeting of the ambassadors was broken up, and it was not until the following year that the king of France returned to more moderate sentiments.

To settle this quarrel, in which it is only justice to say that neither the pope himself nor the Chigi family could at all fairly be blamed—the Corsicans having, at their own impulse, taken up arms and caused all the trouble—it was resolved, at some conferences held at Pisa between Cæsar Rasponi and Bourlemont, auditor of the Rota, and absolute plenipotentiary of the Most Christian king, that the pope should send into France his nephew, Cardinal Chigi, in quality of legate *à latere*, to testify that neither the pope nor any of his family had had any part in the insult offered to France; that Don Marius de Chigi, nephew of the pope, should leave Rome, and should not return thither until the king gave audience to the legate; that Cardinal Imperiali, then governor of the city, should go to France to justify himself; that Don Antonio Chigi, another nephew of the pontiff, should present himself to the duke de Créquy, when that ambassador returned to Rome, and that the former should assure the latter of the pope's regret at the affront offered to the ambassador's wife; that Corsicans should no more be admitted into the service of the State of the Church; and, finally, that a pyramid should be erected at Rome, bearing an inscription which should describe both the offence and the punishment of the Corsicans. All those conditions were faithfully fulfilled. A good understanding was thus restored between Rome and the crown of France, the latter restoring Avignon to the former.

Under the following pontificate, the French government, regretting the intemperate length to which it had gone in humbling the sovereign pontiff for a matter to which the pope was not a party, asked, for its own credit, that the pyramid should be removed. The pontiff, further, named a nuncio extraordinary to France, Monseigneur Charles Robert de Vettori, who had, as secretary, accompanied into France the cardinal-legate Fabius Chigi. This nuncio was dispatched to present the consecrated clothes intended for the dauphin, the king's son.

Alexander, on the 19th of April, solemnly canonized Saint Francis de Sales, born on the 27th of August, 1567, of one of the noblest families in Savoy.*

* There is a French life of Saint Francis de Sales by Marsollier (1700, 1701, 1717); another by Charles Cotelendi (Paris, 1689, 4to); another by Dom John Goulu, general of the Feuillans (Paris, 624, 4to); and another, *Eloge de Saint François de Sales*, by Godeau, bishop of Grasse (1663,

By a brief of the 6th of July, 1648, Innocent X. had founded at Ravenna a college for the Maronites; it was now suppressed, and its possessions granted to the Propaganda in order that it might receive a greater number of pupils of that nation.

As the vast erudition of Alexander had in his youth procured him the favor of Urban VIII., who was a great lover of letters and patron of those who cultivated them, Alexander in like manner constantly promoted the sciences and their distinguished professors.

The building of the university of Rome, known as the Sapienza, had been commenced by Eugene IV., and resumed by Leo X. Alexander modernized it, and finished the chapel of Saint Yves, founded by Innocent X. He also gave the university a library of six thousand volumes, collected by Father Constantine Gaetani, and fourteen thousand other books, left by Francis Maria II., duke of Urbino. Alexander obtained from the community of Urbino the large collection of manuscripts bequeathed by the duke to the city for public use; this collection Alexander did not give to the university, but placed in the Vatican library.

Alexander founded six additional professorships in the Sapienza.

We must enter into some detail as to the sumptuous buildings of every kind which Rome owed to Alexander VII. In the foremost rank we place the imposing portico of the Vatican square. It consists of three hundred and twenty-four columns of extraordinary dimensions, and adorned by a hundred and thirty-six fine statues of the saints and of founders of religious orders and congregations. All those works were executed after designs of John Lawrence Bernini—designs still preserved in the library of Prince Augustine Chigi.

Alexander rebuilt, with increased magnificence, the *Scala Regia*, which, from the portico of Saint Peter's, leads to the royal hall of the palace. In the *Basilica Vaticana* itself he had the chair of Saint Peter placed, supported

12mo). There is a Latin life by Charles Augustus de Sales, the saint's nephew (Lyons, 1654, 8vo); and an Italian life by Christopher Giarda (Rome, 1648, 4to). The most complete is that of Canon Peter Hyacinth Tallizia (1762, 4to).

The *Spirit of Saint Francis de Sales*, by Camus, bishop of Belley (Paris, 1641, 6 vols., 8vo), is highly esteemed.

The most complete edition of the works of Saint Francis de Sales is that of Blaise (1821, 16 vols., 8vo). It includes the life by Marsollier, Collot's Abridgment of the Spirit, the Rules and Constitutions of the Visitation, the Panegyrics of the Saint, and an unpublished work on the Primacy of Saint Peter. I may say something of this, as it bears on my subject, and I was the first to make it known in France. Learning of its existence from the Abate Fea, librarian of the Chigiana, I obtained permission from Prince Augustine Chigi to have a copy. It exists in the works among the controversial treatises, but so disfigured that it may be deemed unpublished. Saint Francis was canonized in 1665. A certificate of Charles Augustus, bishop of Geneva, dated May 14, 1658, and attached to the treatise, was used before the Congregation of Rites. The treatise establishes three promises made to Saint Peter, and proves that he had successors in the Vicariate General of our Lord.

by four doctors of the Greek and Latin churches—Saint Athanasius and Saint John Chrysostom, Saint Ambrose and Saint Augustine.

That chair, which had been used by Saint Peter, and had been the gift to him of the Senator Pudens, in whose palace Saint Peter lodged at Rome, was venerated in many parts of the Church; and was presented to the people at the grate of the choir on Saint Peter's day, the 18th of January. [See Francis Maria Febei, *On the Identity of the Chair of Saint Peter*; Rome, 1666, 8vo.] The pontiffs had been accustomed to sit in it at the ceremony of their enthronization up to the time of Clement V., who was crowned at Lyons. When the popes returned to Rome, after their sojourn at Avignon, they no longer used it, but contented themselves with exposing it to the veneration of the people.*

This pope also erected the mint, close to the garden of the Vatican. For the greater convenience of the pontifical service, Alexander erected a long extension of the Quirinal towards the *Porta Pia*.†

He also ordered paintings for the long gallery of the palace, thus adding to the healthfulness and the pleasure of the pontiffs, *imprisoned there by their sovereignty*. The superintendence of those paintings was intrusted to the celebrated Pietro da Cortona. The pope also embellished the *Strada del Corso*, where, at the corner of the street, that pope's armorial bearings are still to be seen, as one goes from the Venetian square to Saint Romualdo. Saint John Lateran was ornamented with bronze decorations by the same pope; the gallery especially was perfected in a style which is admired to this day.

In that gallery, as Benedict Millini states, there are mosaic representations of the Saviour, appearing to the Roman people under Constantine the Great, and the apostles; and the figures, in miniature, of Nicholas IV., Saint Francis of Assisium, and Saint Anthony of Padua. Boniface VIII. disapproved of this close proximity of modern saints to the apostles, and he ordered that, at least, the figure of Saint Anthony should be removed and replaced by that of Saint Gregory the Great.

A mason got on the scaffold, where the workmen were engaged in executing the orders of the pope, but at the first blow of his pickaxe upon the hood of the saint, such strength of resistance seemed to proceed from the image, that both the mason and his fellow-workmen fell terrified on the scaffold. The pope, informed of that occurrence, ordered the work to be suspended, and the image remained, marked by the blow of the pickaxe, until the reign of Alexander VII., who ordered its restoration, as may be seen in the new mosaic, differing in design from the original.

The palace of Castel Gandolfo was enlarged. A church was built at Ari-

* Novaes, x., p. 160.

† Ibid., 162.

cia, a fief of the Chigi family. Civita Vecchia was provided with an arsenal, and a double mole protected the ships within against the storms that are so common in that part of the Mediterranean. In front of the rotunda of the Pantheon, the ground was levelled, and the front of that noble work of the Romans could be more easily viewed,—the columns being freed from the earth in which they had long been buried.

An antique obelisk, on a marble elephant, was erected in 1667, in front of the Minerva. The church of Saint Mary of the People, and several others, attest the zeal and the liberality of Alexander VII. The cathedral of Siena, the native palace of the Chigi, owes part of its magnificence to Alexander. Addison, in his Travels, says that that cathedral and its dependencies were, after Saint Peter's, the most magnificent structures he saw in Italy.

After another pestilence, in which the zealous cares of Alexander were as constant as under the former scourge, the senate, notwithstanding the objection of the pontiff, erected a bronze statue to him in the capitol.

About the middle of 1667, Alexander, who was afflicted with the stone, began to suffer under the most severe agonies. He had always suffered with an incredible patience, but the spasms now became so violent, that all hope of the recovery of his health was abandoned.

Alexander now seriously thought of death. He summoned the cardinals, and showed them a cypress coffin, prepared when he became pontiff, and addressed them in a Latin discourse, explanatory of his whole pontifical conduct. "We never aspired to the tiara," he exclaimed, "nor took any steps to reach it. We have employed the moneys of the apostolical chamber solely in the service of the Catholic religion, and the embellishment of Rome and the building of churches. We were a whole year pontiff before we summoned any relative of ours to Rome, and we only at length did so because the sacred college vanquished our unwillingness. We exhort you to elect a successor qualified to repair any errors we have committed in our pontificate."*

Soon afterwards, weakened by persistent fever, he had the confession of faith read according to custom, gave his papal benediction to the cardinals who were present, and appeared before the judgment seat of God on the 18th of May, 1667, at the age of sixty-eight years, after having governed the Church twelve years, one month, and sixteen days.†

* No attentive reader needs to be told *why* the pope had that coffin made. We have seen how Innocent X., for want of such precaution, was left in an unworthy condition, even by his own sister-in-law.

† The pontifical medals which now belong to Prince Augustine Chigi, include some very curious pieces. I shall describe most of them, commencing with those which I possess.

1. ALEXANDER VII. PONT. MAX. A. III. Head of Alexander in a large white cap—beard very long. *Rev.*: FEL. FAY. Q. INGRES. The gates of the People, formerly the Flaminian; the six hills, the armorial bearing of the Chigis. Above them the star; on the right the front of

He was buried at the Vatican, in a tomb which was the highly esteemed work of Bernini, towards the close of his career. Among the figures that adorn this monument was naked Truth; but Innocent XI. ordered Bernini to cover it with a drapery of metal colored white.

the church of Saint Mary of the People. The scene represents the entrance of Queen Christina of Sweden, on horseback, and accompanied by cardinals. There are foreshortenings in this piece that are executed with great skill. On the right and left the walls curve in the style in which we now see them, and which has so grave effect in architecture.

2. PROCIDAMVS ET ADOREMVS IN SPIRITV ET VERITATE. A Corpus Christi procession. Alexander borne by the Parafrenieri, holding the Blessed Sacrament in his hands. On the right and left are *flabelli*; on the dais the heraldic stars of the Chigi.

3. FVNDAMENTA EIVS IN MONTIBVS SANCTIS. The front of Saint Peter's, with the colonnade erected by Bernini; in the centre, the obelisk of Sixtus V.; on the right and left, the two fountains; towards the opposite side of the temple, a colonnaded building, similar to that which surrounds the Church. This building leaves only two very narrow entrance ways on the square. The part on the right, where the palace of the Vatican is placed, is more open than it really was, and sets off the church.

4. ALEXANDER VII. P. N. PIVS. IVST. OPT. SENEN. PATR. GENTE. CHISIVS. MDCLIX. The head of Alexander, in ordinary white cap. *Rev.*: MVNIFICO PRINCIPI DOMINICVS IACOBATIVS ET FERA MEMOR BENEFICII. This medal, nearly thirty centimetres in circumference, was struck at the expense of Dominic Jacobazzi, a Roman patrician, who had received much kindness from Alexander. The field represents Androclus the gladiator, with sword and buckler, and the lion licking his feet.

Du Molinet describes the following medals:

1. VIVO EGO, IAM NON EGO. Gal. ii. 20. Head of Christ.
2. OMNIA AB VNO, OMNIA AD VNVM. In the field, the triangle.
3. POPVLVM RELIGIONE TVETVR. Religion rests her right hand upon the cross, and holds a bridle in her left. She tramples death beneath her feet. Was struck in memory of the exertions of Alexander to care for the people during the plague.
4. In the exergue: VT OMBRA ILLIVS LIBERARENTVR. The prince of the apostles points to Saint Peter's church, where the people are to go to prayer. The plague-stricken, prostrate on the square, and a winged female like a fury, and personifying the plague, with a serpent and head.
5. DIVO NICOLAO, MYRÆ EPISC. CASTRI. GAND. MDCLIX. The front of the church of Saint Nicholas, at Castel Gandolfo, the villa of the popes, near Lake Albano. Alexander beautified the church of Saint Nicholas at Castel Gandolfo.
6. DILEXI DOMINE DECOREM DOMVS TVÆ. In the exergue: S. NICOLAO. A more elegant view of the church erected at Castel Gandolfo.
7. ALEXAN. VII. PONT. MAX. FAMIL. PONTIF. COMODO ET PALAT. QVIRIN. ORNAM. AN. MDCLIX. ROMÆ. That part of the Quirinal palace which extends into the *Strada Pia*.
8. NAVALE CENTVM CELL. Fortifications erected at Civita Vecchia; in the port, ten triremes.
9. Without inscription. Saint Thomas of Villanova giving alms to two kneeling beggars.
10. THOMÆ ARC. VALENT. INTER SANCT. RELATO. 1659. Church erected at Castel Gandolfo, in honor of Saint Thomas Villanova, archbishop of Valentia, of the order of the Augustinians.
11. NAVALE CENTVM CELL. 1659. A different view of the port of Civita Vecchia.
12. IVSTITIA ET PAX OSCVLATÆ SVNT. ROMA. A common type.
13. DA PACEM, DOMINE, IN DIEBVS NOSTRIS. The front of the Church of Peace, restored by Alexander. Prayers were daily offered up there for the restoration of peace between France and Spain.
14. OMNIS SAPIENTIA A DOMINO. Church of the Sapienza.
15. OSTENDIT DOMINVS MISERICORDIAM IN DOMO MATRIS SVÆ. ARICLÆ. The church of the Blessed Virgin in the village of Aricia, near Albano, once a Latian town, now a village, still belonging to the Chigi family.

We insert here the opinion of a great archbishop as to the formulary for which the memory of Alexander VII. has been so much reproached. It must be confessed that there never was a more legitimate, more reasonable, or more canonical act. "That means had always been customary in the

16. *PAX VOBIS*. Figure of our Lord. A very fine medal, engraved with great elegance.

17. *SAPIENTIA IN PLATEIS DAT VOCEM SVAM*. MDCLXII. (Prov. i. 20.) View of the Piazza del Popolo at Rome. The street of the Corso, between the two churches, opposite to the Flaminian gate. To the right and left of the entrance of the street of the Corso are the churches of Saint Mary of the Miracles and of Saint Mary of Monte Santo, both built after the same design.

18. *QVÆ VOVI REDDAM PRO SALVTE DOMINO*. (Jonas, ii. 10.) Church of Peace, adorned with statues—not seen in No. 13.

19. *PRIMA SEDES FIDEI REGULA ECCLESIAE FVNDAMENTVM*. The Holy Ghost hovering over Saint Peter's chair, which is supported by Saint Augustine and Saint Ambrose, doctors of the Latin Church; and by Saint Chrysostom and Saint Athanasius, doctors of the Greek Church. This work, which is all gilt, is lighted by a window of yellow glass, which doubles the brilliancy of the gilding. This singular work is the finest and the most ingenious of the productions of Bernini. The whole composition, which took two hundred and nineteen thousand one hundred and sixty pounds of metal, was executed in three years. It is shown in this medal.

20. *REGIA AB AVLA AD DOMVM DEI*. The staircase which leads from the *sala regia* to the porch by which Saint Peter's is entered.

21. *BEATO FRANCISCO EPISCOPO INTER SANCTOS RELATO*. Canonization of Saint Francis de Sales, bishop of Geneva. The pope upon his throne—on his right and left, cardinals and bishops; on the first plan, the altar covered with *tâpers*.

22. *VIRGINIS AEDE ET PAVLI HOSPITIO EXORNATIS*. Church of Saint Mary *in via Lata*. It was upon this site that Saint Paul lived, as we learn from the most reliable traditions.

23. *ÆDIBVS ŒCONOMIA ET DISCIPLINA RESTITVTIS*. The hospice of the Saints. Above, the Holy Ghost in the clouds.

24. *S. ANDREÆ APOSTOLO. ROMÆ*. Church of Saint Andrew of the Valley, which Alexander rendered one of the handsomest in the city.

25. *NOBILIVS PER TE SITVS FLVAM INEXHAVSTVS*. The fountain of Saint Mary's square, in Trastevere.

Bonanni gives some other medals.

1. *TU DOMINVS ET MAGISTER*. In the exergue: *EXEMPLVM DEDI VOBIS*. Christ about to wash the feet of Saint Peter.

2. *DIVI FRANCISCI DE SALES*. In the exergue: *APOTHEOSIS*. The Holy Father, surrounded by cardinals and bishops, in prayer. The columns of the high altar of Saint Peter are shown.

3. *BENEDICENT CORONÆ BENIGNITATIS SVÆ. AN. VIII.* Saint Peter and Saint Paul, standing, and upholding the tiara; beneath, the star and six hills, the armorial bearings of the Chigi.

4. *BENE FVNDATA DOMUS DOMINI. VIRGINI ARICINORVM PATRIÆ*. A very elegant rotunda, still standing, on the Aricia road, which Prince Augustine preserved with especial care.

5. *ALEXANDER VII., CHISIVS SENENSIVS, PONT. MAX. ANNO II.* In the field, the tiara, the keys; and, in the shield, the six hills surmounted by the star in the second and third quarters, and the oak in the first and fourth. Pope Julius II. granted to the Chigi the right to add the oak.

6. *ELEVABITVR SVPER COLLES. ISAIAS II.* The first medal which has reference to the chapter and verse of Scripture; struck in 1656. Saint Benedict holds his crozier, and Saint Romuald presents the six hills, the arms of the Chigi.

7. *ET BENEDICTI ERVNT QVI EDIFICAVERVNT TE.* (Tobias, xiii. 16.) The Chigi arms on the right; the arms of Cardinal Buoncompagni, bishop of Bologna, on the left; and then those of Cardinal Lomellini, legate in the same city. Struck at the erection of a very expensive building by the Camaldulensians, near Bologna.

8. No inscription. An elephant supporting an obelisk—a monument still standing on the

Church of Christ ; from the foundation of Christianity to the present time it has always been the safeguard of the Catholic Church. But for it, Arianism would have invaded the entire Christian world, and then Nestorianism would have similarly triumphed ; all the creeds, all the professions of faith would have failed in the test which was to distinguish the faithful from the sectarians, each of them reciting them with equal earnestness and emphasis. Heresy has at all times invented subtleties and general professions of orthodoxy that the ordinary enumeration of the articles of the Catholic faith did not formally contradict. By such means sectarians succeeded in mingling with the faithful, and disturbed and corrupted them, and it became impossible to effect separation, essential to the purity of the faith, and even to the tranquillity of the State. Under such circumstances, the Church required assertions so direct and precise in their opposition to error that tergiversation would be impossible. The word *ὁμούσιος* and some time after *Θεοτόκος*, stifled the two greatest heresies that have ever distracted the Church of God. The most orthodox creeds, the clearest professions of faith, had failed to deprive error of its mask until the formal and precise point was touched which precluded all equivocation. It was necessary to swear to consubstantiality and the divine maternity as the only certain expression of orthodoxy. He was anathematized who hesitated to give that proof of his sincere orthodoxy ; and it was by this prudent strictness that the doctrine of Jesus Christ has come down to us in all its purity. The use of formularies, and especially of oaths, directed against tortuous and tricky error calculated to deceive the pastors of the Church, are authorized in the Church of God ; the formulary of Alexander VII. is no novelty, it is conformable to the means that the Fathers and the councils adopted in the most palmy days of the Church, to preserve the purity of the dogma and of morality. The right to employ such means cannot be taken away from the bishops ; it belongs to them by divine right ; they are, according to the expressions of Saint Paul, the guardians of the deposit of faith ; to prevent them effectually guarding it would be to annihilate their ministry."

So many enemies of Alexander VII. have attacked him on the subject of his publication of the formulary, that we have deemed it necessary to quote the above eloquent explanations, which the reader will all the more thoroughly appreciate as in the history of the primitive ages of the Church he will find proofs of the truth of these penetrating and wise remarks.

Minerva square, in Rome. A Dominican church stands on the site of an ancient temple dedicated to that heathen goddess. Bernini, by command of Alexander, set up a red granite obelisk, which had been neglected under the reign of Sixtus V., as too small. Bernini placed it on the back of an elephant of white marble.

9. *TEMPLI ET PORTICVS MAJESTATE A SORDIBVS REPVRGATA.* The Pantheon and its porch, restored to their original purity.

Venuti gives some of the medals that are already known, with slight differences.

To an admirable eloquence, gravely and majestically pronounced, Alexander added a graceful Siennese accent, of which the most painful infirmities never deprived him. People were never weary of listening to him; his words and the expression which accompanied them, the harmony and purity of his beautiful Latin or Italian phrases, delighted not only foreigners but even the Romans themselves.

During the period of the disputes with France, one of Alexander's chamberlain's said to a Frenchman: "If the pope could be his own nuncio to Paris, and speak for awhile with the king, the monarch would forget all quarrels; but, also, the king would be very likely to keep the pope with him, to our great grief and loss."

In private life, Alexander was cheerful, full of anecdote as Pius VII.; he liked his company to be gay in reason, and to seem to enjoy his intercourse. His company habitually consisted of the Allacci, Herbstenius, the Jesuit Pallavicini, Bosca and Roncati, of the Cistercian order, Rondinini, secretary of the briefs to princes, and Nerli, archbishop of Florence. And when the conversation ceased to be familiar, he would quietly speak upon literature, ecclesiastical history—so well understood at Rome—and upon the sacred sciences.

Modest, he always spoke of himself with candor.

All the virtues and talents of Alexander were not constantly recognized by the Romans, who reproached him with nepotism; yet they had themselves tormented him into sending for his nephews.

Muratori states that Cardinal Sforza Pallavicini began to write the life of Alexander, but subsequently seeing the pope so addicted to nepotism the cardinal dropped his pen.

Novaes replies, that he saw in the library of the Gesù the life of the pope in the cardinal's own hand, with pencilled notes in the hand of Alexander. It was from that manuscript that Novaes derived some of the details in his own notice; and I have closely followed Novaes, whom I have so often found a safe and truthful guide.

Another life of Alexander was published by Christopher Palmieri, a Siennese noble, at Florence, in 1679, in 8vo.

In 1656 there was published at the Louvre a folio volume of poems written by Alexander in his youth; they are entitled *Philomathi Musæ Juveniles*. He composed them with a sort of ardor while he was member of an academy at Sienna.

A worthy great-nephew of Augustine Chigi, Alexander VII., like his ancestor, loved the arts, patronized the place of his birth, which cultivated the arts, and was one of the greatest benefactors of Sienna.

The Holy See remained vacant twenty-eight days.

242. CLEMENT IX.—A. D. 1667.



CLEMENT IX. (Julius Rospigliosi) was born at Pistoia, on the 28th of January, 1600, of a noble family, which have given a host of distinguished personages to the world. Julius, after studying in the Roman college under three famous professors—Faminius Strada, Alexander Donati, and Torquato de Cupis—went to the university of Pisa, where he received the doctorate of philosophy and of both laws. Urban, who esteemed his vast erudition, made him referendary of both signatures, and then secretary of the Congregation of Rites, canon and vicar of Saint Mary Major, judge *à latere* of the legation of Avignon, secretary of briefs to the princes in 1641, archbishop of Tarsus, and nuncio to the court of King Philip IV., where he obtained from that prince a favor which never failed. After the death of Innocent X., Julius, recalled from the brilliant nunciature in which he had served the Church eleven years, found himself merely a canon of Saint Mary Major. The sacred college, appreciating his merit, made him governor of Rome during the conclave that elected Alexander VII., and that pope, in 1657, created him a cardinal. Corraro, the Venetian ambassador at Rome, praises Rospigliosi as a secretary of state. "I do not know a better-natured man," writes the Venetian. "I cannot praise him too highly. He fills that post most successfully. The pope knows it well, and says that he has found a secretary after his own heart. Rospigliosi has a sound judgment, he knows no interest foreign to his duty : he is never obstinate in his opinions ; when he has plainly stated them, he appears pleased to hear them modified or even censured, if the interest of his master is thereby served. He seeks no occupation foreign to his post ; he takes all business thoroughly examined to the pope for consideration ; and himself makes minutes of every thing which the pope lays much to heart."

After the funeral of Alexander VII., seventy-four cardinals went into conclave on the 2d of June, and on the 20th they elected Cardinal Rospigliosi, aged sixty-eight years. He took the name of Clement IX., was crowned on the 24th, and took possession of Saint John Lateran on the 3d of July.

Rospigliosi had but one vote against him, and it was that of Cardinal Corsini, a Tuscan like himself. When the votes were counted, it was found that there was one missing. It was ascertained, on examination, that the missing vote was that of the cardinal de Retz. As he was examiner of votes,

he had given his own to Cardinal Vendôme to deposit for him, and that cardinal had forgotten to do so. This explanation proved the election to be canonical and regular: still de Retz, notwithstanding his being examiner, should himself have laid his own vote on the altar.

One of Clement's first cares was the diminution of the taxes, and especially the one called *de la mouture*. That one he bought from the farmers of it by paying them a sum of money. He accompanied that public benefit by an act of heroic self-denial. Instead of allowing his own name to be published with the documents relating to his redemption of an onerous tax, he had them published as the work of Alexander VII., who, in fact, really had collected together the money for that redemption. Clement IX. necessarily had to take cognizance of the affair of the four French bishops who refused to sign the form prescribed by Alexander VII., and who had joined the Jansenist party. Nineteen other bishops, as is known, wrote in favor of the four; and like them contended that the Church had not the power to decide infallibly on human facts not revealed by God, and consequently could only require of the faithful respect for her decrees. The Holy Father required an investigation into the conduct of the four bishops, which would have produced insurmountable difficulties.

Meantime, the four bishops addressed a circular letter to all the French episcopate, calling upon them to unite with the four in preventing the threatened trial, but the Most Christian king condemned the letter as seditious, and recommended the other bishops to disregard it.

This royal resolution, and the advice of their friends, induced the four bishops to agree to sign the formulary, provided they were spared the confusion of retracting their pastoral. Clement, full of kindness and charity, consented to this arrangement, and on the 1st of September the four bishops addressed to the pope a letter filled with sentiments of respectful submission to the apostolical constitutions. The pope having subsequently learned that their conduct was not sincere, and that their letter was not conformable to the recognition which they had promised, inasmuch as it drew a distinction between the question of fact and that of right, demanded an attestation of their having sincerely signed the formulary according to the constitutions of Innocent X. and Alexander VII.

It would seem that even after that declaration, there still was something that might be objected to. But Clement was facile and merciful, and addressed a letter to them, accepting their full and entire obedience without mental reservation, testified his satisfaction on their return to obedience, admitted them to peace and communion, and at the same time declared that, in any such matter, he would never allow of either exception or restriction.

That event, which occurred in 1667, was called the peace of Clement IX. ;

but that peace had been attended by such misunderstandings or such trickery, that it could not be lasting, as we shall perceive in the reign of Clement XI.

Meantime, the zealous pontiff, by repeated requests and exhortations, induced James, patriarch of Upper Armenia, to use the ritual of the Roman Church; that patriarch having abandoned it to embrace the errors of the Armenians, which had been condemned by the Council of Florence, in the reign of Eugene IV., especially the refusal to mix water with the wine in the sacrifice of the Mass. The pope compelled Hardouin, archbishop of Paris, to re-establish the holidays which he had suppressed without the consent of the Holy See. At the same time, to testify his esteem for the Most Christian king, he granted him the right of presentation to churches, abbeys, and benefices, in the provinces newly united to France. This privilege included the bishoprics of Metz, Toul, Verdun, Tournay, and Arras.

In 1668 the imperial chapel of Vienna was burned, and five days afterwards a piece of the true cross, which had been venerated in that chapel, was found intact amidst the ashes. The Empress Eleanor, widow of Ferdinand III., in memory of that miracle, founded the order of the ladies called the *Starry Cross*, which the Holy Father approved by his brief of the 2d of August, 1668, and enriched it by many indulgences in favor of those admitted into it. This order has become one of the most distinguished of the Austrian empire, and is given only to women of high rank.

Like his predecessors, Clement sought the restoration of concord among all Christian princes. The peace of Aix-la-Chapelle was due in part to his entreaties, and to the respect that he inspired; his nuncio, Monsignor Franciotti, nobly seconding his views. The two kings of France and Spain had declared the Holy Father *the absolute arbiter of their will*. There is a letter extant, in which Louis XIV. declares that he consents to every thing to gratify the Holy Father. At the same time the king consented to the pulling down of the column erected at Rome in 1664, to perpetuate the memory of the crime of the Corsican soldiers. In return, there was removed from the square of Saint Mary Major a cross, at the foot of which was an inscription said to be somewhat unfavorable to the memory of Henry IV., grandfather of Louis XIV.

Sad ferments of war prevailed between the Spaniards and the Portuguese. From the year 1640, when John IV., duke of Braganza, had been declared by his nation king of Portugal, the two nations had kept up an obstinate war. John IV. fought for a kingdom which he claimed as his birthright, and which the fidelity of his Portuguese had restored to him. Philip IV., on the contrary, fought for the recovery of that kingdom which, as he maintained, had been usurped from him. Such were the opposite pretensions of the two princes, and such the cause of the war which had lasted for twenty-

eight years. The pontiffs Urban VIII., Innocent X., and Alexander VII., in order not to offend Spain, in case Portugal should fail in its struggle for independence, had refused to receive the ambassadors of John IV., when that prince, as a respectful son, had sent to take the oath of obedience to the supreme pastor. John IV. died in 1656, leaving as his successor his eldest son Alphonsus VI., under the guardianship of his mother. Philip IV. died in 1665. The Portuguese, in 1667, deposed king Alphonsus; the mag-nates of the kingdom, on the same day, declaring him incapable of reigning, and the clergy annulled his marriage. Then Dom* Pedro, brother of the deposed king, ascended the throne of his brother, at first as regent, and then as king, and also married his brother's wife.

Previous to this second marriage, the prince and the ex-queen applied for a dispensation to cardinal de Vendôme, apostolic legate at Paris, who, perhaps too promptly, granted it. Then doubts arose as to the validity of the marriage. The Portuguese dispatched to Rome Father Villa, a Jesuit, to state their uncertainty and to solicit the juridical dispensation.

At the same time, the legate dispatched one of his household to Rome to explain his motives in granting the dispensation. Clement committed the examination of the difficult matter to a congregation of cardinals and theologians. After a careful examination of both sides of the question, those who were favorable to the second marriage prevailed, and the pope confirmed the dispensation that had been granted by Cardinal Vendôme.

Subsequently, Dom Pedro seriously endeavored to make peace with Spain, and with the mediation of England, peace was signed between Spain and Portugal on the 5th of February, 1668. Clement confirmed the election of bishops that had previously been made, and received the Portuguese ambassador, the count of Prado, to whom his king soon after sent the title of marquis das Minas.

In 1669 the pope was pained by the news of the fall of Candia. He had so earnestly entreated the aid of all the Catholic princes, that the Venetians were encouraged to a most heroic resistance. The Mussulman lost seven pachas, eighty officers, and ten thousand janissaries, without counting the loss of other troops. Throughout Christendom prayers were put up that the progress of the Turks might soon be stayed.

There can be no doubt that that new and great disaster shortened the days of Clement IX.; and on the night of the 7th of December, 1669, he died at the age of sixty-nine years, after governing the Church two years, five months, and nineteen days. He was interred at the Vatican, and his successor removed his body to a magnificent tomb in Saint Mary Major;

* The Portuguese say *Dom* where the Spaniards say *Don*, and the former lay great stress upon preserving that difference of title.

though Clement had positively insisted that he should be buried in the ground, with the simple inscription, *Clementis IX. cineres—the ashes of Clement IX.*

Clement had canonized Saint Peter of Alcantara, and Saint Mary Magdalen of Pazzi, a Carmelite. This pontiff possessed noble virtues. He often personally administered the sacrament of penance in the Basilica of Saint Peter. He had set days on which to hear all who presented themselves, no matter what their rank or condition. He was also very accessible to those who applied for audience at the palace; another great virtue in a prince. One day, when he had spent many hours in listening to the complaints of a crowd of poor creatures, he heard one poor man regret that he had not also been heard. The pope immediately returned to the audience-room to console the poor man who was so grieved at not having been able to speak to the pope. Clement affably replied to all his requests, and sent him away completely satisfied. He frequently visited the hospitals; and the appearance, often quite unexpected, of such a sovereign, was very advantageous to the patients, who threatened the attendants of the hospitals to complain to the pope if they neglected their duty.

He daily received twelve pilgrims at the table of his palace, and he personally served them, when he was able to render this service of predilection.

In general, he behaved magnificently to the poor. He administered justice as a sovereign jealous of his power; but he no less constantly tempered it by mildness.

This pope ordered a reform of his table, and the money thus saved was regularly given to the needy.

Twice a year he performed his spiritual exercises in the convent of the Dominicans of Saint Sabina, whither he retired at carnival time to devote himself solely to works of piety.

In order to abolish many of the taxes which pressed heavily upon Rome and the Ecclesiastical State, he instituted a congregation which was everywhere blessed, and which earned for him the regrets of the whole Roman population.

He also established a congregation to regulate strictly all matters concerning indulgences and relics.

Clement was moderate with respect to his relations. He denied them all that kind of wealth which, according to the custom of those times, they might have expected. He was accustomed to say, "Our family has wealth enough in what we have abandoned to them of our own patrimony." Those virtues and many others had their source in the profound humility of the pope. So great was it, that when the ten statues with which he adorned the bridge of Saint Angelo were finished, he would not have his coat of

arms or even his name placed there. But that feeling was not shared by Clement X., who subsequently ordered it to be engraved.*

When a new pope ascends the throne, whatever may have been his previous tastes and studies, it is absolutely necessary that he instantly become

* The following medals are in my own collection :

1. CLEMENS IX. PONT. MAX. ANNO I. *Rev.* : ALIIS NON SIBI CLEMENS—*To others, but not to himself.* A pelican feeding her young,—an allusion to the pope's charity and his love of the poor.

2. PACE POPVLIS SVIS A DOMINO CONCESSA. Procession upon the square of Saint Peter's. Struck at the peace of *Aix-la-Chapelle*.

3. ÆLIO PONTE EXORNATO. View of the castle and bridge of Saint Angelo. The statues, as at present, appear.

Du Molinet adds :

1. PROTECTOR NOSTER ROMÆ. Saint Peter seated, and giving the benediction with his right hand, and holding the keys in his left. Struck during the prayers offered up in the Vatican church during the war of Candia.

2. CONSTANTIA SILVERII IMITAT. PROPOSITA. The tiara upon the crossed keys. Clement was elected on the feast of Saint Sylverius. That pope being exiled in 536, bore his sufferings with great constancy. The bishop of Patara loudly defended the pontiff, and even said to the Emperor Justinian : "*There are many kings in the world, but there is but one pope in the Church of the universe.*" Justinian, far from taking offence at the bold language of the truthful bishop, restored Sylverius to his authority in Rome. Yet Belisarius not only disobeyed the order, but continued to persecute Sylverius, who was banished to the isle of Palmeria, and died there of hunger in 538. Clement on ascending the throne proposed to himself to suffer like another Sylverius, should that be necessary, for the defence of the Church ; but God did not then require such sacrifices from his pontiffs.

3. SIGNVM CLEMENTIÆ MONSTRABIT. Clemency, seated, holds in one hand a scroll, and in the other an olive-branch. This medal, which formed a part of the cabinet of *Père la Chaise*, is not readily met with in Rome.

4. In the field : IPSE DOMINVS POSSESSIO EIVS. (Deut. x. 9.) Struck on taking possession of Saint John Lateran. In the exergue, a lamb holds the cross.

5. DEDIT INDICA ROSA ODOREM SVAVITATIS. Struck at the beatification of Saint Rosa, a Peruvian. The words are in the field, which is inclosed within a crown of roses.

6. ADDITVM ECCLESIAE MVNIMEN ET DECVS. In the exergue : S. PETRVS DE ALCANTARA.—S. MAGDALENA DE PAZZI. Distributed on the day of the canonization of Saint Peter of Alcantara, a Spaniard, and St. Magdalen, of the celebrated Pazzi family, a Florentine. The Holy Ghost above the saints kneeling.

7. CLEMENS FOEDERIS OPVS. Clemency and Peace embrace, and trample Discord and weapons under their feet. The treaty of *Aix-la-Chapelle*.

8. IN SPLENDORIBVS SANCTORVM S. PETRVS ALCANT., S. MAGDALENA DE PAZZI. Saint Peter and Saint Magdalen are kneeling before Christ, seated on his throne, and giving each of them a crown.

9. ÆLIO PONTE EXORNATO. The bridge of Saint Angelo, seen opposite with its statues. Fame in the air sounding the trumpet.

10. DILIGIT DOMINVS DECOREM DOMVS GENITRICIS SUX. Struck on the embellishment of Saint Mary Major, by order of the pope. He erected statues on the exterior apsis or sanctuary. View of the back of the Basilica.

Bonanni also gives the ordinary medal bearing these words :

1. TV DOMINVS ET MAGISTER. EXEMPLVM DEDI VOBIS. It was customary to distribute this medal among the poor priests whose feet the pope washed on Holy Thursday. We shall not mention it again, unless we have to point out some essential variation. All are struck from the same die, the head being changed.

2. ILLVXIT : ILLVCESCAT ADHVC. ROMA. In the field, the Holy Ghost surrounded by rays.



a lover and protector of the arts. Rome, already so sumptuously adorned, yet needs further adornment. A sort of college of the learned and the artistic soon perceive what the new pope can do, and order some embellishment which has been postponed. And the reigning pope cannot receive such a request with indifference. As cardinal, he lived in that atmosphere of grandeur and beauty. He has perhaps whispered to himself: "Is there not something lacking here?" As pope, he can do what has been forgotten by his predecessors. All the men of wit and talent who were in Rome, represented to Clement IX. that the bridge of Saint Angelo did not accord with the idea conceived by those who repair to Saint Peter's.

That bridge was constructed by Ælius Adrian; and the ancients called it, indifferently, the Ælian bridge or the bridge of Adrian. The idea of that structure was adopted by that emperor, not only to give access to his tomb, which was on the right bank of the Tiber, but also to afford a convenient passage across the river to travellers from Upper Italy to Rome, by following the Consular, the Aurelian, the Cassian, and the Flaminian ways. All those historical ways converged at that Ælian bridge, which is now known as the bridge of Saint Angelo, from the castle of that name to which it gives access.

In the holy year 1450, the parapets of the bridge were broken by the great multitude of people. Many persons fell into the Tiber, and many others were smothered or crushed; in all, one hundred and seventy-two perished miserably. This accident determined Nicholas V. to have the bridge thoroughly repaired, and to free it from all the paltry shops and habitations which encumbered it. At the entrance, he erected two small chapels, which he dedicated to Saint Peter and Saint Paul. Subsequently, Pope Clement VII. substituted for those small chapels the statues of those holy apostles, which still remain there. That of Saint Peter is by Lorenzetto, a Florentine; Paul, a Roman, sculptured that of Saint Paul. These chapels, the bridge, and the castle of Saint Angelo, such as they existed in the sixteenth century, are represented in a fresco painting in the French church of the *Trinità de' Monti*, which now belongs to the ladies of the Sacred Heart. In the fresco, Leo X., under the figure of Saint Gregory, watches the angel, who is sheathing the destroying sword above the castle.

The existing adornments of the bridge were executed under Clement VII., by the Chevalier Bernini, who with his own hand sculptured the angel sustaining the inscription of the cross. The nine other statues were by his pupils. The angel with the pillar, is by Antonio Raggi; the one who holds the holy face, is by Como Fancelli; Jerome Lucenti was the author of the statue presenting the nails; Hercules Ferrata sculptured the figure who holds the cross, and Domenico Guidi the one who holds the lance. The one who holds the scourge, is by Lazarus Morelli; one with the garment

and the dice, and one holding the crown of thorns, by Paul Naldini. The one holding the sponge is by Antonio Giorgetti.

Thus, while walking twenty steps, we have a complete course of the events which preceded the death of our Lord Jesus Christ.

Under Adrian this bridge had seven arches, now reduced to six ; and it is nearly or quite a hundred yards long.

The origin of the name of the castle of Saint Angelo is attributed to the reign of Saint Gregory the Great. During the reign of that pontiff, in the year 593, a terrible pestilence afflicted Rome. Saint Gregory the Great, to obtain the cessation of that scourge, made public prayer at the head of the clergy and the people : suddenly, on the top of the tower, he saw an armed angel sheathing his sword.

The Holy See was vacant four months and nineteen days.

243. CLEMENT X.—A. D. 1670.



CLEMENT X. (Emilius Altieri) was born at Rome on the 15th of July, 1590, son of Lorenzo Altieri and Victoria Delphini, a Venetian lady. The Altieri family had enjoyed the highest consideration at Rome for several centuries, and had occasionally contracted alliances with the Colonnas and the Orsinis.

After finishing his studies, Emilius was named, in 1623, auditor of John Baptist Lancellotti, in the nunciature of Poland. On his return to Rome, Emilius was created bishop of Camerino, and then governor of Loretto and of all Umbria.

Innocent X. sent him as nuncio to Naples, where he remained eight years.

Alexander VII. confided to him a mission to Poland. Clement IX. named him, in 1667, his *mastro di camera*, and just before the death of the pope, also gave him the purple. He was then about seventy-four years of age ; and Clement, when making him a member of the sacred college, said to him : “ *You will be our successor.*”

After the funeral of Clement, sixty-two electors entered into conclave, on the 20th of December, 1669. Forty-two votes were necessary, and warm discussion prevailed for four months. Cardinal John Nicholas Conti was supported by twenty-two votes ; Cardinal Rospigliosi, nephew of Clement

IX., had thirty, or as some say, thirty-three, with two at the accesso, so that he wanted only seven more votes to gain the tiara. Cardinal Cerri obtained twenty-three votes. At length the cardinals agreed to propose Cardinal Altieri. He, however, objected on the score of age, for he was eighty, and exclaimed, "I am too old to bear such a burden." Pointing to Cardinal Brancacci, Altieri said he was the cardinal whom they ought to elect. He persisted in refusing, protesting that he no longer had strength or memory; but at length, vanquished by the entreaties of the best theologians, he with tears accepted, on the 29th of April, 1670, that pontificate which was offered to him by fifty-nine cardinals present at the election—only two being against him.

He took the name of Clement in memory of his benefactor, Clement IX., and was crowned on the 11th of May following. On the 8th of June he took possession of Saint John Lateran. On the 11th of June he confirmed the Minor Observantines in the Holy Land, in the privileges and indulgences granted to those who visit the holy places, according to the decree of Popes Alexander VII. and Clement IX.*

In the same month he granted to the prelate-clerks of the chamber the use of the violet-colored band around their hats.

Like all the pontiffs, Clement advised the Christian princes to love each other, and to prove it by an entire confidence, by generous measures, and by a prudent and scrupulous conduct. It was especially between Spain and France that the pope desired to witness a renewal of feelings of good understanding.

At this same period (1670), in his instructions to his son, Louis XIV. wrote the following words:

"The state of the two crowns of Spain and France is such that one cannot rise without the abasement of the other; and to say the truth quite candidly, they never enter into any treaties between them without that spirit and that feeling. Whatever plausible clauses they may introduce into a treaty, such, for instance, as the professions of union, friendship, etc., the real sense which each for his own part perfectly understands, is just simply that they will, as to externals, abstain from all sorts of hostilities and demonstrations of ill-will; but as to secret infractions, which make no noise, *one always expects them from the other*, and each promises the contrary only in the same sense in which it is promised to him. Thus, one may say that in thus mutually dispensing themselves from the observance of treaties, they virtually do not break them because neither has taken the words of a treaty in their literal sense; just as it happens in the world, where, to live

* Father Theophilus de Nola was then guardian of the Holy Land, with the title of Most Reverend.

at all comfortably together, we have to resort to a series of compliments which always have *far less meaning than sound*."*

The next year Clement confirmed the exemptions granted by Gregory XIII. (bull, July 15, 1674) to the German college at Rome; and then, on the 16th of October, 1672, he ordered the pupils to swear that at the close of their studies they would set out for Germany without a day's delay.

On the 15th of March, in the same year, 1671, the pope published an edict by which he declared that a noble might be a merchant without loss of his nobility, provided always that he did not sell by retail.

On the 12th of April, 1671, Clement canonized five new saints: 1. Saint Gaetan of Thienna, founder of the Clerks of Divine Providence, better known by their other title of Theatins. 2. Saint Francis Borgia, fourth duke of Gandia, marquis of Lombay, and viceroy of Catalonia, born in 1510. He took the habit of the Jesuits, in 1547, and became general and one of the most illustrious ornaments of that religious order. 3. Saint Philip Benizzo, a noble Florentine, a religious of the order of Servants of Mary; of which he was the reviver, and not, as has been stated by some, the founder. Leo X. beatified him on the 24th of January, 1516. 4. Saint Louis Beltran, or Bertrand, a Spaniard, of the family of Saint Vincent Ferrer, and like him a Dominican. 5. Saint Rose, of the third order of Saint Dominic, born at Lima, in Peru, on the 20th of April, 1586; died on the 24th of August, 1617. Saint Rose, beatified by Clement IX., was the first American Saint.

On the 13th of January, 1672, Clement regulated the formalities to be observed in removing the relics of saints from sacred cemeteries. No one was to remove such relics without the permission of the cardinal-vicar. They were not to be exposed for the veneration of the faithful, unless previously examined by the same cardinal. The principal relics of the martyr—that is to say, the head, the legs, the arms, and the part in which they suffered—were to be exposed only in the churches, and they were not to be given to private persons, but only to princes and high prelates; and even to them but rarely, lest the too great profusion should deprive relics of the respect which they ought to inspire. The Holy Father decreed severe penalties against all who gave a relic any name but that given by the cardinal-vicar. The pain of excommunication was pronounced against all who should demand any sum whatever for sealed and authentic relics. These decrees, and others made by preceding popes, were confirmed by Clement XI., on the 19th of February, 1704.

Besides beatifying Pope Pius V., Francis Solano, and John of the Cross, all subsequently canonized by Clement XI. and Benedict XIII., Clement X., on the 24th of November, 1673, beatified nineteen martyrs of Gor-

* *Works of Louis XIV.* (Paris, 1806, vol. i.): Memorials and Instructions to the Dauphin.

cum, imprisoned at that place in Holland, and put to death on the 9th of July, 1572—in hatred of the Catholic faith, the primacy of the pope, the Roman Church, and the Holy Sacrament of the Eucharist. Of the nineteen Gorcum martyrs, eleven were Franciscan priests; Peter Ascanius and Cornelius Vican, laymen; one Dominican, two Premonstratensian monks, a regular canon of Saint Augustine, and four secular parish priests.

Clement, seeing the results of the apostolic labors of the early French missionaries in Canada, the number of the faithful, and the wide field of labor, resolved to give the Church an independent organization, and erected a See at Quebec, the bishop to depend directly on the Holy See,—a provision which, in the designs of Providence, secured its permanence after the country passed into the hands of England. The first bishop was Monseigneur Laval de Montmorency.

In 1673 there arrived at Rome ambassadors from the grand duke of Muscovy, John Basilowitz. He solicited from the pope the title of Czar, which, however, he had already conferred upon himself. At the same time it could not be forgotten that he had assisted the king of Poland in the last war against the Turks. But Paul Nanes, a Scotchman, who was the ambassador, could not obtain the grant or sanction of that title, though he was received with great magnificence, and had many precious gifts to carry back to his master. The grand duke of Muscovy did not profess the Catholic faith in such a manner as to give any assurance of his intentions, and the king of Poland had looked upon the embassy with displeasure.*

* The following are my three medals of the pontificate of Clement X.:

1. CLEMENS X. PONT. MAX. AN. I. *Rev.*: TV ES PETRVS, ET SVPER HANC PETRAM ÆDIFICABO. In the exergue are the words, ECCLESIAM MEAM, completing the sentence. Saint Peter, kneeling, receives the keys from Christ.

2. In the ribbon, at the top of the field, VIVIFICAT ET BEAT.; an allusion to the daughter saving her father's life. In Valerius Maximus, it is a young woman saving with her milk her mother, condemned to die by starvation; in the medal, the young mother saves her father, condemned to the same terrible death. The work in this medal is excellent. The young woman looks before her, as if applauding herself on her filial action. Struck to commemorate the care that Clement took of the poor, of the condemned, and of all kinds of wretchedness that humanity bids us succor.

3. TVRCAR. SIGNA A POLONIS RELATA. MDCLXXIV. Clement, seated on his throne, is receiving from the hands of kneeling Poles a Turkish standard.

Du Molinet adds:

1. COLLES FLVENT MEL DE PETRA. In the exergue: S. PETRVS M. Saint Peter, in a Dominican habit, a palm in the right hand, crowned by an angel with a palm in the left.

2. CVM ME LAVDARENT SIMVL ASTRA MATVTINA. (Job, xxxviii.) Alluding to the stars in the Altieri arms. The Blessed Virgin standing on the moon; head encircled by six stars.

3. ARTE MEA BIS IVSTVS. Moneta, with the scales and cornucopia. A similar piece was struck under Louis XIII., in France.

4. ROMA RESVRGENS. Saint Peter and Saint Paul, the former raising a kneeling woman. Designed after a medal of Vespasian.

5. DOMINE TV SCIS QVIA AMO TE. (John xxi. 15.) Saint Peter, kneeling.

6. DEVS FVNDavit EAM. AN. MDCLXXII. Façade of Saint Mary Major.

Meantime, Rome had reason to fear trouble. Cardinal Altieri, who was at the head of the government, determined to increase the revenues, and he established a new tax of three per cent. upon all merchandise entering the city, including even goods for cardinals and ambassadors. Although the government complained that ambassadors had abused their privilege, the diplomatic corps showed discontent that they were not expressly exempted in the new tax-law. Another edict confirmed the first, and ordered the confiscation without distinction of all goods that did not pay the new tax. The cardinals at first complained, though with moderation. But the ambassadors held different language. The cardinal-nephew maintained that the pope, within his own State, might make what rules he pleased. Then the ambassadors of the Empire, of France, Spain, and Venice, sent their secretaries to demand an audience of the pope. The chief chamberlain replied that the pope was engaged that day. And for four days in succession, the chamberlain gave the same answer to the same applicants. The pope learning at length what had occurred, declared that he had given no such order. The ambassadors then sent their secretaries to ask an audience of Cardinal Altieri. He not only refused to admit them, but closed his doors and increased the guard at the pontifical palace; so that the offence could go no further.*

7. *PLENA EST OMNIS TERRA GLORIA EORVM.* Struck at the canonization of Saint Cajetan of Thiena, Saint Francis Borgia, Saint Philip Benizo, Saint Louis Beltran, and Saint Rose of Lima, who are represented kneeling in this order. The Holy Ghost, and angels above.

8. *SOLEM NOVA SIDERA NORVNT.* The same saints, arranged differently.

9. *PER ME VITA, EXTRA ME MORS.* Religion.

10. *VT ABUNDANTIVS HABEANT.* Plenty crowned with wheat, a harvest scene.

11. *INTERCEDITE PRO NOBIS.* Saint Peter and Saint Paul.

12. *CVNCTIS PATET INGRESSVS.* Civita Vecchia declared a free port.

13. *FLVENT AD EVM OMNES GENTES.* The lower part of Saint Peter's, the Vatican on the right. The wolf suckling Romulus and Remus. Renown with a standard—*IN SPLENDORE STELLARVM.* A Jubilee medal.

14. *LAVDENT IN PORTIS OPERA EIVS.* The pope opens the holy gate.

15. *APERVI EIS THESAVRVVM TVVM.* The pope before the holy gate.

16. *BENEDIXIT FILIIS IN TE.* The pope closes the gate.

17. *APERVIT DOMINVS THESAVRVVM SVVM.* The holy gate, the pope and cardinals.

18. Around a ribbon: *DOMVS DEI ET PORTA CÆLI.* The pope with the gold hammer before the opened door.

19. *SPIRITV ORIS EIVS OMNIS VIRTVS EORVM.* The globe with six stars above.

Bonanni describes also these:

1. *DEDI CORAM TE OSTIVM APERTVM.* A Jubilee medal, alluding to the presence of Queen Christina.

2. In the exergue: *DECOR EIVS GLORIA SANCTORVM.* Struck at the canonization of Saint Cajetan, &c.

3. *VT ABVNDETIS MAGIS.* A ship with grain entering Civita Vecchia, in time of famine. Medal by John Hamerani. Clement imported grain to relieve the poor.

Venuti adds: *CITA APERITIO BREVES ÆTERNAT DIES.*

* Novaes, x., p. 243.

Subsequently, the cardinal-nephew wrote to the nuncios who resided in the courts of Europe, stating that the excesses committed by the ambassadors had induced the pope to publish the edict. The ambassadors, on the contrary, assured their sovereigns that the accusation was a pretext.

The conflict lasted for above a year; and Clement, who loved peace, at length referred the matter to a congregation. Some time after, Cardinal Altieri declared that he had not intended to comprise the ambassadors among those for whom the edict was intended, and that the pope had never contemplated subjecting them to it. The affair would have been far less disagreeable, if, at the first, the explanation had been given which was not published until so long afterwards.

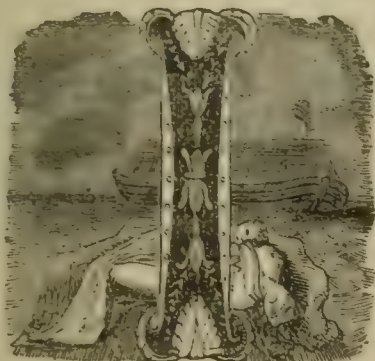
In the year 1675, Clement celebrated the fourteenth Jubilee of the Holy Year. Notwithstanding his age, he visited the churches, regretting that the gout prevented him from making that holy visit more than five times. He went twelve times to Trinity hospital, to wash the feet of the pilgrims; and after the ceremony, gave them liberal alms.

However, Rome made some complaints, and said that though Clement was pope in name, Cardinal Altieri was pope in fact.

On the 22d of July, 1676, the agonies of the gout became so violent, that the pope died under them. He was eighty-six years old, and had governed the Church six years, two months, and twenty-four days. He was interred at the Vatican.

The Holy See remained vacant one month and twenty-nine days.

244. INNOCENT XI.—A. D. 1676.



INNOCENT XI. (Benedict Odescalchi) was born on the 16th of May, 1611, of an illustrious family of Como, a city of the Milanese. Having completed his studies under the Jesuits, he went to Genoa to perfect his acquirements; thence to Rome and to Naples, where he received the grade of doctor. Having from an early age felt a vocation to the ecclesiastical state, he proceeded to

Rome in the reign of Urban VIII., who made him assistant prothonotary, president of the chamber, and commissioner of assistance of the March during the war against the duke of Ferrara.

Innocent X., after confiding to Benedict the functions of president of the

March and governor of Macerata, gave him the purple in 1645, when he was not yet thirty-four years of age.

In 1666, Cardinal Odescalchi was created legate to Ferrara. His letters of nomination began with these complimentary words: "We send you, the father of the poor."

Bayle and several other French encyclopædias state that Benedict had been a soldier. This is not correct. The writers have confounded him with quite another Odescalchi, who fought in Flanders. Count Antonio-Joseph Rezzonico, in a dissertation printed at Como in 1742, has shown that Benedict was never a soldier. These writers ascribe Pope Innocent's opposition to Louis XIV. to the military tastes and habits of the pontiff. But in truth, as Benedict was never any thing but an ecclesiastic, it is manifestly unjust to attribute to him the hard, stern feeling of the camp: an ecclesiastic from the first, he could only take counsel from the duties of sovereign pontiff and independent sovereign.

In the conclave which followed the death of Clement IX., Benedict would doubtless have received the tiara; but cardinal de Bouillon, fearing the known austerity of Odescalchi, induced the king of France to exclude him.

After the funeral of Clement X., on the 2d of August, 1676, sixty-seven sacred electors entered into conclave.

To meet the necessary expense of this occasion, the sacred college had previously decided that a sum of twenty-five thousand crowns should be drawn from the treasury of the castle of Saint Angelo.

It was in this conclave that the name of the *Zelanti* was first used; it indicated those cardinals who, from pure religious zeal, sought, independently of all human consideration and interest, to select the worthiest for the pontificate. In the first scrutinies, Cardinal Celio Piccolomini obtained twenty-eight votes; but forty-five were required for a valid election. Cardinal Gravina then proposed Odescalchi. The latter warmly refused the nomination; but, on the evening of the 20th of September, the cardinals, paying no attention to his resistance, repaired to the chapel, and, without a single exception, insisted upon kissing his hand, which was sufficient to make him the legitimately elected head of the Church; this being a less tumultuous kind of election by *adoration*. Odescalchi, taken by surprise by this novelty, burst into sobs, and implored a moment for reflection. There was an instant silence, and all present gazed with astonishment and admiration upon that spectacle of humility and detachment from worldly grandeurs.

At that moment, Odescalchi, his face downcast towards the earth, shed tears that were actually visible upon the earth. He entreated the cardinals to elect some one else: he named one of them worthier than himself; he named two; he named all of them, and he entreated them not to crush him under a burden too heavy for him to bear. But the electors were inflexible,

especially Cibo, a personage of great integrity, and especially jealous of the decorum of the Church, and they would allow Odescalchi to hesitate no longer; and they menaced him with the consideration that by prolonging the conclave he would be acting to the detriment of Holy Church.

That powerful motive was required to decide him to accept; but he still demanded that there should be a scrutiny, in order that every thing should be done decorously and in order. At first, he had nineteen votes; but, at the accesso, the other forty-seven votes elected him pontiff.*

On account of the close friendship which united Odescalchi and Cibo, who hoped to see another Innocent VIII., of the Cibo family, and in memory of Innocent X., from whom Odescalchi had received the purple, Benedict took the name of Innocent XI., and was crowned on the 4th of October. A month later, on the 8th of November, he took possession of Saint John Lateran.

On the day of his election, when he had scarcely entered the Vatican, he called to his side Livius Odescalchi, the only son of his brother Charles, and told him in a tone of authority to proceed with his studies at the college of the Jesuits. "You will make," said the pope to his nephew, "no change in your former way of life; you will receive neither presents nor visits as our nephew, and you will in no respect interfere in the government of our court." The young noble, who was then twenty-two years of age, obeyed these orders of his uncle.† That his nephew should have no cause to complain, the pope presented to him his own entire patrimony; an income of some forty thousand crowns, with the exception of less than one-fortieth, which the Holy Father reserved for his own personal expenses. "There," said Innocent, "you have enough to support you nobly, without your needing any of the dew of the Vatican." And during his whole pontificate, this disinterested pope never touched a cent of the State income, but ordered all to be applied to the discharge of the debts of the apostolic chamber and the needs of the Church.

He reformed the palace table, and admitted to it none but those who were recommended by modest demeanor and purity of morals. He soon announced to all the Christian sovereigns his exaltation, of which he had been the sole opponent, and he exhorted them to concord, and offered to go to any Catholic city they chose, in order that he might personally endeavor to arrange terms of peace, and show the spirit of conciliation that especially belongs to a sovereign pontiff. At the same time, he recommended to all his nuncios that they should bear in mind the bygone victories of the Turks, and their attempts to put down Christianity in Europe.

* Sixty-seven cardinals were in the conclave. Odescalchi gave his vote to Cibo; the other sixty-six elected Odescalchi.

† There are no nephews officially, excepting when the pope chooses.

Innocent XI. ordered an attentive examination into the conduct and capacity of all who were proposed for promotion to dignities; and to that end he named a congregation of four cardinals and four prelates, with instructions to regard merit as the sole claim to benefices, altogether irrespective of influence and patronage. On one occasion, Cardinal Cibo presented to the pontiff a list of competitors for various canonries, and a memorandum of the several recommendations. Glancing through the list, the pope came to a name to which no recommendation was attached. "And this one," said the pope to the cardinal, "who recommends him?" "No one," replied the cardinal. "In that case," said the pope, "we will patronize him, and prefer him to all the others. We think right little about recommendations, when the person lacks virtue. Dignities should be the reward of virtue, and not of ambition—the prize of merit, and not of office-seeking."

Feeling the deep importance of these noble maxims, he ordered bishops not to admit to holy orders any one who had not either a patrimony or a benefice rightfully conferred. Renewing the decree of Alexander VII., he ordered that candidates for the priesthood should for ten days perform the spiritual exercises of Saint Ignatius.

In a secret consistory, he one day made some general remarks upon sumptuous carriages and gorgeous liveries; and he begged the cardinals, for Christ's sake, to hold themselves aloof from all luxurious pomp, as being altogether incompatible with ecclesiastical decorum.

Learning that some barons neglected to pay their debts to their merchants, he ordered the latter to be paid from the ecclesiastical chamber, which could recover it more easily. This failing to correct the evil, he forbade merchants to give credit, under penalty of losing all legal claim upon their debtors. He also endeavored to repress the usury of the Jews, which until then had possessed almost entire impunity. He published some excellent laws called *Innocenziane*; he reformed all the tribunals and the chanceries, taking care that the expenses should be regulated only by the justice of the particular cases, and not by avarice and greed.

On the 13th of March, in the year 1677, Innocent confirmed the decree of the Congregation of Rites, of the 16th of the preceding January, which approved the immemorial *cultus* (that is, the *equipollente*, and not the solemn beatification) of the blessed Amadeus X., third duke of Savoy, eldest son of the second Duke Louis of that name, and of Anne, daughter of John, king of Cyprus, and grandson of that Duke Amadeus who was anti-pope under the name of Felix V.

Amadeus X. was born at Thonon, on the 1st of February, 1435. Saint Francis de Sales, on the 7th of March, 1612, had solicited from Paul V. the canonization of this servant of God.

Innocent was rigidly opposed to the sale of any offices in his court, even if they were not ecclesiastical, and he abolished the college of the twenty-four apostolic secretaries, which had been established by Calixtus III.; refunding, however, to each of the secretaries the sum that he had paid for his place. Another good work engaged the attention of Innocent XI. He had reflected upon the excessive expenses of canonization, and he determined to provide effectually for this expense.

By a constitution, published on the 15th of October, 1678, he approved the decrees of the Congregation of Rites upon the rules to be followed in the beatification and the canonization of saints. He fixed the fees of all the ministers employed on those occasions, reforming and diminishing the price of the *vacations* which it would be necessary to allow in such proceedings.

Meantime the question of the *regalia* was revived in France—that is to say, of the right of the kings to enjoy the revenues of a vacant bishopric, and to confer, during the vacancy of a See, benefices without cure of souls. The parliament of Paris, by a sentence of 1668, had extended the *regalia* to all benefices which might be included in countries where the *regalia* had not previously obtained. King Louis XIV., by his edicts of 1673 and 1675, had confirmed that sentence, and the French clergy had approved it for fear of more troubles. The only opposing bishops had been those of Pamiers and Aleth; and, accordingly, their temporalities were confiscated.

When ecclesiastical rights were in the question, Innocent was not the pontiff to yield. He recommended the respect due to the constitution of the fourteenth general council (the Second Council of Lyons), celebrated in 1474 by Gregory X.,* and opposed the extension of the *regalia*; and he therefore invited the king of France not to insist upon the execution of his edicts. On that subject he addressed to his majesty on the 12th of March, and on the 21st of September, two briefs, in which he lavished both praise and entreaty. But the royal government turned a deaf ear. Then Innocent addressed two other briefs, of December 25, 1678, and March 3, 1680, adding menaces to his zealous exhortation.

On the 3d of February, 1682, commenced the operations of the famous assemblage of the Gallican clergy, consisting of thirty-four archbishops and bishops, and of thirty-eight ecclesiastics of less elevated rank. They recognized the right to extend the *regalia* to the whole kingdom, and established the four famous propositions called those of the Gallican clergy, concerning the independence of the kings, the authority of the general councils, and the power of the sovereign pontiffs, which they pretended to limit.

* *Bullarium Romanum*, vol. viii., p. 67.

We translate those propositions from the Latin, only premising that Innocent XI. most entirely condemned them.

Declaration of the Clergy of France ; 19th March, 1682.

“Many endeavor to destroy the decrees of the Gallican Church, and its liberties so zealously defended by our ancestors, and their foundations, resting upon the holy canons and the traditions of the Fathers. Nor are those wanting who, making those very liberties their pretext, hesitate not to attack the primacy of Saint Peter, and of the Roman pontiffs, his successors, instituted by Christ, and the obedience which all Christians owe to them, and the majesty of the Apostolic See, where the faith is taught, and where the unity of the Church is preserved, so venerable in the eyes of all nations. Heretics also omit nothing to represent that power, which preserves the peace of the Church, as odious and burdensome to both kings and peoples, and by such frauds withdraw simple souls from the communion of our mother the Church, and consequently of Christ. To remedy those evils, we, archbishops and bishops assembled at Paris by order of the king, together with other representatives of the Gallican Church, have thought fit, after mature deliberation, to establish and to declare :

“1. That power was given by God to Saint Peter and his successors, vicars of Christ, and to his Church, over things spiritual, and concerning eternal salvation, but not over things temporal and civil ; our Lord saying : ‘My kingdom is not of this world,’ (John, xviii. 36) ; and again, ‘Render unto Cæsar the things which are Cæsar’s, and unto God the things which are God’s’ (Luke, xx. 25) ; and hence that the apostolical maxim stands : ‘Let every soul be subject to higher powers, for there is no power but from God ; and those that are, are ordained of God. Therefore, he that resisteth the powers, resisteth the ordinance of God’ (Romans, xiii. 1. 2). That kings, therefore, and princes are not by God’s ordinance subjected in temporals to any ecclesiastical power, nor can they directly or indirectly be deposed by the power of the keys in the Church ; nor can their subjects be dispensed from the obedience and submission due from them, or from the oath of fidelity ; and that this doctrine, necessary for the public quiet, and no less advantageous to the Church than to the State, should be absolutely retained as conformable to the law of God, to the tradition of the holy Fathers, and to the examples of the saints.

“2. That the holy Apostolic See, and the successors of Saint Peter, vicars of Christ, have full power in things spiritual, yet so that the decrees of the holy Œcumenical Council of Constance, in sessions four and five, approved by the holy Apostolical See, confirmed by the usage of the Roman pontiffs themselves, and of the whole Church, and at all times perpetually kept by the Gallican religion, under the authority of the general councils,

do stand and remain unmoved. Nor does the Church of France approve of those who assail the validity of those decrees as of doubtful authority, or not approved, or distort the words of the council as enacted only for time of schism.

“3. Hence, that even as the use of the apostolic power should be regulated according to the canons made by the Spirit of God, and consecrated by the reverence of the whole world, that the regulations, morals, and constitutions received in the kingdom and the Gallican Church, should stand, and the landmarks set up by our fathers be kept unmoved and immovable; that it pertains to the greatness of the holy Apostolical See, that laws and customs, fixed by the consent of so great a See and the churches, should possess a peculiar stability.

“4. That although the pope has the chief part in questions of faith, and his decrees concern all and singular the churches, his judgment is not, however, irreformable, unless the consent of the Church is given.

“These things, handed down from the fathers, we order to be transmitted to all the Gallican churches and bishops presiding therein, by the authority of the Holy Ghost, in order that we may all speak the same language, and be of the same sentiments and doctrine.”*

* DECLARATIO DIE DECIMO NONO MARTII, 1682.—Ecclesiæ gallicanæ decreta et libertates a majoribus nostris tanto studio propugnatas, earumque fundamenta sacris canonibus et Patrum traditione nixa, multi diruere moliantur; nec desunt qui earum obtentu primatum beati Petri ejusque successorum romanorum pontificum a Christo institutum, iisque debitam ab omnibus christianis obedientiam, sedisque apostolicæ, in qua fides prædicatur, et unitas servatur Ecclesiæ, reverendam cunctis gentibus majestatem imminuere non vereantur. Hæretici quoque nil præmittunt quo eam potestatem, qua pax Ecclesiæ continetur, invidiosam et gravem regibus et populis ostentent, eisque fraudibus simplices animas ab Ecclesiæ matris Christique adeo communionem dissentient. Quæ ut incommoda propulsemus, nos archiepiscopi et episcopi Parisiis mandato regio congregati, Ecclesiam gallicanam repræsentantes, una cum cæteris ecclesiasticis viris nobiscum deputatis, diligenti tractatu habito, hæc sancienda et declaranda esse diximus:

1. Beato Petro ejusque successoribus Christi vicariis, ipsique Ecclesiæ, rerum spiritualium et ad æternam salutem pertinentium, non autem civilium ac temporalium a Deo traditam potestatem, dicente Domino: “Regnum meum non est de hoc mundo,” et iterum: “Reddite ergo quæ sunt Cæsaris Cæsari, et quæ sunt Dei Deo,” ac proinde stare apostolicum istud: “Omnis anima potestatibus sublimioribus subdita sit: non est enim potestas, nisi a Deo; quæ autem sunt, a Deo ordinatæ sunt. Itaque qui potestati resistit, Dei ordinationi resistit.” Reges ergo et principes et temporalibus nulli ecclesiasticæ potestati Dei ordinatione subjici, neque auctoritate clavium Ecclesia directe vel indirecte deponi aut illorum subditos eximi a fide, atque obedientia, ac præstito fidelitatis sacramento solvi posse. Eamque sententiam publicæ tranquillitati necessariam, nec minus Ecclesiæ quam regno utilem, ut verbo Dei, Patrum traditioni, et sanctorum exemplis consonam, omnino retinendam.

2. Sic autem inesse apostolicæ sedis ac Petri successoribus Christi vicariis rerum spiritualium plenam potestatem ut simul valeant, atque immota consistent sanctæ œcumenicæ synodi Constantiensis a sede apostolica comprobata, ipsorumque romanorum pontificum ac totius Ecclesiæ usu confirmata, a gallicana perpetua religione custodita decreta, de auctoritate conciliorum generalium, quæ sessione quarta et quinta continentur, nec probari a gallicana Ecclesia, qui eorum decretorum quasi dubiæ sint auctoritatis ac minus approbata, robur infringant, aut ad solum schismatis tempus concilii dicta detorqueant.

This declaration was signed by the thirty-four archbishops and bishops, and by the twenty-four ecclesiastical deputies composing the assembly.*

It has been said that the Holy See did not oppose those four propositions. To mention only a few writers, we will state, that Cardinal Sfrondrati wrote against them in his *Regale Sacerdotium, Gallia Vindicata*, etc.; Anthony Charlas, in his book *De Libertatibus Ecclesiæ Gallicanæ*. The propositions have also been refuted by Cardinal Orsi, Peter Ballerini, and by Zaccaria in the *Antifebronius*.

The declaration from the assembly of the archbishops and bishops of France, dated on the 19th of March, 1682, was followed, on the 23d of March of the same year, by an edict of the king, prescribing a great number of measures relating to that declaration. The king's edict, or letters patent, are as follows :

“Louis, by the grace of God, king of France and Navarre.

“Although the independence of our crown upon all other power than that of God, is a certain and indisputable fact, supported by the very words of Christ himself, we none the less have with pleasure received the declaration that has been presented to us by the representatives of the clergy of France, assembled, by our permission, in our good city of Paris, containing their sentiments with respect to the ecclesiastical power. And we have all the more readily listened to the request made by said deputies, that we publish this declaration in our kingdom, having been made by an assembly consisting of personages as venerable for their virtue as for their learning, and who so zealously devote themselves to the advantage of the Church and to our service. The wisdom and moderation with which they explain the sentiments which should be held on this subject, may contribute greatly to confirm our subjects in that respect which they are bound, like ourselves, to pay to the authority that God has given to the Church; and to withhold from the ministers of the pretended Reformed religion the pretext which they draw from the books of certain authors, to throw odium upon the legitimate head of the Church, and the centre of ecclesiastical unity.

3. Hinc apostolicæ potestatis usum moderandum per canones spiritu Dei conditos, et totius mundi reverentia consecratos : valere etiam regulas, mores et instituta a regno et Ecclesia gallicana recepta, patrumque terminos manere inconcussos, atque id pertinere ad amplitudinem apostolicæ sedis, ut statuta et consuetudines tantæ sedis et ecclesiarum consensione firmata, propriam stabilitatem obtineant.

4. In fidei quoque quæstionibus præcipuas summi pontificis esse partes, ejusque decreta ad omnes et singulas ecclesias pertinere ; nec tamen irreformabile esse judicium, nisi consensus Ecclesiæ accesserit.

Quæ accepta a patribus ad omnes ecclesias gallicanas atque episcopos in Spiritu Sancto autore præsidentes, mittenda decrevimus, ut idipsum dicamus omnes, simulque in eodem sensu et in eadem sententia.

* The French versions by Bossuet and Fleury are not absolutely exact translations.

"For these causes—1. We forbid all our subjects, and all foreigners residing within our kingdom, secular or regular, of whatever order, to teach in their houses, colleges, or seminaries, or to write any thing contrary to the doctrine herein contained.

"2. We order that those hereafter to be chosen to teach theology in all the colleges, of each university, whether seculars or regulars, shall subscribe the said declaration before being permitted to act; that they shall submit to teach the said doctrine, and that the syndics of the faculty of theology shall present to the local ordinaries and to our attorneys-general, copies of the said submission, signed by the secretaries of the said faculties.

"3. That in all the colleges and houses of the said universities, in which there are several professors, secular or regular, one of them shall be annually appointed to teach the doctrine contained in the said declaration; and in those colleges in which there is but one professor, he shall be bound to teach that doctrine in one of every three consecutive years.

"4. We enjoin upon the syndics of the faculties of theology annually to present, before the commencement of the lectures, to the archbishops and bishops of the cities in which they shall be, and to send to our attorneys-general, the names of the professors appointed to teach said doctrine; and we enjoin the said professors to present to the said prelates the writings which they will dictate to their scholars when they shall order them.

"5. It is our will that hereafter no bachelor shall be licensed either in theology or in canon law, or received as doctor, until he shall have maintained that doctrine in one of his theses, and having shown proof of such support in such theses to those having the power to confer the degrees.

"6. We exhort and enjoin all archbishops and bishops to exert their authority to cause the doctrine maintained in the said declaration to be taught within their dioceses.

"PARIS, March 23, 1682."

Assuredly, if the archbishops and bishops made no resistance to the signing of the four articles; if they thought that such a notification might become useful to the Church; if they recognized that the authority of the pope was to be thus boldly limited; if they thought it requisite to curb what Bruno called the Tiberine tyranny, they must now at length have discovered that they were subject to a perfectly insatiable authority, which would employ not even the language of the country to exhort and enjoin them to exert their authority in diffusing a doctrine more administrative than Christian, and more military than religious, with a view to substitute for the words of peace, concord, and mildness, new words of command, injunction, unbridled will, to which Catholicity was no longer accustomed. From the attorney-general who thus lectures the bishop, to the attorney-

general who has immediately under his hand the secular power, there is, in such times, but a step. The same hand countersigned a document and ordered the sword to leap from the scabbard.

We have deemed it absolutely necessary to give this edict with its strange provisions,—with orders as absolute as those of the custom-house or conscription; as imperious as the severest enactments to prevent fraud and crime. From the 19th of March to the 23d, only four days had elapsed, yet already the episcopal body must distinctly have perceived that instead of a royal master, great indeed by his genius, by his dignity, and by the nobleness of his political aspirations, it had also another master wherever there was a parliament; and that to this master, often haughty and passionate, an account must be given of even the most trivial interests of religion, and bend beneath the iron rod of these satraps, at the beck of their caprice, with this certain result, that the people would not know where to find the priest, and every criminal court become the intrusive sanctuary of a new religion. We shall have to speak further of that edict, when eleven years later, in the year 1693, Louis declared, to a later pope, that he *ordered the provisions of that edict not to be enforced*.

On the other hand, the Roman court neither was nor could be idle. On the 11th of April, the pope annulled the *Propositions* by a brief, and refused bulls to the bishops named by the king, under the Concordat signed between Leo X. and Francis II.

This refusal was a natural and inevitable consequence under the circumstances. The king said to the clergymen to be presented for the episcopate: "Subscribe the declaration of the 19th of March, 1682, and I will present you to the Holy See;" the Holy See, on the contrary, said, "Sign your *dissent* from the declaration of the 19th of March, and you shall have bulls."

No one could sign and at once disavow.

In such a case the king would have interposed, "And I have, then, no more need of you, and I withdraw my presentation." Some who write of the matter in our days, forget this edict of March 23d, which does not appear in Bossuet after the Declaration. De Pradt quotes it on a note in the four Concordats, but adds no comment. The right of teaching was entire, and without any other control than that of the dogmas and of the Holy See. Yet, taken away from the bishops, it passed into the hands of magistrates liable to err, and to be infected with the widely spread doctrines of Jansenius.

Fleury, in his "*Liberties of the Gallican Church*," says:

"If the parliaments are the protectors of the canons of the ancient discipline against the new establishments, they should combat them all equally, and should consequently do all in their power to prevent commendams, resignations in favor, pensions or benefices, the *regalia*, tithes, etc. But far

from combating those novelties; they authorized them, alike by their sentences and by their individual conduct; they opposed novelty only when it promised to be favorable to the pope and to ecclesiastics, and they made little account of antiquity when it was offensive to the king or powerful laymen.

“The respect that we owe to the king forbids us to speak rashly about the rights which he at present enjoys, although they seem contrary to the ancient canons. The respect that we owe to the pope forbids us to speak indiscreetly of what we see in the practice of the court of Rome, which looks like a departure from the ancient discipline: for the pope is our spiritual, as the king is our temporal superior; and if our fear to offend the king is a reasonable and Christian fear, it is only founded upon our conscientious obligation to obey him. Now, we are no less obliged in conscience to be subject to the pope in things spiritual: on the contrary, those who, because the pope is not their temporal lord, believe that they need have no care as to how they speak of his rights, give reason to suspect that their respect for the king proceeds from interested flattery or from servile fear. If charity and prudence forbid the publication of certain truths, lest such publication should disturb the public peace of the State, still more strongly do they forbid the publication of those which might disturb the peace of the Church.

“All who treat of such matters, and especially all laymen who do so, should seriously consider whether they do so as Christians purely, and in full freedom from all suggestions of interest, whether of money or of a reputation for learning. They should also consider what fruit they may reasonably expect from such disputes, other than gratuitously rendering themselves odious.

“If upon these principles we examine such writers as Du Molin, we shall discern in them much passion and injustice, with but little sincerity and equity, and still less of charity and humility. Most of those authors wrote prior to the Council of Trent, which abolished a great part of the abuses complained of; but it abolished more than was desired in France.”

Further on, at page 188 of the same work, he adds:

“It is claimed to base rights on facts, which for the most part are only so many enterprises. But right is proven, not by facts, but by laws—not by the laws of princes, but by the laws of God, interpreted by the Fathers and by the councils.

“We must revert to the source of all the spiritual powers, which is the will of Christ. He sent forth his apostles with power to preach, to administer the sacraments, to judge, to retain or to remit sins, to cut off from the Church, to appoint bishops as their successors, with the same powers, and to perpetuate the Church to the end of ages.

"Men may cite facts and argue as they will, the Church must always hold these powers, independent of all temporal authority; and it is impossible that any prince, merely as prince, should have these powers, inasmuch as they are supernatural.

"It must reciprocally be confessed that ecclesiastics, merely as such, have no power as to things temporal. The two powers are entirely separate and independent of each other.

"To see the true power of the Church, we must see that which it exercised under the pagan emperors; for it was in nothing wanting, it was never more perfect than then; it preached, it administered the sacraments, it imposed even public penances, excommunicated, ordained bishops and other sacred ministers, and held councils.

"The princes on becoming Christians did not become either bishops or priests, and acquired no more spiritual power than the humblest of the laity. All therefore that they have seemed to do in spiritual matters must be resolved into a simple exterior protection, or into a usurpation.

"If infidels endeavor to force their way into a church to disturb the service or profane the mysteries, the faithful laity have the right, whenever they have the power, to repel such infidels; but will it be pretended that therefore the Christian laity have the right to administer the sacraments?"*

* When the declaration of 1682 is in question, there is confusion of dates; Fleury is quoted, who, however, has not left detailed memoirs of the fact. From his avowed doctrine it is presumed that he must have approved of all in 1682, and yet we see what he did say and write subsequent, indeed, to Louis XIV.'s own disapproval of his own act.

We have seen the sub-preceptor of Louis XIV. speaking prudently and circumspectly, and in a Catholic sentiment, of the relations which should exist between Rome and a secular power such as France. That may suffice to give an exact understanding of the facts and rights of both parties.

But, to continue, for a long time only vague and uncertain data existed as to the negotiations which took place to lead to the declaration of 1682.

Here are Fleury's notes, as given by Emery:

"Chancellor le Tellier, and the archbishop of Rheims, his son, in concert with the bishop of Meaux (Bossuet), formed the project of a general assembly of the clergy, having the *regalia* for the chief subject of its attention. It was the archbishop of Rheims, supported by his father, who spoke of it to the king. The bishop of Meaux did not appear, but to give more weight to the assembly the king desired that that bishop should be a member. Chancellor le Tellier and the archbishop of Rheims, apparently urged on by Faure (dean of the church of Rheims), thought it necessary to treat the question of the authority of the pope. 'It will never be judged,' said the archbishop, 'excepting in times of division.' Bossuet was unwilling to have that question treated, he believing it unseasonable. He won to his views the bishop of Tournay, at first an adherent of the archbishop of Rheims. 'Such a discussion,' said Bossuet, 'would increase the division it is intended to put an end to. It is much that the book of the Catholic exposition (in which that question is treated) has passed with approbation. Cardinal du Perron and de Richelieu have said the same, but without formal approbation. Let things mature and let us preserve our position,' Bossuet always repeated. He also said to the archbishop of Rheims, 'You will have the glory of terminating the affair of the *regalia*, but that glory will be obscured by those odious propositions.'

"Colbert insisted that the question of the pope's authority should be treated, and he urged

The question of the four articles resounded throughout all Europe. Accusations still abound. On the one hand complicities are attributed to Bossuet, of which he would not and could not be guilty.

The edict was issued. The bishops who had not been called to the assembly, were discontented with what had been done without their concurrence, and disclaimed all responsibility for it. Clergymen presented for sees did not obtain bulls. Religion suffered. France in general showed itself faithful to Rome. At the end of 1682 the health of Colbert became impaired: he did not recover as had been hoped in the spring of 1683. In the month of August, in this latter year, the patient felt the approach of death. Louis wrote to him: Colbert placed the letter under his pillow unread. Being urged to reply to it, he said: "I will hear no more about the king; let him leave me in quiet now at least! If I had done for God what I have done for that man, I should now be doubly saved, and I know not what will become of me." He died on the 6th of September, 1683, and with him ended the series of great French ministers—Sully, Richelieu, Mazarin, and Colbert.

In consequence of the declaration, to which we return, Innocent refused to give bulls to some thirty-five bishops named by the Most Christian king. He yielded nothing during his whole pontificate, and the difference only ceased during the reign of Innocent XII.

The Jansenists had not forgotten to propagate their doctrines and their pretensions, by printing books into which they crowded errors without any restraint. A work had been published, in which, without much reflection or maturity of judgment, a very frequent use of the sacramental communion was recommended.* Arnauld published a reply, in which he censured frequent communion, which he called the principal abuse of Christianity. By panic-terrors he withheld the faithful from that mystery; and he required sublime and exaggerated dispositions, contrary to the sentiment of the Church and of the holy Fathers. On the other hand, a Catholic, who had

the king to that end. The archbishop of Paris and Father de la Chaise himself did the same. *The pope drives us to it, it was said, and will repent it.* The king then ordered the question to be discussed.

"Bossuet, to prolong the discussion, proposed that, previous to deciding, the whole tradition should be examined. But the archbishop of Paris said that that would take too long, and the king ordered a prompt decision in the question of the pope's authority.

"The bishop of Tournay (Choiseul Praslin) was charged with the task of drawing up the propositions, but he performed the task too scholastically, and the bishop of Meaux drew them up as they stand. Meetings were held at the residence of the archbishop of Paris, where they were examined and much disputed upon. It was proposed to allude to appeals to a council, but the bishop of Meaux resisted. 'They were condemned,' said he, 'by the bulls of Pius II. and Julius II. Rome is pledged to condemn them; we must take care then to give no room for condemning our propositions.'"

* Novaes, xi., p. 25.

written against that error, had so warmly advocated frequent communion that the practice became really excessive in the kingdom of Spain. To remedy the want of devotion in some, and its excess in others, Innocent, in the month of February, 1679, thought it his duty to publish a salutary decree restraining both.

The pope perceiving, moreover, that many writers were in error upon the subject of moral discipline, here too strict and there too relaxed, saw good reason for condemning, in the month of March, 1679, sixty-five propositions extracted from their works. He did not limit his zeal or his prudential watchfulness to this. Every day there appeared editions of books in which, under the pretence of introducing strictness of morality, men revived the doctrine of the five propositions condemned in Jansenius. The pope, to meet the evil, published the prohibition of the book entitled, "Defence of the Discipline observed in the Diocese of Sens, relative to the Imposition of Public Penance for Public Sins." In that book novelties of rites were admitted which were either capriciously invented or resuscitated from ancient customs, and thence there were scattered among the faithful a fatal distinction and an odious diversity of penances.

The same censure condemned a translation of the Homilies of Saint John Chrysostom, that of Egide Gabriel, an *adulterator* of the pure morality, entitled, *Specimina moralis Christianæ et moralis diabolicæ*.

Three different works were also censured, in which an anonymous Jansenist accused the Jesuits of being the authors of the sixty-five propositions condemned by Innocent.

The fury of the enemies of the Church knew no relaxation. Endeavors were made to render the sacraments odious, and to introduce new rites into the penances, so as to inspire horror against the inviolable secrecy of the confessional. It was even asserted that it was permissible in certain cases to violate the secrecy for the benefit of the penitent himself, even when he refused his consent. That frightful error, which was already diffused in several countries, was stifled by a stern decree of the Holy Office, dated 19th of November, 1681.

From the violation of the sacramental secrecy, the contemners of morality passed to another and no less pernicious error: it consisted in censuring the absolution given to penitents before the actual performance of the penance imposed. A malicious endeavor was made to prove by ancient examples, ill applied, that the penitents were never fully absolved until after the performance of the penance imposed by the priests. That error had been taught by Peter de Osma, professor of theology in the University of Salamanca, after being condemned with other errors at Alcala, by Alphonso Carillo, archbishop of Toledo. Sixtus V. also condemned it. Nor was this all; an author who did not know how to distinguish sacramental absolu-

tion from canonical absolution, composed a book which he submitted to the pope. His Holiness suspecting from the mere title* what was the real nature of the book, caused it to be strictly examined, and condemned it in a severe decree, in 1685.

Meantime, in 1683, the Turks determined to take a terrible revenge for the defeat which they had sustained. The pope had the happiness to unite in a solemn treaty the Emperor Leopold and John Sobieski, king of Poland. He then ordered public prayers at Rome, because the Turks had, insolently marched upon Vienna. Not content with so much zeal, the pope, in order that the Christian warriors might act in concert, sent a hundred thousand crowns to the emperor, and the like sum to the king of Poland, towards the expenses of the war. The sacred college contributed towards this Christian alms; and Livius, nephew of the pope, contributed personally ten thousand crowns from his own patrimonial estate.

In describing the siege of Vienna, we shall follow John Peter de Welckeren, chevalier of the holy Roman empire, and aulic councillor of war to the emperor, who sent to the authorities of Rome a detailed account of that memorable victory of the Christians over the Turks.

The sultan had taken an impious oath to carry war into Austria, for the purpose of annihilating the Catholic religion. He directed his whole forces against that country. The advanced guard consisted of thirty thousand pioneers, whose business was to widen and level the roads. They were followed by a corps of fifty thousand Janissaries, having heavy muskets, and an iron ring on the left arm. Then followed fifty thousand mounted spahis, armed with bows and arrows; and these were followed by fifty thousand infantry, having with them a hundred immense bronze cannon, besides smaller pieces, with an immense quantity of caissons and combustible shell. In the rear were innumerable wagons, containing the enormous amount of provisions necessary for the supply of so vast a force. When this army reached Belgrade, it was met by twenty-two thousand Tartars, eight thousand Transylvanians, and twelve thousand Wallachian and Moldavian cavalry, who had arrived by other roads.

Prince Charles, duke of Lorraine, had received from Leopold the command of the imperial army, on the 6th of May, 1683. Couriers promptly announced to him that the grand vizier, at the head of more than two hundred thousand men, was making forced marches upon Vienna. The duke then distributed his troops so as to best defend himself and most vigorously oppose the efforts of the enemy against the city.

Meantime, twenty thousand Tartar light cavalry inundated the towns,

* *Pentalogus diaphoricus, sive quinque rationes, ex quibus verum judicantur de ratione absolutionis. ad mentem gemini ecclesiæ Solis SS. Augustini et Thomæ, oblatus ad examen SS. D. N. Innocentii XI.*

hamlets, and unfortified castles, carrying fire and bloodshed in all directions, and reducing a host of Christians to captivity.

The inhabitants of Vienna dreading a deplorable fate, prepared for flight. On the 7th of July, at eight o'clock in the evening, their imperial majesties left the capital with their families, and with an escort of scarcely two hundred men, proceeded towards Augsburg. Some writers affirm that more than sixty thousand also quitted the city; but at the moment when the siege commenced, there were still in Vienna sixty thousand men capable of bearing arms. Before he left Vienna, the Emperor Leopold established in the city a civil authority of five persons, and also a military power.

On the 14th of July, the army of the Turks was seen approaching with a countless multitude of chariots, camels, and horses.

The hill of Saint Mark was invaded. The Turks dispersed to take up their several positions around the ramparts; and those incredulous Austrians, who had endeavored to deny the progress of the vizier, could no longer doubt that he had made all the arrangements for the siege. Trenches were already commenced along the imperial way.

On the 18th of July, batteries, protected by wide ditches, and placed upon the same line, attacked the city with great vigor. On the 19th there was an assault, but the Turks were repulsed with considerable losses. Nevertheless, a new review, made in the camp, showed that the vizier had still at command a hundred and sixty-eight thousand men. He persisted in renewing his attack by means of bridges of boats on the Danube. The new fears thus excited were communicated to the emperor. All Europe was stupefied by the news that spread on the last days of May. The king of France prepared for battle, but did not propose to take his forces far from the frontiers. Innocent XI., deeply grieved, but still preserving his courage, wrote to all the Christian powers, calling their attention to the great perils of Christianity. He himself, in a moment of touching emotion, knelt before the image of Jesus Christ crucified, and pronounced the words which Moses, in his great grief, had formerly uttered: "Either take away from them this evil, or erase me from the book that thou hast written." (Exod. xxii. 31.) Often, full of confidence in God, the pope showed the crucifix to those who surrounded him, repeating the words of David: "Lord, my defender and my protector, in that I will hope."

Then devoting himself to other cares, he caused assistance in money and provisions of easy transport to be conveyed to Vienna.

On the 14th of August, 1683, the pope summoned the faithful to the churches to pray God for victory to the Christians over the infidels. Subsequently he directed peculiar ceremonies in the church of the *Minerva*, and in that of the *Anima*. There the cardinals asssembled with the municipal administrators of the city, and chanted the litany of the Blessed Virgin.

Meantime the pope wrote letters to the king of Poland, urging him to march to the relief of Vienna. At the same time he instituted a universal Jubilee, and again raised considerable sums, which he sent to Germany. (The pope never vainly asked from the Catholics money for a great Christian purpose.) The pontiff, knowing no limits to his zeal, sent a further sum of a hundred thousand sequins from his own patrimony. The king of Spain was naturally still more generous, as he was far richer. The king of Portugal gave sixty thousand, and the sacred college, the prelates, and the princes of the Roman State, contributed forty thousand. Finally, Tuscany and Venice sent considerable aid.

Meantime, John Sobieski had united his brave and faithful Poles to march to defend the cause of Catholicity against its most terrible enemy; and when John had completed all his preparations, he addressed to the pope the following letter :

“MOST HOLY FATHER, AND CLEMENT LORD :

“These few days past, I and the leaders of the army have received the benediction of Your Holiness’ nuncio, and to-day, feast of the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin, I mounted my war-horse to engage in the sacred combat, and, under God’s auspices, give beleaguered Vienna her pristine liberty. The danger incurred by the city, and by all Christendom in it, so excites me, that I have deemed it a duty not to await my corps from Lithuania, and the Cossacks. I sent them orders to follow me, and early in September, I will unite my forces with the emperor’s, on the banks of the Danube. In communicating my design to Your Holiness, I cannot express how powerfully your paternal exhortations have appealed to my heart, and how much I have esteemed your holy solicitude for Christendom. I have not hesitated to offer my person, my life, my affection, my royal house. I am assured, as well by the apostolical benedictions as by your paternal affection, that Your Holiness will not abandon me, when I go forth to battle for the glory of the cross, and the preservation of all Christendom. I repeat to Your Holiness, in hand and heart, how devotedly I am,

“Your most obedient son,

JOHN III., king of Poland.”

Though Sobieski advanced rapidly, the besieged, unbroken in courage, were nearly overcome. Vienna was about to see her last day dawn. The necessary succor, so earnestly implored of Western Europe by the pontiff, was apparently still far from the point of danger. But the word of Sobieski was blessed of God.

The fierce cannonade relaxed only to allow Turkish flags to approach and deliver letters of the grand vizier, demanding the surrender of the city. To

these Staremborg made no reply, although he could not promise himself that he could hold out three days more. At night, distress-guns, fired from the steeples, announced the extremity to which Vienna was reduced. One night a sentinel, watching from the tower of Saint Stephen's church, perceived a light flash on Kalenberg, a mountain near Vienna, which the grand vizier, Cara Mustapha Kul Oglon, had neglected to occupy, much as he boasted that he would never rest till he stabled his master's horses in Saint Peter's at Rome.

The sentinel called the governor. A field-glass disclosed horsemen and lances—the Polish hussars, the terror of the Osmanli. Every bell in town rang out its welcome to their deliverers, whose squadrons soon covered the mountain. The people of Vienna able to bear arms, the wounded even, rushed to the ramparts. Staremborg gave arms to a crowd of boys and youth.

The morning sun disclosed a whole army encamped on the summit and slope of Kalenberg: Polish couriers appeared on Leopoldsberg, an opposing height. The Turkish army divided: one force descended the slope of the mountain, the other invested Vienna still more closely, and prepared to assault it. To arouse the courage of his men, the vizier was borne through the trenches in a litter, made musket-proof by an iron net-work.

Every day unexpected troops swelled the force on the mountain. The Prince de Conti endeavored to escape from France to take part in the glorious struggle, but Louis XIV. prevented it.

The Polish army had arrived on the 11th of September. On the morning of the battle, Father Mark de Aviano, a Capuchin, sent by Innocent XI., entered the church of Kalenberg and said Mass. Sobieski served it, and kneeling on the altar-steps, the hero, with bowed head and clasped hands, prayed fervently, imploring the Almighty to aid him promptly to accomplish the wish of Innocent XI. Then he received communion, and proceeded to knight his son, Prince James, then fourteen years of age.

The Capuchin then issued from the church and blessed the army, saying: "I proclaim to you, in the name of the Holy See, that if you have confidence in God, the victory is yours."

Then the king, by a signal, sent his army over those precipices, those defiles, those distant fields, on that magnificent camp, crying out: "Let us now march in trust: God will help us."

On that same day (September 12), the king and his generals halted under a tree to dine: at noon the army moved on. In spite of the excessive heat, the army of the faith, seventy thousand strong, formed in a semicircle on that vast amphitheatre. Sobieski was a magnificent sight. He spoke to each of his Christians in his own tongue—German to the Germans, Italian to the Italians, French to the French in his ranks. The Poles he directed

by a signal or a movement of his head : they needed not words ; all felt the mission God had given their nation.

How fared it in the Turkish camp ? Terror began to spread : their outposts were driven in by a sortie from Vienna. The vizier endeavored to mount his war-horse, but clumsy with trappings, it was fit neither for fight nor flight.

Sobieski, in the van, cried : "Not to us, O Lord of Hosts, but to Thy name give glory."

The hussars of Prince Alexander, Sobieski's eight year old son, were stopped a moment by a wide ditch that defended the camp. At the cry : "God bless Poland," they plunged in, scaled the moat, and dashed into the camp. The Moslem army was annihilated ; the cause of Europe, of Christianity, of civilization, had conquered. God heard the prayers of Innocent XI. At last there are but Christians on the battle-field. Cries rose on every side to honor religion, the pope, the emperor, the king. The intrenched camp was carried and plundered ; chariots, camels, provisions, ammunition, silver, gold, the wealth of a Constantinople fell into the hands of the conqueror ; for, as Sobieski writes, it was a city laid out with baths, and fountains, and gardens, and every appliance of luxurious ease. Vienna could not hold the spoil ; part was distributed in the neighboring hamlets.

"The duke of Bavaria and Waldeck embraced me as I entered," says Sobieski, describing to his wife his entrance into the city he had saved, "and kissed me on the face. Generals kissed my hands and boots ; soldiers, officers, on horse and foot, cried out, '*Oh ! unser braver k nig.*' All obeyed me more than my own. Then Father Aviano came, and embraced me a million of times, in a delirium of joy. He maintains that he saw a white dove hovering over our army in the fight. Fanfan (Prince James) never left my side ; he followed me on horseback for fourteen hours."

The result was truly miraculous. The imperial army, long exposed to the enemy's fire, lost only three thousand men. As to the Poles, their ardor was superhuman ; they had rushed so furiously over the Turkish battalions, that they threw down their arms and cried for mercy. Bonanni avers that only eighty Poles fell.

The Turkish army fled. Sobieski, full of joy, advanced to the vizier's tent :* there he seized the imperial standard, and dispatched it to Pope Innocent, by Thomas Talenti, his secretary. The Polish envoy entered Rome on the 25th of September, at the moment when Saint Mary Major's

* Near this was the tent of execution, where headsmen night and day beheaded the mutinous, the weary, and all who declared that Sobieski had arrived, all who doubted the vizier's conquest of Rome. Cara Mustapha fled ; only to be beheaded at Bagdad, December, 1683, by order of his master. Sobieski set fire to the bloody tent.

was resounding with the *Te Deum* for the victory already announced by the grand duke of Tuscany.

It had spread universal joy ; sleep was forgotten ; by night as by day, the streets were filled with citizens, congratulating each other on the triumph of the cross.

The day after his arrival, Talenti was introduced to the pope by Cardinal Charles Barberini, protector of Poland. In this audience, Talenti presented to His Holiness an autograph letter of the king, in these words :

“*Venimus, vidimus, et Deus vicit.* Your Holiness will deign, I pray, to receive as a new token of my filial respect, the news I impart of a signal victory, granted by the Almighty to the Christian arms under Vienna. I have succeeded in destroying the greatest part of the Ottoman army, composed of over one hundred and eighty thousand fighting men. I have taken all his artillery, the principal standards of the grand vizier, his horses, arms, colors, tents ; in fine, after an obstinate engagement of seven or eight hours, I put the vizier and all his soldiers to flight, and remained in possession of his camp, which extended over more than a league.

“I should have too much to tell Your Holiness, were I to detail our march and battle. As I am preparing to pursue the remnant of the barbarous fugitives, Your Holiness will permit me simply to announce that having had the honor to write to him from Ratisbonne, in Silesia, that, according to my calculation, I would be under the walls of Vienna early in October, I am actually in it before that time.

“My secretary, Talenti, who will have the honor to present this letter to Your Holiness, was beside me all through the action ; he can give Your Holiness all the details you desire, and assure you of the continuance of my due respect to your person, and my ardent zeal for the prosperity of the Catholic faith. I shall contribute, as far as depends on me, to the glory and satisfaction of Your Holiness, to whom I renew the assurances of my devotion.

“JOHN III., king of Poland.”

On the 29th of September, feast of Saint Michael, standard-bearer of the heavenly host, the dean of the sacred college celebrated Mass in the palace chapel, and after the offertory, Count Denoff, the king's envoy, thus harangued the pope :

“MOST HOLY FATHER :

“From the most ancient times till our day, the path of the conqueror has been strewn with signs of the conquered foe, as he passed on his triumphant way to the temple of glory.

"As John III., king of Poland, my beloved master, has by his heroic courage conquered, not for himself alone, but for Christendom, and as his piety to God and reverence to Your Holiness and the Apostolic See equal his royal courage, his majesty has sent me as his ambassador to lay at your feet this great standard of the formidable ruler of the Turks—a standard that the king took with his own hand from the Moslem camp; and he lays it at the feet of Your Holiness, as the noblest trophy won from the Turkish power.

"John came, saw, and conquered. He came, leaving his kingdom, his queen, and his children; he hastened to deliver Austrian Vienna, and save the empire. But he who has achieved all is the pontiff, to whom the king has evinced his devotedness by an example of submission hitherto unknown.

"He has seen, without feeling the slightest alarm, the cruel battalions of the Turks menacing the world with ruin. But Your Holiness had provided for all; it opposed a single buckler to so many disasters, because, inspired by the Holy Ghost, it had seen in the king the God-chosen defender of Christianity.

"He has conquered, for he has scattered the hostile hosts whom his hand lacked time to smite, and

'Hæc omnes veterum revocavit adorea lauros.
Joannes cunctos reddit tibi, Roma, triumphos.'

"Yet great as the victory is, it has been gained only under the auspices of Your Holiness. You have both indeed conquered. Your Holiness, by prayer and treasure, lavished for the sacred war, and the king by steel and the intrepidity of his royal blood. Let your beatitude then, most Holy Father, know and accept willingly the eternal glory of his pontificate, and enjoy for years to come this glory, acquired by his courage, and that of the most invincible monarch."

At the close of this address, Talenti presented to the pope the great Turkish standard, which His Holiness handed to Marquis Naro, the standard-bearer of the holy Roman Church, appointed to place it in Saint Peter's church, which had not yet been prepared to receive the war-horses of the Emperor Mahomet IV. This immense standard was of Phrygian silk, woven with gold, mingled with red and green, and covered with Arabian sentences.

Rome distributes moral recompenses, which cannot be compared to any treasure. John had the happiness of receiving the *stocco* and *berettone*, accompanied by an autograph letter from His Holiness.*

* Talenti received nine hundred gold crowns, and a gold collar, weighing five pounds. All the Roman nobles sent him presents. Men of other ranks, filled with common joy, give him their thanks. The people kissed his hand, women blessed him; poets offered him verses, printed

We must not omit the names of several other princes distinguished in this memorable war. Christendom, after rendering her homage to the great courage of Sobieski, owes a lively gratitude to Ernest, Count Staremberg, governor of Vienna; then to John III., elector of Saxony; Maximilian Emmanuel, duke of Bavaria, and Charles, duke of Lorraine, who made this glorious campaign as volunteers under Sobieski.

Rome resounded with sumptuous feasts at this overthrow of the enemies of the Church. Had Vienna fallen, they would soon have swooped down on Italy, and doubtless on France,* and Catholics would have cried to God for another Charles Martel.

Innocent struck a medal, with the legend, "Dextera tua, Domine, percussit inimicum." Ten thousand crowns were distributed to the poor; the pope opened the prisons of debtors, and those guilty of minor offences, paying the debts of the one, and remitting the unsatisfied penalty of the other.

A new proof of pontifical liberality was also prepared at Rome; and again the sum of one hundred thousand crowns was sent to each of the sovereign conquerors of Islamism to continue the war. Venice, roused by Innocent, swelled the forces of the league.

God had blessed the desires of the head of Christendom; the Turks would not for years be able to harass their Catholic neighbors, and thought only of keeping their possessions free from invasion. This enabled the pope to turn his cares to the reform of ecclesiastical discipline, his decisions on this point being the most important affairs of his pontificate. Never had so many works swarmed hostile to the discipline of the Church, and the supreme authority of the sovereign pontiff.

Among these books several merited special attention.† Good Catholic

on pages half red, half green. Thus did Rome honor those who served Catholicity. For centuries the cry has prevailed that Rome impoverished Europe by her exactions. Her Peter's Pence have been well repaid. From Paul III. to Alexander VII., to speak of only one period of one hundred and thirty years, the apostolic chamber sent to France, Germany, and Poland, nine million five hundred thousand Roman crowns (equivalent to as many dollars). Was this a vain display? Let the victory of Sobieski over Cara Mustapha answer.

Bonanni thus describes the standard: "It was of camel's hair, lined with red silk, twenty-eight palms high, twenty-four and a half long, adorned with one hundred and twenty-four gold lilies in a circle, and shaded with white and green. There were gold stars with rays, mingled with other gold rays; a two-edged cimeter, to signify the double empire of the Turks. The whole standard was studded with crescents, suns, and verses of the Koran, in Turkish and Arabic."

* [And yet the king of France did nothing to avert the storm.]

† *Méthode facile et pacifique pour convertir sans dispute les Protestants à la vraie foi sur l'eucharistie; Histoire du luthéranisme; the Histoire de la décadence de l'Empire, and Histoire du grand schisme d'Occident*, of Louis Maimbourg, who, cut off from the faithful Society of Jesus, wrote so unjustly against the Roman pontificate in his *History of the Pontificate of Gregory the Great*, and his *Historical Treatise on the Establishment and Prerogatives of the Church of Rome and its Bishops*. The same condemnation was inflicted on Louis Dupin's *Ancient Discipline of the Church*; and Edmund Richer's *General Councils*. The most remarkable was the condemnation of several works of Natalis Alexander, a famous Dominican theologian, his *Eccle*

books were not wanting, among which Novaes mentions with high eulogium Bossuet's Exposition of the Catholic Church, calling it a golden book.

In the month of September, 1686, Innocent gave the purple to twenty-seven cardinals, among others to Stephen le Camus, a Frenchman of Poitiers, born at Paris, September 24th, 1632, doctor of the Sorbonne in 1650, unjustly suspected of Jansenism, on account of the severity with which in his discourses he rebuked the abuses of the clergy. On this suspicion Mazarin exiled him, and le Camus became a Carthusian. His innocence was subsequently established, and the king made him his chaplain and archbishop of Grenoble. He refused to sign the four propositions of 1682, and to approve the king's pretensions in regard to the regalia. This nomination was made without the intervention of the French king, who for a time affected not to regard him as a cardinal, but who later recognized him and revived his favor, which he should never have lost.

Another difference arose between the Roman government and France in 1686; it was the celebrated quarrel of the franchises.

In the commencement of his pontificate, the Holy Father had announced that he would admit at his court no ambassador from any sovereign who did not renounce all claim to any right of franchise to be exercised around his residence. These franchises had become a secure asylum for the majority of those of evil life, who thus found means to escape the justice of their country.*

On the 12th of May, 1687, Innocent, by the bull, *Cum alias* (Constitution 186), signed by a majority of the cardinals, renewed the constitution of Julius III., in 1552; Pius IV., in 1561; Gregory XIII., in 1570; Sixtus V., in 1585, and many other pontiffs,—abolishing these franchises. Excommunication was denounced against all who pretended in future to possess any such right, already condemned in the bull *In Cœna Domini*, paragraph twenty, the edicts of Pope Urban VIII. (January 15, 1616, and November 15, 1634), and finally by the edicts of the reigning pope, of November 26, 1677, and February 22, 1680.

The French king took offence, and sent Henry Charles, marquis of Lavardin, minister extraordinary to Rome, to uphold his pretensions. He arrived November 16, 1687, attended by a crowd of gentlemen and four hundred and fifty soldiers fully equipped. He at once surrounded the Farnese palace, where he took up his abode, with guards. He then gathered around him nearly twelve hundred men, and began to defend the

siastical History, Summa of Saint Thomas, Polemical Dissertations on the Sacramental Faith, Observations on Simony, etc.

* These franchises arose when Rome was rent by factions. Ambassadors came with armed force, and marked out a district as theirs, defending it from all attack. Those times had passed. A legitimate authority prevailed, and it was time to restrict this franchise to the ambassador's residence alone.

district to which his pretensions extended, that is to say, all the square before the palace, and many adjacent streets, declaring it to be his will that no police agent should enter these franchises.

The pope, not moved by such preparations and threats, would not give the ambassador audience, leaving him without function or right to act as representative of the king of France. The marquis of Lavardin, continuing to renew his pretensions, was excommunicated by the pope, and as he heard Mass at the church of Saint Louis of the French, which had been the national church since the days of Francis I., the pope laid an interdict on the church.

The king, not satisfied with the demands of his envoy, had an act passed by his parliament appealing to a future council from the edict of Innocent, which he declared unjust. But common sense shows this not to be so : the pope wished the course of justice to prevail in his States, as the king did in his.

Pope Innocent then recalled the nuncio Ranuzzi, resident in France. Louis carrying his obstinacy to its utmost, forbade the nuncio to leave France, and a diplomatic agent was seen retained against his own and his master's will. At last, under pretext of providing for Ranuzzi's safety, he put him under a military guard, as though France was at war with the Holy See. At the same time the king ordered his commanders in Provence to seize Avignon, usurping that country, the lawful possession of the Holy See.

Louis had, however, to deal with a pontiff whose will to defend his rights was not inferior to his piety and apostolic firmness. Louis, endowed with a great character, could not but appreciate greatness in another. Informed of Innocent's firmness, he resolved to treat with Rome. Without informing Lavardin or Cardinal d'Estrées, the protector of France, he wrote an autograph letter to the pope, and sent him a confidential agent ; but the intrepid pontiff refused to give him audience.

Seeing that Innocent in the matter of the franchises was the same Innocent who opposed the extension of the regalia, Louis recalled Lavardin from Rome, in 1689, awaiting better times to smooth the difficulties, which he did not effect till the reign of Innocent XII.*

Michael de Molinos, an Aragonese priest and doctor, stood high in the pope's favor, but he was not free from reproach. He had just written a work entitled : "Spiritual Guide, conducting the soul by an interior way, to obtain perfect contemplation and the rich treasure of interior peace." (Rome, 1675 ; Madrid, 1676 ; Saragossa, 1677 ; Seville, 1685.) This book

* [Artaud's national feeling here blinds him to the audacious character of this conduct of Louis to a friendly power. What would a sovereign pontiff be in the dominions of such a prince, when he dared so treat the pope while an independent sovereign ?]

led into error many ladies and persons of all ranks, by teaching that whoever once directs his soul to God by means of the *prayer of quiet*, can never again sin with the will. By this maxim of quietism he led his sectaries by an imaginary suspension of the senses, which he foolishly boasted of, to endless brutalities, which could satisfy a corrupt sensuality. Cardinal Innico Caraccioli, at Naples, detected the venom concealed in this work, and wrote to the Holy Father, begging him to suppress such a book. Bishops in France and Italy acted with the same zeal. Innocent, by a circular, pointed out the evil and its remedy; and Cardinal Alderan Cibo wrote on the subject in most pressing terms to all the Italian bishops.

The author of this fatal error kept up so extensive a correspondence, that twelve thousand letters from all parts of the world were found at his house; and the sum of four thousand crowns, resulting from a tariff imposed by him on all his correspondents on this doctrine, to meet the expense of postage.

The Jesuit, Father Segneri, celebrated for his piety and his elegant works, replied to the *Spiritual Guide*. Molinos was arrested by order of the Holy Office, in his house, *à Serpenti*, and thrown into prison. His book was examined, and it was seen that the prayer of quiet, dreamed of old by oriental monks, had been revived by Molinos to cover sensual disorders, which he wished to save under the cloak of devotion. Spain, in 1685, prohibited this with the other works of Molinos, extracting sixty-eight erroneous propositions. Molinos admitted them, and this most indecent of men, after the Gnostics and Turlupines, was accused of the most criminal quietism, at the age of sixty, and sentenced to abjure his errors in the church of the Minerva, which he did September 3, 1687.

After Molinos' abjuration, Innocent condemned the sixty-eight propositions, and forbade the use of any of this author's works.

The return of England to an obedience to the Holy See, after an apostacy of one hundred and fifty-two years, was a prodigy of Divine Providence, to reward the merits of a holy and vigilant pontiff.

On the 16th of February, 1685, died Charles II., king of England, who at his death professed the faith, which he had followed but not avowed during his reign. His successor was his brother the duke of York, who ascended the throne under the title of James II., and who became famous for his misfortunes. Almost immediately on his accession he revoked by a decree of April 14, 1687, the edict of Queen Elizabeth against the Catholics, and restored Catholicity as far as he could in his kingdom. But its triumph was brief. James was hated by all who hated Catholicity, and in 1688 they called to the throne William, prince of Orange, stadtholder of Holland, and husband of James' daughter Mary, as he was a Protestant. He was crowned in 1689, James having fled with his queen and the prince of Wales

to France, where they were hospitably received by Louis XIV. Innocent wrote to the French king a letter worthy of the writer and his correspondent.

In 1688, Innocent received three ambassadors from the king of Siam, who had embraced the Catholic faith. They were introduced by Father Guy Tâchard, a French Jesuit, who at the same time handed the pope a letter from the king, from which we give this extract :

"Since we received the reins of government of this kingdom, our first care has been to know the greatest princes of Europe, and bind ourselves to them in reciprocal affection, in order to acquire information by which we could more surely improve our government. Amid these cares we have not forgotten Your Holiness. They were soon gratified, as we speedily received letters, which, accompanied by a present worthy of the sovereign who sent it, were presented to me by Francis Pallu, bishop of Heliopolis. We received them with a lively sense of gratitude.

"After a time we resolved to send letters and presents to salute Your Holiness, and begin a reciprocal intercourse, like a plate of gold polished on either side.

"Now that we have received no tidings of these envoys, our friendship compels us to send you Father Guy Tâchard, of the Society of Jesus, as extraordinary ambassador, to bind closer the bond between us, which our previous envoys were unable to do, and that he may gladden our heart by announcing to us the health of Your Holiness.

"His mission is to promise you that we will fully protect the fellow missionaries of our envoy and those of your Christians who reside in our immediate States or the countries subject to our will, and, in fine, the various parts of the East. We will give these Christians aid as circumstances require, whenever they make known their wants, or give us occasion to aid them.

"Your Holiness may be assured of this, and leave the care thereof to our word. Father Tâchard will communicate to Your Holiness the means of attaining this object, as we explained it to him before he set out.

"We beg you to believe firmly all he may say in our behalf. Consider the gifts he presents as pledges of our sincere devotedness and eternal friendship.

"May God, the creator of all things, preserve Your Holiness for the defence of your Church, so that Your Holiness may contemplate that same Church spreading with full abundance over all the shores of the universe. This is the desire of Your Holiness' dear and good friend."

On the 19th of April, 1689, Queen Christina of Sweden died at Rome, where she had continued to live in a sort of magnificence which the pope permitted and aided by paying the princess a large annuity. Sometimes

her remittances from Sweden lingered, though in general they were paid in a praiseworthy manner, the delay arising from the misunderstandings of bankers, not as easily changed then as now.

Christina, inconstant in taste, was fond of travel, and loved to intermeddle in political affairs wherever she happened to be. She went further. The crime committed by her orders on the 10th of November, 1657, in the Stag Gallery at Fontainebleau, can never be forgotten. Her grand esquire, the Marquis Monaldeschi, was assassinated by Setinelli, captain of her guards, before her eyes, and by her order.*

Father Lebel, a Trinitarian, called to hear his confession, protested against this act of violence, and urged the respect due to the royal residence, but Christina coldly and proudly replied that Monaldeschi must die.

Returning to Rome, her welcome was chilling. Her letters from Sweden were less satisfactory. A minor held the throne. Christina would fain have returned; but they insisted on a new act of renunciation on her part, which she reluctantly signed. She then aspired to the throne of Poland; but she seemed to float between Lutheranism and Catholicity, and would have visited England, had not Cromwell refused to receive her.

Repulsed by Sweden in 1666, the queen for a third time returned to Rome, and led a more regular life. Cardinal Azzolini was a sort of guardian, and feeling that a control was exercised, she resumed her intercourse with men of art and letters. She founded an academy, collected manuscripts, medals, paintings, living in that attractive intellectual life of Rome, with its pleasing and innocent charms, and distractions, passions, which we are permitted to indulge to the utmost.

Christina died in her sixty-third year, ordering these words to be placed on her tomb: D. O. M. VIXIT CHRISTINA ANNOS LXII.†

* Few historical details exist as to her motives for this crime. My investigations at Rome, and at Lucca, the marquis's home, were fruitless. I was referred to printed works. These give only contradictory conjectures. Old men, inheriting oral traditions, have told me that Christina, to win Mazarin's favor, aided an intrigue between Louis XIV., then nineteen, and a niece of Mazarin's, and that Monaldeschi knew it. The queen changed her plans, and Monaldeschi, bought by the cardinal, attempted to act in her name, without her orders and against her will. Was there some scheme to regain her throne? Christina had received malcontents from Stockholm: letters were shown to Monaldeschi before he was cut down. As an abdicated sovereign, Christina had merely the titular rank and insignia—she had no power of life and death over her attendants.

† A life of Christina, by Catteau Calleville, was published at Paris in 1815, containing a selection of her letters, a notice of her works, her will, and Father Lebel's statement of what he saw at Fontainebleau. Under her reign the Swedes settled on the Delaware, and called their first settlement Christina. It is now known as Newcastle. This author says of her: "The life of Christina is a series of contradictions: on one side, spirit, magnanimity, frankness, mildness; on the other, pride, vanity, hardness, vengeance, dissimulation. Her knowledge of men and affairs, her discernment, penetration, and intelligence, could not divert her from chimerical projects, rash enterprises, the illusions of alchemy and dreams of astrology. As a consequence, she was extraordinary rather than great, exciting wonder more than admiration." Her library was pur-

On the whole, religion derived many advantages from this conversion of the daughter of Charles XII. Catholicity was long spoken of in Sweden with more reserve and respect. The queen was less regretted, perhaps, than she deserved, for, led away by her restless disposition, she began to annoy the pope, her generous benefactor, by demanding for her palace franchises exceeding those of ambassadors, asserting that a queen was more than a king's representative. Death surprised her in the midst of these new troubles.

Innocent lost no occasion of watching over the interests of the Church, but on the 6th of June, 1689, he fell dangerously ill, and was ere long on the verge of the grave. During his sickness he displayed admirable virtue, exclaiming, like other revered popes, "O God, increase my pains, but give me patience." Through Cardinal Colloredo, who attended him, he urged the cardinals, assembled in an adjacent room, to choose a better successor to correct his errors. He declared that he had set apart one hundred and twenty thousand crowns to reduce the taxes, and that he wished this sum not to be diverted to other uses. At last, when death was near, he called his nephew Livy, and urged him not to interfere in the succeeding government. Innocent never lost sight of the real interests of Rome. An ambassador assuring him that his master would take the Odescalchi family under his protection, Innocent replied: "We have no house or family. God gave us the pontifical dignity, not for the advantage of our kindred, but for the good of the Church and the nations."

He soon after received the consolations of the Church, but after Extreme Unction, had not strength to pronounce the profession of faith. Cardinal Colloredo read it aloud, and the dying pontiff laid his hand on the paper in token of his entire approbation. He then, with singular piety, asked for the absolution attached to the Rosary and Bona Mors, in presence of the generals of the Dominicans, Carmelites, and Jesuits, and expired on the 12th of August, 1689, at the age of seventy-eight, after governing the Church twelve years, ten months, and twenty-three days.

Innocent was one of the most illustrious pontiffs of the Roman Church, and owed his elevation solely to his merit. Even Protestants do him justice. His decisions were full of equity, he thought neither of himself nor of his kindred; he was free from all nepotism, attentive to the good of Christianity; and these many virtues led, after his death, to efforts for his canonization. The Romans insisted on his being proclaimed a saint, and carried off as relics the cloak that covered his body.

chased by Alexander VIII., who deposited nine hundred manuscripts in the Vatican, and gave the rest to his family. Odescalchi, nephew of Innocent XI., bought the paintings and antiques. In 1722, a part of these paintings were purchased by the regent of France, for ninety thousand crowns.



Our Lady of the Rosary.

A contemporaneous work, *Chronological History of the Popes, Emperors, &c.* (Paris, 1684), says :

"If the reader desires a just and unvarnished idea of the rare qualities of this excellent pope, let him read all that we have said of the piety, learning, constancy, sanctity, zeal, disinterestedness, and burning charity of the first and most illustrious heads of the Church, and each of their perfections will serve as traits with which to form the portrait of Innocent. To make it as accurate as finished, remember, in drawing his eulogy from his predecessors, not to descend from the fourth and fifth century to our times, but to go back from the fourth."

The Holy See was vacant one month and twenty-three days.*

* The medals of Innocent XI. are very numerous. Artaud gives the first four as in his collection ; the next forty-three from du Molinet ; the two last from Venuti.

1. INNOCENS XI. PONT. MAX. AN. VIII. *Rev.* : IN SÆCVLVM STABIT. Religion with a cross and keys. An infant holding a temple, and another with the tiara.

2. VENITE ET VIDETE OPERA DOMINI. (Ps. xlv. 9.) Innocent receiving Father Tâchard, S. J.

3. INNOCENS MANIBVS ET MVNDO CORDE. Struck on his coronation. The pope in the *sedia gestatoria*, preceded by cardinals, and surrounded by the Swiss guard. The parafrénieri, not as now dressed.

4. No figure ; but this inscription in eighteen lines : NATVS COMI PAT. LIVIO ODESCALCHO. A. S. COLL. ELECTVS PONT. M. A. MDCLXXVI. D. XXI SEPT. VRBIS ET ORBIS IVDICIO SANCTISSIMVS PATER LEOPOLDI MAGNI FILII VERE SANCTI VICTRICIA CONTRA TVRCAS ARMA QVA PRECE QVA PRETIO INSIGNITER PROMOVIT FESTVM DE NOMINE D. V. MARLE, OB VIENNAM LIBERATAM INSTITVIT IVRA ECCLÆ. STRENVE DEFENDIT LEGATOS REGNI SIAM EXCEPIT MERITIS PLENVS EST ET LAVDIB. AN. MDCLXXXIX DIE KAL AVG. OBIIT.

5. FIAT PAX IN VIRTUTE TVA. The Holy Ghost, in form of a dove.

6. Same. Head of dove to the right.

7. VERVS DEVS VERA FIDES. Religion.

8. SALVA NOS DOMINE. Christ supports Saint Peter, sinking. The Apostles in the bark.

9. ECCE HÆREDITAS DOMINI. A woman holding four children in her arms.

10. AVDITE VOCES SVPLICVM. Saint Peter and Saint Paul.

11. DE CÆLO PROPEXIT. Justice.

12. VNDE PENDET. A crowned female stooping over a balance held by a winged boy.

13. CLAVES REGNI CÆLORVM. Christ gives the keys to Saint Peter kneeling.

14. EGO SVM PASTOR BONVS. The good Shepherd.

15. NON QVÆRIT QVÆ SVA SVNT. Charity suckling two children. 1 Cor. xiii. 5.

16. INNOCENTIVS XI. ODESCALCHVS PONT. MAX. In the field, OPTIMO PRINCIPI. ANNO VIII. Beneath, a lion.

17. NON DEFICIET FIDES TVA. Saint Peter with the keys.

18. OMNIVM PATER OMNIVM VOTIS DATVS, in the field.

19. An eagle surrounded by six angels, with emblems. Below, a lion. (The Odescalchi arms *or* ; an eagle *argent* above ; and below *argent*, a lion passant : below, separated by three bands *gules*, six patera, 3, 2, 1.)

20. DIVINÆ NVNCIA MENTIS. The eagle, lion, patera.

21. FECIT PACEM SVPER TERRAM. (Macc. xiv.) A kneeling woman offering incense. An angel, with olive-branch. Alluding to the peace of 1679, signed by Stratman, imperial ambassador, and Colbert de Croissy, French ambassador, under the auspices of the nuncio Bevilacqua, patriarch of Alexandria.

22. HABETO NOS FÆDERATOS ET SERVIEMVS TIBI. A dove above an altar, on which lie the tiara, imperial and Polish crowns, and cap of doge of Venice. Alliance against the Turks.

23. VNIVIT PALMAM QVÆ DEDIT. Two-headed eagle, one with tiara, one with crown.

In connection with a medal of this reign (No. 3), showing the pontiff borne on the *sedia gestatoria*, a few details will not be out of place.

Bonanni gives important details as to the *sedia gestatoria*, on which the

24. INNOC. XI. PONT. LEOPOLD I. IMP. IO. III. REX PO. MA. IVS. VE. DVX. Innocent, the Emperor Leopold, Sobieski, Mark Giustiniani, doge of Venice.

25. CONFORTAMINI ET NON DISSOLVANTVR MANVS VESTRÆ. The two-headed eagle; the pope and the emperor; the eagle of Poland; the lion of Saint Mark.

26. IN CŒLO SEMPER ASSISTITVR. Saint Michael conquering Lucifer.

27. SPERENT IN TE QVI NOVERVNT NOMEN TVVM. Hope holding an anchor, and standing on the crescent.

28. SALVATOR MVNDI. The head of Christ. A fine medal by John Hamerani.

29. FORTITVDO MEA DOMINVS. (Ps. xvii. 2.) A female in armor, seated, holding a broken column and a lion.

30. ET DEBELLARE SVPERBOS. Religion kneeling.

31. VNA SVPER VNVM. Religion, with patriarchal cross in the clouds.

32. MATER SALVATORIS ORA PRO NOBIS. Figure of the Blessed Virgin.

33. QVI ME INVENIT INVENIET VITAM. (Prov. viii. 35.) Figure of the Blessed Virgin, a fine medal by Hamerani.

34. AVDITE VOCES SVPPlicVM. Saint Peter and Saint Paul, standing.

35. S. PETRVS APOSTOLVS. Saint Peter, seated.

36. CASTRONOVO EXPVGNATO. A galley; an angel above, with lightning. Struck at capture of Castronovo from the Turks in 1687, by the Venetians.

37. INNOCENTIVS XI. ODESCALCHVS PONT. MAX. In the field, MVNIFICENTIÆ TVÆ IN OBSIDIONE TVRCARVM TRIBVENDA VICTORIA.

38. In the field, DEXTERA DOMINI PERCVSSIT INIMICVM in a laurel wreath.

39. B. AMADEVVS DVX SABAVDIÆ III. Head of B. Amadeus.

40. VICIT LEO DE TRIBV IVDA. A lion tearing dogs on a Turkish standard. Struck on a Venetian victory over the Turks.

41. SUB TVVM PRÆSIDIVM. The house of Loretto, with the Blessed Virgin and infant Jesus above, all on a Turkish standard. Fighting below.

42. DOMVS B. M. V. LAVRETANÆ. A procession entering the holy house.

43. HIC VERBVM CARO FACTVM EST. The holy house.

44. IN PERPETVVM CORONATA TRIVMPHAT. The cross on a mountain.

45. GLORIOSA DICTA SVNT DE TE CIVITAS DEI. In the exergue: BVDA.

46. DOMINVM FORMIDABVNT ADVERSARIJ EIVS. A woman holding a cross and a flame.

47. GRATIA DEI OMNE BONVM. Three figures. Bonanni and Venuti differ in their explanation.

48. SVB TVVM PRÆSIDIVM. Struck on the return of England to Catholicity. A kneeling man, under a portico, invokes the Blessed Virgin, who is seen in a cloud. Another man on the left asks the prayers of the first. A soldier routs heresy.

49. S. PETRVS CŒLESTINVS PONT. MAX. Bonanni and Venuti think it a private medal. Artaud refers it to Saint Celestine I., and supposes it struck by Innocent, as a mark of his devotion to the Blessed Virgin, Celestine having condemned Nestorius: but why should Celestine I. be called Saint Peter Celestine?

50. FELIX CIVITATIS LAVRET. Our Lady of Loretto.

51. MATER IESV CHRISTI. The Blessed Virgin.

52. D. SI VIS POTES. The leper, kneeling and leaning on his staff, begs Christ to cure him.

53. SANGVINEM PRINCIPVM TERRÆ BIBETIS. A patera, with doves as handles. Bonanni and Venuti cannot explain this medal.

54. SECVRITAS POPVLI ROMANI. A woman seated, holding a spear in her left hand; an altar with fire and torch.

55. VIDETE DOLOR. MEV. The Blessed Virgin holding the dead body of our Saviour.

56. FECIT MIRABILIA IN VITA SVA. A large medal, struck after his death.

pope is borne on great occasions, and meets the assertion of those who accuse the pontiffs of pride, because they suffer themselves to be thus borne, in ceremonies, on the shoulders of Christians, who are not, they say, beasts of burden.

The explanation befits the reign of Odescalchi, a man simple and moderate in his tastes, although perhaps, from his veneration for the pontifical authority, one who showed most fortitude and noble resistance to attempts at opposing his just will.

This chair was formerly called *sellare* or *sellarium*. (Pliny, lib. vii., ch. 48; Livy, lib. x.; Dionysius of Halicarnassus, lib. iii. and iv.; Suetonius, lib. ii.; Plutarch, lib. ii.) Procopius, *De Bello Vandalico*, represents Belisarius as borne in a curule chair, on the shoulders of captives. Among the Romans, the pagan pontiff used this kind of *sella*. Pierius Valerianus says (lib. xliii.): "Nothing more sublime, august, or venerable, than the *sella*: other conveyances seem suited to human nature—this approaches the honors of divinity."

Some authors carry back the *sedlia gestatoria* of the Roman pontiffs to Stephen III., as we have stated in our life of that pope. Polydore Virgil (*De rerum inventione*) gives the same account of the origin of the custom. Anastasius and Chacon are of the same opinion.

This ceremony enables the Holy Father also to see at a glance his people and the sheep confided to him, that he may bless them all at once, and that the people may conveniently see their Father raised aloft, know his countenance, and be excited to more sincere affection whenever they behold the vicar of Christ and successor of Saint Peter on that throne of glory.

We must not be surprised if the pope, who is the head of all the Catholic faithful, is thus borne in our day, not by superior officers, but by the lower servants of his household, and only on solemn days, when he himself celebrates, and is loaded down with heavy vestments. How otherwise could he enter the church and pass amid the crowd of people, whom a holy familiarity enables to approach even to annoyance. Without the *sedlia*, he could not be seen by the multitude he blesses, especially at the advanced age attained by most popes.

Bonanni adds, that formerly in France the archbishops of Bourges, Tours, and the bishops of Poitiers and some others, were carried in this way by the highest of their clergy.

[It may be added, that travellers find not only natives, but English and other Europeans carried by men, without their sense of propriety being at all shocked; and an American writer depicted with singular effect the picture of an American missionary's wife, in the Sandwich Islands, borne to her husband's meeting-house by brawny converts.]

245. ALEXANDER VIII. — A. D. 1689.



HE misconduct of the Venetians towards the Roman court bore its fruit. We are now to study the life of a pope a subject of that republic.

Alexander VIII. (Peter Vitto Ottoboni) was born at Venice, April 22, 1610, of Mark Ottoboni, a patrician and chancellor of Venice, and of Victoria Tornielli, a lady not inferior in rank. The Ottoboni family, which had anciently flourished at Padua, though others give Dalmatia and Lepanto as its origin, was transferred to Venice, where it was reckoned among the citizens of the ducal chancery till 1246, when it was ennobled and embraced several distinguished men. Aldobrandino Ottoboni had the title of patrician *togato*; and on his death, in 1258, the republic gave him a splendid funeral, and a noble tomb in the church of Saint Reparata. Francis Ottoboni, in 1559, received the dignity of chancellor, the highest in the reach of a Venetian. The same dignity was bestowed, in 1620, on Leonard Ottoboni, who had been ambassador at Paris and Madrid. In 1646, Anthony Ottoboni obtained the title of procurator of Saint Mark, and the collar of the Golden Stole was then given to the eldest son of the family.*

Peter went through his earliest studies at Padua. At seventeen he was doctor in both laws; he then repaired to Rome, where Urban VIII. made him referendary of the signatures, then governor of Terni, Rieti, and Spoleto, and finally auditor of the Rota. This last post he retained for fourteen years. On the 19th of February, 1652, Innocent X. made him a cardinal. He took part in the conclaves which elected Alexander VII., Clement IX., Clement X., and Innocent XI.

On the 6th of October, 1689, the cardinals, to the number of fifty-one out of fifty-two, elected as pope Cardinal Ottoboni, then seventy-nine years of age. Owing his elevation to Cardinal Chigi, nephew of Pope Alexander VII., and wishing to revive the memory of Alexander III., dear to the Venetians, Cardinal Ottoboni assumed the name of Alexander VIII. He

* Mark, son of Anthony, married Isabella Colonna, daughter of Giles Colonna, duke of Carbo-nano, and subsequently Julia Buoncompagni, daughter of the duke of Sora. Alexander VIII., her grand-uncle, made Mark duke of Fiano, a fief in the pontifical patrimony, general of the galleys, and governor of the Castle of Saint Angelo. On his death, in 1725, he left as heiress to the duchy, Mary Frances Ottoboni, who married Peter Gregory Buoncompagni, second son of the duke of Sora, on condition that he assumed the Ottoboni name and arms.

was solemnly crowned at the Vatican on the 16th, and on the 28th took possession of Saint John Lateran.

His advanced age had not exhausted the vigor of Alexander; all knew his rare prudence, his perspicacity, profound knowledge of affairs, and a great pontificate was promised; but nepotism came in to dissipate some of the high hopes conceived. This fatal love for his family, which Innocent XI. had sought to destroy, reappeared in all its exacting forms, to the great grief of the Romans.

Without loss of time he made Anthony, his brother's son, general of the holy Church, and lavished other favors on his kindred.

The differences between the Holy See and France, in regard to the franchises and regalia, continued. Alexander, to show his desire of peace, conceded to the king the right to nominate to the Sees of Metz, Toul, Verdun, Arras, and Perpignan, not included in the concordat between Leo X. and Francis I. The king meeting these friendly advances, ordered his ambassador, the duke de Chaulnes, to renounce the franchises, a step followed by other sovereigns. Louis, in 1690, also restored to the pope the Venaissin, or territory of Avignon; but complete concord was not restored, because some French bishops persisted in upholding the four propositions.

As it is often asserted that Rome did not protest against these propositions, we give the very words of the bull of August 4, 1690.*

There were still partisans of Molinos at Rome, but they were prosecuted and imprisoned.

Notwithstanding the benefits which he lavished on his family, Alexander, perhaps for this very reason, sought to diminish the imposts and embellish the city, to render it agreeable to foreigners.†

* "Nos qui iurium ecclesiasticorum assertores in terris a Domino constituti sumus, dies noctesque in amaritudine animæ nostræ cogitantes, manus nostras, cum lacrymis et suspiriis, levavimus ad Dominum, eumque toto cordis affectu rogavimus, ut nobis potenti gratiæ suæ, auxilio adesset quo ardua ac in re commissi nobis apostolici muneris partes salubriter exsequi valeremus, eaque consideratione adducti, ac ne supremo iudici rationem villicationis nostræ reddituri, negligentiae in credita nobis administratione argueremur."

† The following medals are in Mr. Artaud's collection. Bonanni describes all.

1. ALEXANDER VIII., PONT. MAX., A. I. *Rev.*: DOMINI EST ASSUMPTIO NOSTRA. Saint Peter's chair, with the Holy Ghost above.

2. PETRVS CARD. OTTHOBONVS S. R. E. VICE CANC. PATRVO. MAG. BENEMERENTI POSVIT. MDCC. The pope seated, blessing. Designed by Charles Saint Martin, of Nany; engraved by Angelo de Rossi.

3. In a laurel wreath, OPT. ORBIS PASTORI, AN. II. 1690. The tiara and keys, above.

4. NON PRÆVALEBIT. The Church, a female figure bearing the Ottoboni arms (*or*, an eagle spread, above—below, azure and senople, separated by a band argent), crushes a hydra and strikes it with a sword.

5. SPIRITVS CONSILII. The Holy Ghost.

6. SVAVITATE. A smoking censer.

7. MVNIT ET VNIT. A zodiac dividing the globe.

8. NOSTRA FELICITAS. A woman with the caduceus and cornucopia.

The governor having one day said to the pope: "But Your Holiness might suppress the soldiers;" the pope replied: "The soldiers are here to do honor to princes, and to defend the city; they are no burden to the city, which sees them with pleasure. And then there are too many police; Rome is full of them: they must be suppressed; and then Rome will become again what she never ceased to be."

At that moment the Venetians having obtained advantages over the Turks, the pope sent to the doge, Francis Morosini, the stocco and berettone. We have already frequently alluded to this kind of recompense. Morosini had seized the city of Napoli de Malvasia, and Vallona, a fortress in Albania.

Among other canonizations in 1690, Alexander pronounced that of Saint John of God, founder of the hospitallers for poor sick, commonly called the *Fate bene fratelli*. He was born at Montemor el Novo, in the diocese of Evora, in Portugal, March 25, 1495, and died March 8, 1550. Urban VIII. beatified him in 1630. He was a man of the most sincere piety and eminent charity. The order has a house at Paris, which enjoys the highest consideration, as well as the esteem of the archbishop and his clergy.

In the same ceremony was canonized Saint Lawrence Giustiniani, a Venetian (born July 1, 1381, died January 8, 1455), the first patriarch of Venice.

In the beginning of the year 1691, Alexander's rugged health began to decline, and he lost hope of recovery. Then he called the cardinals, and informed them that he had drawn up a new constitution against the four propositions; that the bull had been signed on the 4th of August, and not yet published, always hoping for an arrangement with France. He advised the cardinals to uphold the bull, which he then published through Cardinal

9. ADDITO IN VATICANO SAPIENTIE PAVLO. In the field, a spread eagle, with a ribbon. EX REGIS CHRISTINÆ THESAVRIS. Book below. Alluding to her gift to Alexander.

10. SAPIENTIA FVNDVIT. STABILIVIT PRVDENTIA. A library; a spread eagle on a globe.

11. SANCTVS PETRVS APOSTOLVS. A bust of Saint Peter, holding a key to his breast.

12. EIA HIC MARE HIC PORTVS. Charity seated, holding four children.

13. LAVRENTIO. IVST. IN SS. ALBVM RELATO. The Holy Father holding the patriarchal cross, and blessing. Exergue: PETRO ET IOANNE LAVDIS ORAT. VEN. ADNITENTIBVS.

14. AMORE ET CORDE. The Blessed Virgin and infant Jesus—Saint Joseph behind; the three wise men.

15. The tiara surmounting the Ottoboni arms. In the field: NOMINE DEPOSITO PETRUS INCIPIT ESSE SEDENDO. OTTOBONVS TOTO CORDE SIT ERGO BONVS. EVENIVNT VENETIS VEGETIS IAM PROSPERA QVÆVIS ID SATIS IPSE RECENS PAPA LATINE PROBAS. 1689. Struck in Germany. Justly censured by Bonanni and Venuti.

16. In a laurel wreath: CREAT D. VI ET CORON. D. XIV OCT. MDCLXXXIX. German. The artist's name, N. O. C.

17. VICTRICEM MANVM TVAM LAVDEMVS. A cannon, with military trophies on each side. In a cloud, above, the Blessed Virgin and Christ.

18. D. SI VIS POTES. Already described.

19. SEDE VACANTE. Heads of Saint Peter and Saint Paul. Rev.: VENI LVMEN CORDIVM. Distributed at the conclave of 1691.

Albani, afterwards Clement XI. He exhorted them to yield nothing of the rights, authority, or privileges of the Roman Church. He warmly advised them to think only of the Church in the discussions at the coming conclave, and not to be swayed by any human respect. On the 1st of February he died, aged nearly eighty-one, after governing the Church sixteen months, less four days.

Alexander displayed great courage in defending the faith and ecclesiastical discipline. A generous promoter of science, he increased and enriched several libraries, among others the Vatican, to which he gave the manuscripts that had belonged to Queen Christina.

He was interred in the Vatican.

Let us in conclusion say, that Alexander scattered favors as liberally on the poor as on his kindred.

The Holy See was vacant five months and six days.

246. INNOCENT XII.—A. D. 1691.



NCE more we shall see the ordinary spectacle which the nature of things and the customs of Rome compel us to present at every accession of a pope. A pontiff is always a learned man, accustomed to business, an experienced jurisconsult and administrator. Is it to be wondered at if the reigns of such personages present something brilliant, able, and learned, which rejoices Catholicity, and forces it to applaud elections so fortunate? Who can refuse to the Roman court the title of *nursery of illustrious sovereigns*?

Innocent XII. (Anthony Pignatelli), a Neapolitan, was born on the 15th of March, 1615, at Spinazzola, a fief of his family, in the Basilicate, and was the son of Fabricius Pignatelli, first prince of Minervino, and of Porzia Caraffa, daughter of the duke of Andria. The Pignatelli family is considered one of the most illustrious in Naples, and is traceable not only to the times of the crusades, but even to the days of the Lombard rule.

Anthony, after his earlier studies at the Roman college, became doctor of both laws. He then determined to enter the order of Saint John of Jerusalem, in which several of his family had distinguished themselves, in the city of Sion, at Rhodes, and Malta.

Urban VIII. made Anthony a prelate when he was only twenty years old, and the same year he appointed him president at Urbino.

Innocent X. sent him as inquisitor to Malta, in 1646, then to Viterbo as governor, and as nuncio to Florence. Alexander made him his nuncio in Poland.

From that nunciature Clement IX. transferred him to that of Vienna. In that residence the agent of the Holy See caused the arrest of the heresiarch Rossi, who, supported by some great men of those parts, did much injury to the unity of the faith.

This Milanese was imprisoned as a visionary heretic, or rather as the founder of a sect which he himself very soon abjured. He had had the time to represent himself in many of the kingdoms of Europe as being endowed with power to work miracles at will, especially with reference to health, for the restoration of which many persons applied to him, in the expectation of obtaining a complete cure; and Rossi often profited by their simplicity and credulity.

Innocent XI. created Anthony a cardinal, and then legate to Bologna, and finally archbishop of Naples.

After the funeral of Alexander VIII., on the 10th of February, 1691, forty-three cardinals went into conclave. Others continued to arrive, until the conclave at length consisted of sixty-five electors.

During a deliberation it happened that a fire broke out in the cell of the young Cardinal Altieri, and the palace doors had to be thrown open in order to admit the assistance which was loudly called for. But the fire being extinguished, the conclave remained closely shut up as usual.

Cardinal Colloredo, an Oratorian of great virtue, first proposed two cardinals, Gregory Barbarigo and Anthony Pignatelli. For some time it was thought that the former would be the choice; but his cause did not make progress, and its supporters soon despaired of it. The Church had been without a pastor during five months and ten days, when, on the 12th of July, the votes were almost unanimous in favor of Cardinal Pignatelli, who, in memory of his benefactor, Innocent XI., chose the name of Innocent XII. He was seventy-six years of age. Three days later he was crowned at the Vatican, but he did not take possession of Saint John Lateran until the 13th of the following April.

Some writers have fallen into error with regard to Saint Margaret, queen of Scotland, grand-daughter of Edward the Confessor, her father being Edward and her mother Agatha, a daughter of the Emperor Conrad the *Salic*. She married, in 1070, Malcolm III., king of Scotland, by whom she had eight children, among whom was Saint Matilda, venerated by the Church on the 30th of April. She died at forty-seven years of age, on the 16th of November, 1093. Those writers who have accredited an error,

affirm that Innocent IV. had canonized Saint Margaret in the year 1251; but they rely upon facts which are not authentic. That canonization did not take place then, since the Scotch solicited it from Innocent VIII. That pope ordered the formal inquiries, as is stated by Rinaldi in his Ecclesiastical Annals, under the year 1487 (No. 26). Her name was subsequently placed in the Roman martyrology, her feast being celebrated on the 10th of June, either double or single rite at option. The feast of Saint Margaret was subsequently transferred, by a decree of Innocent XI., to the 8th of July. Under Innocent XII. took place the canonization *equipollente*; that is to say, without ceremonies, yet equivalent to a canonization with ceremonies. That pontiff, on the 15th of September, 1691, ordered that throughout the whole Church the office and the Mass of Saint Margaret should be celebrated with the semi-double rite. Then, by another decree of the 21st of February, 1693, he ordered that with same rite, semi-double, the feast of Saint Margaret should be celebrated on the 10th of June, the day on which the name occurs in the martyrology. Finally, by decrees of the 27th of March and the 15th of May, 1694, the pope granted the double rite.

At the very outset the electors felt assured that they had chosen a pontiff who was not born for the advantage of himself or of his, but for the welfare of the Church.

By a bull (Constitution 28, *Romanum decet Pontificem*) published on the 23d of June, and greatly praised even by the heretics, who on account of it erected a statue to this pope at Wittemberg,* he aimed at the extermination of nepotism; that is to say, that great authority and unmeasured power of which the nephews of former popes had been possessed. He strictly forbade that the pontiffs should enrich their relatives with the property of the Church; declaring, however, that it was allowable for the pontiffs to aid their relatives with the same moderation that was due to strangers. Finally, Innocent prescribed that the popes should not give their relatives more than twelve thousand crowns of annual income. He suppressed those titles which of themselves aggrandized the position of the nephews; that is to say, the generalship of the Church and of the galleys, which were then possessed by Alexander's nephews, Don Marco and Don Antonio Ottoboni. He abolished some other dignities to which extraordinary profits were attached. He said that in case of necessity those dignities might be revived, but in such case attention should be paid only to the merits of those who should be appointed to them.

By that reform, Innocent achieved a saving of eighty thousand crowns in favor of the apostolic chamber. In order that the bull should be perpetu-

* Novaes, xi., p. 111.

ally observed, he ordered that the then living cardinals should recognize it, and that all future cardinals should ratify it in the conclaves : at the same time it was declared that all future pontiffs should engage to observe it.

Innocent having thus taken from his relatives all prospect of enriching themselves at the expense of the Church, and having thus left himself without natural relatives, substituted those given to him only by piety and good sense ; that is to say, the Poor, who are often far more grateful than blood-relations.

Innocent, going still further, called the poor his nephews, the better to make his views understood. He distributed among them the presents that he was obliged to receive, and gave them up even his patrimony. He had an hospital fitted up for them in the palace of Saint John Lateran, collected some five thousand of them in it, and endowed that asylum of the unfortunate with considerable revenues, incessantly renewed. Thus in the course of time he succeeded in banishing mendicity.

To him also is due the complete establishment of Saint Michael, at Ripa Grande, which at present is one of the most imposing and the best administered hospitals in Europe.

Here we must insert an anecdote which proves to what an extent this pope was beloved by the poor. He was returning one day from Civita Vecchia, his litter being carried by the *parafrasieri* of the palace. A great multitude of the poor had gone two miles out from the city, and meeting the pope there, they insisted, in spite of his resistance, that it was their right as well as their duty to carry *the father of the poor*. Innocent strictly questioned them, with a view of ascertaining whether that movement had been concerted, resolved in that case to censure the authorities. The paupers replied that ten or twelve having proposed to go and meet the pope, *all the rest had followed*. It was necessary to let them have their way, and in this wise they carried the litter to the palace. We must add, that in his will, Innocent left the poor his sole heirs, and commanded that his property of every kind should be sold, and that the proceeds in full amount should be distributed among the poor of the city.

Meantime, Innocent XII. had the happiness to terminate, in 1692, one of the most delicate affairs which had occurred in the course of recent centuries between the Holy See and France.

We have already spoken about the disturbances caused by the question of ambassadorial privileges. At the commencement of this pontificate, the Holy Father had seriously intimated to the ambassadors residing in Rome, that it was his intention to be the only master in his capital city, and that he would no longer endure either the privileges which they claimed for the precincts of their palaces, or any disturbances to be created by the inso-

lence of their servants. In his nunciatures the pope had observed that all sovereigns were masters in their own capitals.

Acting up to the spirit of his edict, he ordered patrols of sixty sbirri around those palaces for which privileges were claimed, and he at the same time ordered that the garrison of Rome should attend and comply with all requisitions made by the ministers of justice for military aid in the execution of their duty. The firmness of this pope induced the king of France to renounce those privileges which he had so much insisted upon during the reign of Innocent XI.

Subsequently, the French monarch, by a letter to the pope, dated September 14, 1693, revoked the edict published upon the declaration of the clergy of France, in regard to the ecclesiastical power.

The French bishops, who were named by the assembly of the clergy, agreed to write to the pope a letter replete with submission and respect, and testifying their displeasure as to what had passed, and declaring that they had never intended to define any thing contrary to the rights of the Roman Church.* On the contrary, they affirmed that the said propositions ought not and could not be sustained. On his side, the Holy Father consented to the extension of the regalia throughout the kingdom of France; and thus all fitting arrangements were concluded upon to the satisfaction of both king and the pope.

In order to render the administration of justice at once more easy and less costly, Innocent suppressed very many special tribunals, and erected a magnificent palace, which to this day is called the *Curia Innocenziana*, and which was to become the residence of the judges, and the place for the tribunals.

It has often been remarked, that elected sovereigns possess a vast amount of information, of which sovereigns born in the purple are profoundly ignorant. This is quite true, and leads us to relate an anecdote of Pignatelli, while he was bishop of Lucca, in the kingdom of Naples. He was one day in the antechamber of Cardinal Paluzzi, nephew of Clement X.; in the same antechamber, and also awaiting an audience of the cardinal, was a *clerk of the chamber*. The cardinal's chamberlain introduced the clerk to the audience chamber, before the bishop, who exclaimed: "What! is a clerk of the chamber more than a bishop!" From that moment he took a kind of aversion, doubtless unjust, against these officials, who at that time bought their offices at a high price,—a fact which caused the clerks of the chamber to show no small degree of importance. In this they were wrong, since the mere possession of money is no true claim for honor; but such was the case then at Rome, as it still is in many other countries. Anthony Pignatelli,

* Dupresnay, *Principes del Histoire*, vol. vii., part 2, art. 77.

having ascended the throne, reimbursed the clerks, and gave to that department a better form, which still exists.

The tribunal of the chamber presides over the collection of the revenues, and of the personal domain of the pontiffs, and of that which is called the apostolic chamber. It consists of a cardinal camerlinga, who is at its head; of the governor of Rome, who has the title of vice-camerlinga; of the *treasurer-general* (minister of the finances); of the auditor, and of the president of the chamber, the advocates of the poor, the fiscal of Rome, and twelve clerks of the chamber,—one of whom is prefect of the Annona, or abundance of bread-stuff; the other, prefect of the Grascia, or meats; a third, president of the arms, or administrator of paid troops; and a fourth, president of roads.

The submission of the dissenting bishops in France was not imitated by the Jansenists. Still embittered against the Roman pontificate, and ill enduring their own depression, they constantly declaimed against the formulary of Alexander VII., sometimes altering its sense, and sometimes varying its words. Innocent, by a brief addressed to the bishops of Flanders, prohibited the altering of even the smallest word in the formulary.

Within ten months, Rome endured the twofold visitation of an earthquake and an inundation of the Tiber. The vigilance of the pontiff carried, in every direction, aid, consolation, and encouragement. He opened the treasury, and established a new claim to the confidence and gratitude of the Romans. In the mean time the poor were not neglected, and the evil having redoubled, the sacrifices also redoubled under a father so tender and so generous.

The quarrels provoked by the marshal d'Estrées, the duke de Créquy, and the marquis de Lavardin have been alluded to. It might be supposed that it was France alone that exposed the Roman court to such embarrassments; but it would be unjust to suppose a polite and well-informed country like France to be alone in setting bad examples. The love of truth compels me here to make other revelations. The Emperor Leopold, who was under so many obligations to the Holy See, apparently acting under the advice of persons deeming lightly of the duty of gratitude, suddenly sent to Rome an ambassador, Count George Adam de Martinitz, who seemed to have special orders to fill the Holy Father with disgust and mortification. Disregarding time-honored custom, this ambassador, who had the undisputed right of precedence over all the other ambassadors, maintained that he also had that right over the governor of Rome, in the procession at Corpus Christi. Wherever the pope is, the celebrant necessarily is attended by the heads of his government. They are there as a part of the pontifical escort, the great guard of honor of His Holiness; they become a necessary, an indispensable part of the ceremonial.

That the ambassadors should dispute among themselves about the old

rules of precedence, was a thing easily to be understood ; it exists at all times, and alike among civilized and among barbarous peoples. In Rome, Martinitz was pre-eminent among ambassadors : no minister preceded him, neither the ambassador of Charlemagne's successor at Paris, nor the ambassador of the king who had subjected eleven kingdoms in the Iberian peninsula. Martinitz had the preference everywhere : *If he was absent*, said a master of the ceremonies, *they even waited for him to pass*. The pretensions of the French were sometimes different : they demanded privileges for France which they represented, and left the local authority to arrange its procession to its own liking. The manner in which that was done, was not always regular ; but they did not, in order to get places nearer the pope, endeavor to reverse the established order, and to substitute themselves for personages who definitely are only subjects of high rank. Martinitz wanted more. He endeavored to depreciate the governor of Rome, which for a long time no imperial ambassador had done, especially in the Roman ceremonies in which God was invoked for the deliverance of Vienna in 1683. Innocent avoided all scandal by ordering the governor of Rome to absent himself from the procession. It will appear that the imperial ambassador has orders to dispute. The ambassador immediately placed himself among the cardinal-deacons, pretending to go in equality with them. The tumult that such extraordinary conduct was designed to provoke, soon arose, and it lasted for four hours. Each protested on his own side ; the Romans sustained their cardinals, and the ambassador's suite maintained the pretensions of their master.

Innocent, by an edict, ordered that the ancient rules should be respected. Then Martinitz set no limits to this insolence, which the Italians call prepotency. The pope having applied to Leopold upon the matter, that prince also issued an edict, which was displayed on the gate of the palace occupied by Martinitz. It announced that imperial fiefs had been usurped in Italy, and that those who had long possessed them had not taken investiture. The edict went on to order all to produce to Martinitz documents proving their independence, or to receive their *infeodation* within three months. This was to return to the time of Henry IV., king of Germany, without previous warning to Europe, which supposed that Vienna had very different ills to cure ; it was to revive discussions on which time had laid its iron hand ; it was to cast flaming torches among all the principalities, or annihilate possessions generally recognized, and to bring back to life and bitterness differences which had long since been terminated. The imperial house would also have had accounts to render, and the recently signed treaties contained no reservations for claims of this nature.

Innocent courageously, but without pride, offensive words, or recriminations, wrote to ask Leopold if by such threats it was intended to revive dis-

turbances, and especially in the Pontifical State, which was solely occupied in maintaining universal concord. Then came the astonishment of the Catholic king: murmurs, swelling to complaints, from France. Leopold found that he had gone somewhat too far. Should a general war be kindled, he would be the first prey to the Turks. A counter edict of the pope was opposed to that of the emperor. The latter addressed respectful letters to His Holiness, and for the time those sparks were extinguished which had threatened to kindle so terrible a flame.

But the Turk still watched and nourished his projects of vengeance. At the same time, God continued to protect his children and the pontiff, who was to preserve the strength of the Catholic religion upon earth.

In 1697, all Rome rejoiced at the victory gained over the Turks by Prince Eugene of Savoy, count de Soissons, one of the most renowned warriors of that time. The victory was complete. Besides the grand vizier, there perished the Aga of the Janissaries, seventeen pachas, and more than thirty thousand soldiers. The sultan, Mustapha, fled to Belgrade.

The Holy Father ceased not to exhort the Catholic sovereigns to preserve peace among themselves; and he had the satisfaction to learn that, in 1697, peace was signed at Riswick, in Holland, between the emperor, the king of France, and the king of Spain, and the other powers that had taken part in the war. Subsequently a treaty was also signed between the emperor and the Turks.

The affection which the Holy Father felt for the emperor did not, on one occasion, prevent Innocent from showing some discontent towards his majesty. To reward services rendered, the emperor granted the ninth electorate of the empire to Ernest, duke of Brunswick and Hanover. Innocent could not congratulate Leopold upon that political act, for Ernest did not profess the Catholic religion. The pope at the same time had the consolation of seeing as successor to the great Sobieski, on the throne of Poland, Duke Frederic of Saxe, who, before taking possession of that kingdom, abjured the errors of Luther. Monsignor Davia, the pope's nuncio, had greatly contributed to that election in the Polish Diet, and had even been obliged, contrary to his inclination, to thwart the design of offering the crown to prince de Conti, of the royal family of France, who also had a party in Poland.

To facilitate communication with Rome, Innocent caused several buildings to be commenced at Porto-d'Anzo, and ordered the erection of a fortress to protect the inhabitants of the seacoast against the raids of the Barbary pirates.

Sixtus V. had conceived the design of draining the Pontine marshes; but death arrested the design of that great pope. Innocent did not dare to venture upon such vast labors, but he established the custom-house of Ripa

Grande, and the custom-house built upon the ruins of what is known as the Basilica of Antoninus Pius.

At the time, it was warmly discussed whether Elias and Eliseus were the founders of the order of Carmelites. On both sides the discussion grew too warm; the pope, therefore, by a bull of the 20th of November, 1698, imposed silence on both the contending parties, on pain of excommunication *latae sententiae*, in case of disobedience.

While the pope was thus engaged in the cares required by his pious mission, he found himself called upon to arrest the effects of a kind of Quietism. The most subtle error of Molinos had made its way into France. Francis Malaval, who was blind from birth, pretended to the glory of having preceded Molinos in divining this false spiritualism. Father Francis de la Combe, a Barnabite, and Madame Jane Bouvier de la Motte Guyon, who in Savoy had been under the direction of that religious, carried Quietism into France, and there it began to diffuse itself to the great prejudice of religion.

Louis Anthony de Noailles, archbishop of Paris, James Benignus Bossuet, bishop of Meaux, and Paul Godet des Marets, bishop of Chartres, moved by the consequences which might spring from that false spiritualism, so contrary to the principles of our religion, met at Issy, near Paris, by order of the king, and on the 1st of March, 1694, drew up thirty-four articles for the direction of pious souls in prayer and spiritual life. Madame Guyon was secluded in a monastery in Paris, and forbidden by the archbishop to write on such subjects. The Abbé Francis Salignac de Fénelon, so celebrated for his birth, learning, and piety, being suspected of sharing the sentiments of Madame Guyon, was obliged to sign the articles of Issy.

The suspicions then conceived proved to be well founded, when, being appointed preceptor to the dukes of Burgundy, Anjou, and Berri, sons of the dauphin, and grandsons of Louis XIV., and subsequently archbishop of Cambray, Fénelon showed his attachment to these doctrines, in his "*Explanation of the Maxims of the Saints upon the Interior Life*" (Paris, 1697).

The prelates already mentioned, and several doctors of the Sorbonne, opposed those doctrines, and were prepared to accuse Fénelon of a mitigated but dangerous *Quietism*, when Fénelon, to avoid the censure of his colleagues, referred the matter to the judgment of the pope, declaring that he would listen respectfully to the Holy Father, vicar of Christ and successor to Saint Peter.

While Innocent caused the work to be examined by a congregation, which he appointed for that purpose, the three prelates of the congress of Issy, not as bishops having the right to condemn, but as theologians having occasion to dispute, wrote against Fénelon, who replied in his own defence; with this difference, however, that the archbishop of Cambray, in a night or two,

produced a work full of grace, wit, and elegance, while the archbishop of Meaux, notwithstanding the great genius that appears in his work, took six months to publish a refutation.

The congregation proceeded to a strict examination. The result was, that Fénelon's book was condemned on the 12th of March, 1699, by the Constitution 177, *Cum alias*. The Most Christian king, by a letter under his own hand, on the 23d of December, 1698, had warmly solicited His Holiness to settle the matter. His majesty received from the hands of the nuncio the brief of condemnation (accompanied by a separate brief, filled with eulogies of the prince), which he caused to be registered by the parliament, and which the bishops equally received throughout the kingdom.

Let us now proceed to Cambray. Scarcely did the archbishop learn that his book was condemned, when he himself ascended the pulpit to censure it; and he published, in his diocese, a pastoral on the 9th of April, 1699, by which he ordered the brief to be received, and in which he declared that he accepted it, as well for the text of the book as for the twenty-three propositions extracted from it, and that he accepted it, absolutely, precisely, and without any restriction whatever. Thus terminated the affair in which Fénelon, by his example of submission, edified more than his work had given scandal. On this subject, Novaes makes the following reflections:*

"Bossuet and Fénelon, those two great intellectual athletes of France, each pleaded the cause of his doctrine at the tribunal of the pope. What think you will result from the respect inspired by those great geniuses? Ask Canon Barruel, in his book on the pope and his religious rights, on occasion of the Concordat of 1801. That result was the most memorable homage that the popes ever received, one that more than any other teaches us to say, '*There is nothing so lofty that does not humble itself before Saint Peter; no genius whose judge is not found in the seat of Peter.*' Bossuet triumphed: reproach him not with the joy that he allows to shine forth in his countenance! It tells you all the value that he attaches to the suffrage of the pope. But wait awhile. Fénelon, though now condemned, will soon achieve another triumph. Rome has spoken; Fénelon at once retracts. All that the intrigues of the courtiers, the opposition of the king, and the genius of Bossuet were unable to achieve, has been achieved by a single word from the pope. He has been mistaken; and he is the first to set the example of submission, and he gives that example to his people *in unequivocal terms*. Let it be graven on the chair of Saint Peter, this monument so glorious for the pontiffs! During the ages of ages, it will say to the heretic and the rebel—'*When the vicar of Jesus Christ speaks, there is no genius that refuses to retract and to obey.*'"

* Novaes, xi. p. 160.

Frenchmen are sometimes reproached in Europe with too highly praising Bossuet and Fénelon. But here we have a foreigner* who, in the enthusiasm of his admiration and the tenderness of his felicitations, leaves us very far behind him.

Martinitz, the imperial ambassador, persevered, under various pretexts, in renewing his attacks for the fiefs. The resistance of the pope was as firm as the attacks were persistent. Martinitz, who showed that he was acting rather for the gratification of his own pride than for the interests of his imperial master, was recalled, but could not obtain admission to the Quirinal to take leave.

Queen Mary Casimir de la Grange d'Arquien, widow of John Sobieski III., king of Poland, resolved, after the example of Queen Christina, to take up her residence at Rome, to end her days there in works of piety. She arrived there on the 24th of March, 1699, and was magnificently received in the palace of the prince Don Livio Odescalchi, duke of Sirmio and Bracciano. The Holy Father had sent a sumptuous escort to receive her, and he welcomed her with every testimony of affection.

We have now reached the year 1700, in which the fifteenth ordinary Jubilee was to be celebrated.

The holy gate had been opened in 1699, at Christmas, by Cardinal de Bouillon, sub-dean, because the pope, extremely aged, was obliged to keep his bed, and the dean, Cardinal Cibo, was scarcely less ill than the pope.†

* Novaes.

† The first four medals are in Artaud's own collection; the next eighteen from Bonanni; the rest from Venuti.

1. INNOCEN. XII. PONT. MAX. A. VI. The head of the pope, wearing the tiara. Above the bust, HAMERANVS, the name of the artist. Rev.: ANNUNTIATE INTER GENTES. The Holy Father upon his throne delivers a crucifix to eight kneeling missionaries.

2. IVBILEI SÆCVLARIS INDICTIO. An angel sounding a trumpet. Within a ribbon, on the right and left of the sides of the field, are the words: EXVLTATE DEO OMNIS TERRA. In the exergue, 1690; it should be 1700, since it refers to the Jubilee closing the century.

3. INTROITE PORTAS EIVS. Below, HAMERANVS. Pilgrims entering the holy gate on their knees, followed by a long procession.

4. Struck after the death of Innocent. In the field: NATVS NEAPOLI E GENTE PIGNATELEA PONTIFEX M. ELECTVS A. MDCXCI D. XII IVLII. NEPOTES SIBI NVLLOS ASCIVIT. PORTVM CENTVM CELLAS ET PORTVM ANTIQVVM RESARCIVIT PAVPERES ÆGROS ET ORBOS CLEMENTISSIME FOVIT A. MDCC. D. XVIII SEPT. OBIIT.

5. A DEO DATVS DIE XII, CORONATVS XV IVLII. In the field, a seraph's head.

6. PACEM DONES PROTINVS. The Holy Ghost.

7. IVSTITIA ET ABVNDANTIA PACIS. A woman holding a scales and an olive-branch.

8. ERIT EGENO SPES. IOB. V. Hospital of Saint Michael.

9. VIRTVS PROMOTA A. V. A winged young man, with a sun on his breast, holding a spear and crown. Struck by Count Bonaventure Boselli at Bologna, on a promotion of cardinals, December 12, 1695.

10. IVSTITIÆ ET PIETATI. The Curia Innocenziana, on Monte Citatorio. Begun for Prince Ludovisi, by Bernini, completed by Fontana.

11. QVÆSTVS MAGNVS, PIETAS CVM SVFFICIENTIA. The custom-house on the Piazza di Pietra,

Cosmas III., grand duke of Tuscany, visited Rome for the Jubilee, under the name of count of Pitigliano. The pope received him kindly, made him supernumerary canon of the Vatican, and, among other presents, gave him the antique seat of Saint Stephen I., which the grand duke sent to the cathedral of Pisa.* That city is the chief place of the Tuscan order of Saint Stephen, pope and martyr.

At the beginning of spring, Innocent went from the Quirinal to the Vatican, to give his benediction to the people, who earnestly solicited it, but on his return to Monte Cavallo he fainted. Then he sent for Father Casini, apostolic preacher, made a general confession of his whole life, and after receiving the sacraments of the Church, gave his last sigh on the 27th of September, 1700, at the age of nearly eighty-six years, after governing the Church nine years, two months, and six days.

Although he had so largely given alms, he left a treasure of eight hundred thousand Roman crowns.

erected by Innocent, who introduced the eleven Corinthian columns of the temple of Antoninus Pius.

12. IMPETVS LÆTIFICAT. Tiber, with his urn.
13. A DEO ET PRO DEO. A woman, holding a child, with two others beside her scattering money from vases. Allusion to the pope's arms, *or*: three vases *sable*.
14. SINVM SVVM APERVIT EGENIS. A pelican. By Beatrice Hamerani.
15. VOTA PVBLICA. Two women holding a palm, and the pope's arms; and in the left, a torch burning arms. German.
16. HÆREDITAS SANCTA. A woman relieving the poor. Struck by Ferdinand de Saint Urban.
17. EGENOS VAGOS QVE INDUC. IN DOMVM TVAM. The Lateran palace.
18. BEATVS QVI INTELLIGIT SVPER EGENVM ET PAVPEREM. The pope throned.
19. SED MAIOR CHARITAS. A winged youth, with three vases, pouring out fire. The family arms are said to have come from the courage of Landolphus hurling vases of Greek fire on the Turkish ships.
20. IN INNOCENTIA ET SAPIENTIA FVNDATA ANNO DOMINI MDCXCIII DE MENSE IVNII IN TERRA VVLSINI. Church at Bolsena to commemorate the miracle of 1264, generally known by a painting of Raphael.
21. OLLA SPEI MEÆ. A woman, trampling on demons, offers a vase to the Holy Ghost.
22. FVNDAMENTA FIDEL. Heads of Saint Peter and Saint Paul. In exergue: CIC IOC CHC.
23. ÆDIS D. MARIE DEVM NOBIS EXORANTIS PIORVM ELEEMOSYNIS FVNDAMENTA IACTA VETERI COMPREHENSO SACELLO CVRA IOSEPHI FARALDI IN FIGVLINIS VATICANIS IAMPRIDEM CONSTRUCTO AN. MDCXCIV QVO CLASSIS ROMANA PÆDERATIS AD CHII EXPVGNATIONEM SVBSIDIO ADFVIT. Church of Saint Mary *Adfornaces*.
24. EGENORVM SVBSIDIO ET PVBLICO MERCIVM COMMODO. Custom-house at Ripa Grande.
25. VIGILAT QVI CVSTODIT EAM. Saint Peter with the key, Rome in the distance.
26. SVB TVVM PRÆSIDIVM. The Blessed Virgin under the clock in the Quirinal square.
27. HIC DOMVS DEI ET PORTA CÆLI R. O. M. DEO. PORTA HÆC PVBLICA IN ÆDEM SACRAM ERECTA SERENISSIMO DVCVM BRVNSVIC LVNEB. ETC. 1700. The holy door.
28. APERI EIS THÆSAVRVM TVVM. The pope opens the holy door.
29. INTROITE PORTAS EIVS. Two pilgrims kneeling at the door. By Hamerani.
30. APERVIT DOMINVS THÆSAVRVM SVVM. The pope opens the door.
31. VENIT VENIA. VENITE. FELIC. NOVO SECVLI CONCORDES MANEANT.
32. SATVRNIA REDDIT. PACAT. EVR. NOVI. SECUL. FEL. IVBI. ECCLESIA.

* Saint Stephen I., created pontiff in 253, governed the Church four years and about six months.

Innocent XII. possessed virtues which have illustrated the best pontiffs. He was one of the benefactors of the Propaganda, to which he gave fifty thousand crowns for the missions of Ethiopia, and one hundred thousand crowns for those of China.

On the day of his death he signed a decree granting forty thousand crowns for the redemption of Christian slaves, and towards the support of the great hospital at Ripa Grande.

This pontiff, like some of his predecessors, had ordered that the daily expense of his table should not exceed three Pauls, or thirty cents.

The Holy See was vacant one month and twenty-eight days.

247. CLEMENT XI.—A. D. 1700.



HERE are few epochs that present more material for ecclesiastical history than that eighteenth century upon which we are now entering; and there is no period which presents events more various, attacks more numerous, or shocks more violent. The rise and progress of unbelief, the disturbances excited in the Church by a restless party, and the tempests of a revolution which shook all Europe, furnish an inexhaustible source of details, which if often afflicting, are always curious. The ecclesiastical history of that century may be treated in three great divisions, which embrace most of the facts of that memorable time. Those divisions, very distinctly marked and fertile in events, deserve on many accounts to fix the attention of an observant writer, and that of a friend of religion.*

Clement XI., prior to his elevation John Francis Albani, was born at Urbino on the 23d of July, 1649. His father was Charles Albani, and his grandfather, Horatio Albani, had received from Urban VIII. the high dignity of senator of the city of Rome.

At eleven John Francis was taken to the eternal city. On the very evening of that day a swarm of bees alighted with great buzzing on his window. That event, which moreover had happened on another occasion, was regarded as a happy omen.

* See *Memoires pour servir à l'histoire ecclesiastique pendant le 18e siècle*, par Mr. Picot. (4 vols. 8vo, Paris, 1815.)

Placed in the Roman college to pursue his studies, John Francis translated into Latin a part of the menology of the Greeks, composed by order of the Emperor Basilius Porphyrogenitus, and found in the monastery of the Greek monks of Grottaferrata. He also translated into Latin a eulogium on Saint Mark, by Procopius, a Greek deacon. At the same time he translated from the Greek into the Latin a homily of Saint Sophronius, bishop of Jerusalem, upon the holy apostles Peter and Paul.

An evident proof of the literary ability of Albani is to be found in the fact that the learned de Luca, afterwards cardinal, who had been his master, submitted his works to him for examination, and would not publish them until Albani had approved them.

Joseph Mary Suarez, bishop of Vaison, gives great praise to Albani, even telling the Romans that that young man, by his rare science, would raise himself to the highest human greatness, as he actually did.

Queen Christina insisted upon his becoming a member of her academy, into which none were admitted but the most distinguished of the learned who were in Rome. There each could only be heard in his turn; but it was determined that Albani should be heard as often as possible, without regard to the general rule. Lafiteau, who wrote the history of Clement XI., says that the young academician was always unanimously applauded. He received the doctorate at Urbino, whither his compatriots had summoned him to receive their felicitations upon the happy manner in which he had commenced his career.

On returning to Rome at the age of twenty-one he was made canon of Saint Lawrence in *Damaso*; and at twenty-eight he entered the prelacy. Innocent XI. appointed him referendary of both signatures, and consultor of the consistorial congregation. Shortly afterwards he was sent as governor to Rieti, then into the Sabina, and at length to Orvieto. He returned to Rome, and on the 22d of May, 1688, he was made vicar of the Vatican Basilica. On the 13th of February, 1690, Alexander VIII. created him cardinal.

Assuredly the entrance of Albani into the sacred college was a glorious one. Three days before the consistory in which Alexander had resolved to confer twelve hats, he ordered Albani to draw up the discourse which was to be pronounced, and which was to contain the names of the new cardinals. After commanding the most perfect secrecy, the pope commenced dictating the names. Having mentioned ten, and then, quite fluently, the eleventh, he walked up and down as though striving to call to mind the twelfth. Then, as though astonished that his amanuensis did not proceed, he said: "Go on and write the twelfth name!" "And what is that?" asked Albani. "What!" said Alexander, "do you not know how to write your own name?" Albani then threw himself at the pontiff's feet and begged that His Holi-

ness would name some worthier subject, and the pope replied : " We have repeatedly made alterations in our list of those whom we intend to raise to the purple, but have never for an instant thought of erasing yours." Albani therefore had to submit ; and as cardinal he resided in the palace, that Innocent XII. might at any hour be able to consult him on important business.

Charles II., king of Spain, wrote to Innocent XII. to ask his opinion upon the proposal of the Spanish cabinet to call the grandson of Louis XIV. to the succession to the Spanish throne. Innocent consulted Albani, who agreed with the statesmen of Madrid. The advice of Albani was adopted by the rest of the cardinals, and the pope communicated it as his decision to Charles II.

After the funeral of Innocent XII., fifty-eight cardinals entered into conclave. At first the electors favored the aged Cardinal Galeas Mariscotti, but the French were prejudiced against him and opposed that nomination. Some of the cardinals put forward Cardinal Panciatichi ; others Colloredo ; and others Spinola—the last having only ten votes. In the mean time news was received of the death of King Charles II.

Cardinal Radovich, a man distinguished for both wisdom and goodness, spoke out in a considerable assemblage of the cardinals, and maintained the necessity of a prompt election of a common father, on account of the multitude of pilgrims who would flock to Rome to celebrate the Jubilee ; and the need of electing a pontiff capable, under the existing circumstances, of preventing or remedying the evils which threatened to afflict Italy, placed in a state of uncertainty between the pretensions of France, supported by the will of the last king, and those of Austria, maintained by the right of descent.

On the very day when the news arrived from Spain, the electors in the course of four hours unanimously chose Cardinal Albani, recognizing in him, although but fifty-one, all the qualities for governing skilfully under the embarrassing circumstances. It was well known that the court abounded with relatives of Cardinal Albani, but it was also known that it was he who, under Innocent XII., drew up the bull against nepotism.

Cardinal del Giudice was appointed to impart to Albani the general consent in his favor. The surprise was so great that it instantly threw him into a violent fever. When he had somewhat recovered, he employed his utmost eloquence to be excused. Three successive days he persisted in his refusal to accept the tiara. With the sincerest tears, he implored the cardinals to choose some worthier man ; and he accused them of actual cruelty in refusing to comply with his entreaty. He even went so far as to aver that at the last day they would be called before the divine tribunal for not giving Christendom a better pontiff. The Abbé de Tencin, conclavist to

Cardinal Camus, and subsequently a cardinal, trusting to the affection Albani had always manifested for him, went into Albani's cell with the *Pastoral* of Saint Gregory, and read aloud that passage in which the holy pontiff teaches that when from humility one refuses the highest of honors, one in reality ceases to be humble, especially when one is disobedient to the voice of God, manifested by the unanimity of votes. But Albani, still persisting in the small value that he set upon himself, replied: "*And yet it would be well that I had the necessary qualifications for that ministry.*" The constancy of Albani, such a constancy as had not been witnessed since the time of Saint Gregory the Great, would have triumphed had not four celebrated theologians, distinguished as well for their virtues as for their learning, convinced him that he would commit a serious fault should he maintain his opposition any longer. The four theologians who obtained such a victory over Albani's scruples were, Anthony Massoulié, a Dominican; Charles Francis Varese, a Minor Observantine, and penitentiary of Saint John Lateran; Joseph Mary Tommasi, a theatin, and subsequently a cardinal, who was beatified in the reign of Pius VII.; and Joseph Altaro, a Jesuit, and pontifical theologian.

Those four theologians had been separately consulted by Olivieri, nephew and confidant of Albani. None of them knew that the others had been consulted, yet the answer of each was precisely the same as that of the others.

At the end of the three days that had been granted Albani for reflection, the cardinals proceeded to the scrutiny. Of fifty-eight cardinals, fifty-seven cast their votes for Albani. According to immemorial custom on such an occasion, when every thing was anticipatively settled, Albani should have given his own vote to cardinal de Bouillon, dean of the sacred college, but he preferred giving it to Cardinal Panciatici. Bouillon testified some surprise. Albani simply replied, that conscience was superior to all customs.

Perceiving that all further resistance would be useless, Albani accepted the tiara on the 23d of November, 1700; and in memory of Clement I., pope and martyr, he took the name of Clement XI.

He was consecrated bishop by cardinal de Bouillon the same day, and on the next he announced his accession by autograph letters. On the 8th of December he was crowned at the Vatican, and four months and eighteen days later, on the 10th of April, 1701, he took possession of Saint John Lateran.

If ever the sacred electors had reason to felicitate themselves upon having chosen a universally acceptable pontiff, they undoubtedly could do so on the occasion of the election of Albani. He was a personage of rare integrity of morals, of lofty intellect, illustrious for his experience in public

business, and distinguished for affability, courtesy, and many other of those qualities which render a man, and especially a sovereign, acceptable.

Without mentioning the Catholic princes who were attached to the chair of Saint Peter, many Mussulman princes, as the pasha of Cairo, the pasha of Egypt, and the governor of Bithynia, expressed a wish to have been born subjects of Clement, whose virtues, talents, and glory they had heard praised by so many missionaries. The Protestants of Nuremberg struck gold and silver medals, with learned inscriptions, complimentary to this pope; and the senate of that city sent these medals to the theologian of the emperor, that he might present them to the apostolic nuncio residing at Vienna.

The first cares of the pope were devoted to the clergy of Rome. He ordered a general visitation of all the churches, to the end that nothing should escape his notice in the administration of the chapters and the monasteries. Astonished at finding in Rome very many bishops who had long resided there, on pretext of business of their diocese, he ordered them all to quit Rome within twelve days, and repair to their several dioceses. The same order was given to all ecclesiastics who, as holders of benefices or of any local superiority, were thereby bound to residence. He next turned his attention to all that was necessary for celebrating the holy year, the care of which had been bequeathed to him by his predecessor.

The Tiber had overflowed and flooded the road leading to Saint John without the walls. The pope decided that, instead of visiting Saint Paul, the pilgrims should visit Saint Mary's in *Trastevere*, as was done in the reign of Urban VIII.; and he ordered that under the bridge of Saint Angelo boats should be kept constantly ready to rescue any who might fall into the river. His forecast proved judicious, for in consequence of the vast crowds, in vehicles and on foot, many persons had the misfortune to be precipitated into the river.

At his first appearance in public, Clement visited the four basilicas, Saint John Lateran, Saint Peter's, Saint Mary Major, and Saint Mary in *Trastevere*, temporarily substituted for Saint Paul without the walls. Afterwards he went to the Hospital of the Trinity, where he washed the feet of twelve pilgrims. Accompanied by the sacred college he waited upon the pilgrims at table, and then he presented that pious establishment with a considerable alms. In that year, that single hospital received forty-two thousand convalescents, and two hundred and ninety-nine thousand six hundred and ninety-seven pilgrims. The other charitable hospitals received convalescents and pilgrims to the number of thirty-two thousand two hundred and ninety-three.

Clement renewed the abolition of ambassadorial privileges, and he warned the ambassadors that none of them should oppose his determinations.

A congregation called *del Solievo*, consisting of cardinals, prelates, and nobles, had orders to take all possible means to secure abundance in the city of Rome and throughout the Ecclesiastical State. This pope, who had been so variously employed in administration during the reign of his predecessors, knew, beforehand, all the needs of the States which he was called upon to govern.

Clement appreciating the importance to youth of an early application to their studies, in order the more easily to conquer the first difficulties, publicly announced his patronage of painting, sculpture, and architecture, which just at that time were not cultivated with sufficient zeal. To that end, he instituted, at the capitol, the Academy of Fine Arts. As regarded the antiquities with which Rome was daily enriched, he forbade their export, without the express permission of the government. Rome was thus saved from being despoiled, without her knowledge, of mosaics, paintings, inscriptions, and marbles, precious either for the workmanship or the material which were continually being found in making excavations.

Charles Maratta, a painter of that time, received encouragement, distinction, and reward.

Clement was no less a patron of the sciences. He ordered Bianchini, one of the most celebrated mathematicians of that time, to trace that meridian which is still to be seen in the Carthusian church of Saint Mary of the Angels. That meridian, called the Clementine from the name of this pope, is two hundred feet in length, having, from time to time, slabs of marble in which are graven the signs of the zodiac and the various distances from the pole; an excellent work, which, serving to show the movements of the sun, moon, and stars, in centuries to come, will indicate, every year, the precise time of Easter, according to the terms of the Council of Nice. It is so beautiful, so exact, so perfect, that it surpasses, alike in grandeur and in precision, all those which have been traced at Naples, at Venice, at Florence, at Bologna, and at Sienna.

Notwithstanding his love for his relatives, the pope for a long time kept them aloof from him, and gave them neither benefice or employment, until he judged them worthy.

He ordered Anthony and Hannibal, the eldest sons of his brother, to continue their studies in the Roman college, in order that they might some day deserve fitting advancement.

He ordered Horace Albani, his brother, as well as his sister-in-law, Bernardina Ondedei, a lady of Pesaro, to abstain from accepting any title of honor that had in times past been bestowed upon relatives of a pope. He also forbade them to introduce the princely coronet in their arms, or interfere in even the pettiest of governmental matters; and he exhorted them to be satisfied with the usual privileges of an ordinary noble.

Finally, he made known to all who were connected with him by the ties of either relationship or alliance, that he did not intend to make any change, however slight, in the bull of Innocent XII., concerning nepotism. Clement preserved that feeling of wholesome austerity during his entire pontificate.

In imitation of his predecessors, the pope ordered a Jubilee, in order to ask the special protection of God, and his blessing upon the regular administration of the things spiritual and temporal of the papacy. Philip V., the new king of Spain, earnestly entreated Clement to grant him the investiture of the two Sicilies; and the Emperor Leopold made the same request, based on his claims to those fiefs of the Holy See.

The pontiff, after submitting that important affair to various congregations, appeared inclined to remain completely neutral, and to grant the investiture to neither of the two monarchs. Nevertheless, he took all proper precautions to avoid war.

But the peaceful wishes of the pontiff were thwarted; and Lombardy became the first theatre of war between the two pretenders.

Notwithstanding the promise of Leopold, who had declared that his armies should respect the pontifical territory, the imperial troops invaded Ferrara. Then the Spaniards, joined with the French, earnestly entreated Clement to join their league, promising to present the Albani family with fiefs, governments, the order of the golden fleece, and all the honors that could be heaped upon grandees of Spain by a king of Spain. But Clement made no account of all those caresses; he, as the common father of the faithful, desired only the peace of Europe, and in a case so delicate, seeing on either hand only one of his sons, he would not declare in favor of either of the belligerent parties.

However, the ministers of Spain and those of the Empire, on Saint Peter's eve, offered the ordinary tribute for the two Sicilies, including the palfrey. The Holy Father, inflexibly refused the offering, and, on Saint Peter's day, declared that that refusal of the tribute of Naples, in consequence of the war between the emperor in league with England, Holland, and the duke of Savoy, against Spain in league with France, in no wise prejudiced the supreme domain of the Roman Church over the two Sicilies—that is to say, the island of Sicily and the whole kingdom of Naples.

At the same time, Leopold, the same whom we saw restored to Vienna by the brave Sobieski, granted to the marquis of Brandenburg the title of king of Prussia, without the intervention of the Holy See. Moreover, that elevation contravened the ancient right acquired by the Teutonic military order over that province, in virtue of documents which the new king seemed to hold in contempt.

Clement protested against that innovation, and, by several briefs, he desired the emperor and all the princes to withhold the title of king from the

marquis of Brandenburg. Notwithstanding that resistance, the marquis was recognized at the peace of Utrecht, concluded in 1713, by almost all Europe, excepting the Holy See.*

The difficulties raised by the court of Turin were no less vexatious to Clement than the war, which was prosecuted with its usual ravages.

Already, under Innocent XII., disorder had arisen on the subject of ecclesiastical immunities. In Piedmont, an edict of 1697 had stipulated that the governors should not concede to any one the *placet*, to obtain the clerical habit, or to be promoted to orders without a previous inquiry, made by the minister called the *Patrimonial General*, as to the number of priests already in the district in question, the quality of the person newly proposed, his capacity, and his place of birth.

Innocent had endeavored, by a brief to the archbishop of Turin, to obtain the repeal of that edict, but it was renewed in 1699, and a new provision was added to it. The parish churches were to have only a fixed number of clergy, and their possessions were not to exceed the amount fixed by the Council of Trent. The archbishop deemed it his duty to declare the nullity of such an edict. Another was published, first at Ivry and then at Piedmont, and it provided that all ecclesiastical property, persons, communities, and colleges, which previously had been left exempt, should be subject to an annual tax, to be, at need, levied upon them by way of sequestration. The bishops opposed this edict, but the *patrimonial* then published a third edict, in which he affected to show the nullity of the opposition of the bishops. He forbade all disturbance of the rights of the ducal patrimony, and threatened all laymen who, on this question, should unite themselves to the priests.

Innocent appointed a congregation to examine the whole affair, and confirmed its decree that the bishops should proceed according to the canon law against the ministers of the duke of Savoy.

The archbishop of Turin published against them a monition, but they replied by an edict against the archbishop, justifying the treasury department which taxed the churches, and requiring the archbishop to withdraw his monition.

New differences arose between the nuncio at Turin and the senate of Nice.

These and other differences subsisted during the entire reign of Clement.

* In 1787, Pius VI. recognized him as king. Until then, Rome styled even the great Frederic II. only most serene prince or highness. Alluding to a dispute between a Prussian and a Roman, Pasquin, who when necessary defended Rome, said, in 1792: "Why, why, Prussian, just look at the royal arms painted over the door of your consul—they are not dry yet." The wise foresight of Pius VI. was very serviceable to Pius VII., in 1814; the king of Prussia was one of the princes who the most strongly and magnanimously demanded the restitution of Rome to the sovereign pontiff.

Happily, concord appeared to be re-established under the reign of his successor, Innocent XIII., between the Holy See and the duke of Savoy.

Two other embarrassments disturbed the mind of Pope Clement—one concerned the rites permitted by the Jesuits in China; the other, the famous *Case of Conscience* invented in France.

Five hundred and fifty years before the birth of Christ, there lived in China a famous philosopher, named Confucius, who was deemed the wisest man in the whole nation. Subsequently, it was the custom in that country that when a Chinese desired to be received into the number of the doctors, or the learned class, that corresponds in China to her doctorate, the candidates assembled in a hall where the name of the learned Confucius was set up; and when all the honors had been paid to that picture which disciples render to their living master, the presiding officer conferred the degree upon the candidate.

In 1633, Father John Baptist Morales—a Spanish Dominican, sent to China—condemned these ceremonies as idolatrous, although the Jesuits had tolerated them as being purely civil.

By order of the emperor, the Dominicans and the Franciscans were banished from the empire. Morales left China in 1645, and proceeded to Rome to make his complaint to the pope, Innocent X. In the name of his mission, the Dominican proposed to the congregation of the Propaganda these two doubts: "Is it permissible to prostrate one's self before the idol *Chachinchiam*? Is it permissible to sacrifice to *Keumfucum*—i. e., Confucius?" On the reply of the congregation, the pope issued a decree forbidding missionaries of any order or institute to do either of those things, until the Holy See gave a contrary order.

Some time after, there arrived in Rome the Jesuit Martini, who presented to Alexander VII. and the above-mentioned congregation an account of that affair. In 1656 there appeared a decree from the pope, declaring that Chinese Christians were permitted the use of those ceremonies, esteemed purely civil and not at all religious, and as such approved by the brief which the same Alexander sent to the Chinese empress, Helena, wife of the Emperor Yumlie. Clement IX., in a brief of 1669, approved the decree of his predecessor, as was subsequently done by Innocent XI. in a brief of 3d of December, 1681, addressed to the Jesuit Verbiest, and in another of the 7th of January, 1689, addressed to the Christians of Tonquin; and by Alexander VIII. in the brief of the 25th of July, 1690, addressed to the emperor of China; and by Innocent XII. in that of the 2d of September, 1691, addressed to the same emperor.

The Dominican, Father Pace, rector of the University of Mechlin, in his replies to the doubts of the missionaries of Tonquin, and Fathers Legaud, Delapalme, and Pardo, provincials of the same order, several times recom-

mended to their subordinates in China to adopt the custom of the Jesuits in relation to those ceremonies. Further, Father Sarpetri, another Dominican, in a certificate signed at Canton, on the 4th of August, 1688, protested that having during eight years watched those customs with great care, he had found them not only free from sinfulness but very necessary and useful for the propagation of the Gospel in China.

Notwithstanding these facts, the vicar-apostolic, Charles Maigrot, doctor of the Sorbonne, and bishop of Conon, attentively examined those ceremonies, and on the 26th of March, 1693, forbade them by a decree.

The matter was again submitted to Rome, and Clement, who was deeply concerned to have these controversies terminated to the advantage of religion, determined to decide them with a perfect knowledge of the case, and on the 5th of December, 1701, he named as visitor-apostolic and legate to China, Monsignor Charles Thomas Maillard de Tournon, a Turinese noble, subsequently, in 1707, created cardinal,—a man of great piety, and held in singular esteem by the Holy Father. That prelate was furnished with recommendations to the sovereigns who had possessions in the East Indies, and to many great personages and bishops in those countries; and he departed from Europe provided with ample powers, contained in a brief of the 2d of July, 1702. He safely reached China, where he received the pontifical decree of the 20th of November, 1704, condemning both the Chinese and Malabar rites, already condemned by the legate in his decree of the 23d of the preceding June.

The Jesuits, supported by Monsignor Alvaro Benavente, bishop of Ascolana, and vicar-apostolic in China, who considered that the use of those rites was useful to the diffusion of Christianity, represented to the Holy Father that the legate de Tournon had received information only from persons who were ignorant both of the principles and the language of China. But Clement, having examined the affair in 1710 and in 1712, confirmed all the decrees that had been made against the ceremonies, as well as the edicts of cardinal de Tournon, and on the 19th of March, 1715, by the Constitution *Ex illa die* (found in vol. x. of the *Bullarium Romanum*), he more rigorously condemned those rites; and he established the form of the oath which thenceforth was to be taken by every missionary in the Indies, promising that observance in their own names and in the name of their orders.

Benedict XIII. confirmed the decree of cardinal de Tournon and the bull of Clement XI.; and Clement XII. also confirmed them both.

Benedict XIV. terminated the controversy, both as concerned China and Malabar, by two constitutions (*Ex quo*, July 11, 1742, and *Omnium sollicitudinum*, September 12, 1744), in which he detailed the progress of those controversies from their beginning. In the Constitution *Ex quo*, there are

some words which many persons believe to be applicable to the Jesuits as having transgressed pontifical decrees upon that subject. Then the bishop of Coimbra, Michael of the Annunciation, having complained to Benedict XIV., on the 20th of March, 1748, that pontiff addressed a brief to him on the 20th of the following June, in which he assured him that those words did not determinately apply to the Jesuits, but to all those who until then had disobeyed those decrees, whoever the disobedient might be, whether belonging to the Society of Jesus, the order of Saint Dominic, or Saint Francis, or to the secular clergy.

The second controversy, of which we spoke above, and to which we must now turn our attention, related to the system of disturbances followed by the innovators in France.

They proposed, on the 20th of July, 1701, a *Case of Conscience*. In the same year it was signed by forty doctors of the Sorbonne, and printed at Liege. In that book, to evade the condemnation of Alexander VIII. and the following pontiffs, those doctors maintained that absolution was not to be refused to an ecclesiastic who, in signing and externally swearing to the formulary of the said Alexander, and in condemning the five propositions of Jansenius, in the sense in which the Holy See had condemned them, nevertheless mentally denied that the said propositions were contained in the same sense in the book of Jansenius.

Relatively to that fact—that is to say, that the book contained the doctrine condemned—it sufficed to have a *respectful submission, and to observe a religious and respectful silence as to what the Church decides*.

Clement, by a brief of the 12th of February, 1703, condemned the decision of the *Case of Conscience* as contrary to the constitutions of Innocent X., received by the assembly of the clergy in 1700. The pope, by two briefs to the Most Christian king, and to cardinal de Noailles, recommended them to seek out the authors of that book. In consequence of this pontifical condemnation, out of the forty doctors who had signed the *Case of Conscience*—who were reduced to thirty-eight by the death of two of their number—thirty-six retracted. Two alone clung to their opinion, and were sent into exile.

Among those who retracted may be mentioned the famous Dominican, Natalis Alexander, frequently quoted in our previous volume. He had asked the pope to permit him to dedicate to His Holiness some *Commentaries upon the Gospels*. The pope refused to accept the dedication unless the Dominican retracted his signature to the *Case of Conscience*. Natalis Alexander made that retraction in his dedicatory epistle prefixed to the *Commentaries*.

It was necessary that the Holy See should declare itself more explicitly upon that point, lest fatal prejudices should arise among the faithful. Then

Clement, always vigilant to the interests of the Church, at the instance of the Most Christian king, published on the 16th of July, 1705, his Constitution *Vineam Domini Sabaoth*. That bull condemned the *Case of Conscience*, and confirmed the constitutions of Clement XI., Innocent X., Alexander VII., and Innocent XII. In this bull, which was received by all the bishops of France, the Holy Father reprobated, as insufficient, the *respectful silence* upon the question of fact, declaring that it was necessary to make true, sincere, internal confession of the fact which had been clearly judged by the Church. Silence did not strongly enough express the submission due to the apostolic bulls and the authority of the pontiff. It was to call again into question that which had already been decided, and to renew the signal for division.

In 1707 the Lutheran doctors of Helmstadt gave a very curious document in favor of the Catholic religion! There was a question of the marriage of Elizabeth Christina of Brunswick-Wolfenbittel and the archduke of Austria, the competitor of Philip V. for the crown of Spain, and afterwards emperor under the name of Charles VI. This princess was a Lutheran.

The assembled doctors pronounced as follows: "To the question whether a Protestant princess can conscientiously become a Catholic on account of her marriage to a Catholic prince, the answer must depend upon the decision to two previous questions: 1. Whether the Catholics are fundamentally in error in principle; 2. Whether the Catholic doctrine is such that in professing that religion one has not the true faith and cannot be saved. The reply is, that the Catholics are not fundamentally in error in their doctrine, and that one may be saved in that religion. 1. Because the Catholics have the same principles of faith that we have. For the solid principle of the faith and of the Christian religion consists in believing in God the Father, who created us; in God the Son, the Messiah and Saviour who was promised to us, and who has effectively saved us from sin, death, the devil and hell; and in the Holy Ghost, who has enlightened us. We learn from God's commandments how to live towards God and our neighbor; and the Lord's prayer teaches us how to pray. We learn also that we should use baptism and the Lord's supper, since the Lord instituted and ordained them. It must be added, that Christ gave to the apostles and their successors power to announce to penitent sinners the forgiveness of their sins, and to impenitent sinners the wrath of God and chastisement, and, consequently, to retain the sins of the latter and to remit those of the former; wherefore it is, that wishing to be absolved in the name of God, we sometimes present ourselves at the confessional to declare and confess our sins. All this is sustained in our Catechism, which is an abridgment of Christian doctrine extracted from the holy Fathers and from the apostles.

That Catechism, which is common to both Catholics and Protestants contains all the principles of the decalogue, the Lord's prayer, and the words of our Lord Jesus Christ concerning baptism and the Lord's supper.

"In the preface to the confession of Augsburg, we read that both Catholics and Protestants combat under the same Lord Jesus Christ. It also says, in the conclusion of the second article, that our doctrine is not contrary to the doctrine of the Roman Church. We know that among the Catholics there are learned and virtuous men who do not exactly observe the human additions, and who do not approve of the hypocrisy that is practised by others.

"We reply, secondly : That the Catholic Church is a veritable Church, because it is an assembly that listens to the word of God and receives the sacraments instituted by Jesus Christ, the same as the Protestants. No one can deny that. Otherwise, we should be obliged to say that all who have been or still are in the Catholic Church will be damned, which is what we have never said or written.

"On the contrary, Philip Melancthon, in his abridgment of the examination, shows that the Catholic Church has always been the true Church, which is proved by the word of God. The doctrine of their Church argues it, inasmuch as they admit the commandments of God, the symbol of the apostles, the Lord's prayer, baptism, the gospels, and the epistles, in which the faithful have learned the principles of the true faith.

"The Catholic Church also teaches, as we do, in the writings and in the sermons of her doctors, that there is no salvation but through Jesus Christ, and that God has given no other name to men by which they can be saved but only the name of Jesus Christ ; that men are not justified before God only by keeping his commandments, but also by the mercy of God and by the passion of our Lord Jesus Christ. For the Catholic Church believes, as we do, and has always taught, that from the creation of the world to the present time no one has been able to be saved excepting through Jesus Christ, the mediator between God and men. The Catholic doctors and those of the Confession of Augsburg, alike teach that sin can only be remitted through the merits and the sufferings of Jesus Christ.

"With respect to penance and good works, the Catholics and Protestants agree, with only the difference in expression and manner of speaking.

"Having seriously examined all these things, we declare that in the Roman Catholic Church there is the veritable principle of the faith, and that one may live and die Christianly in it ; that, consequently, the most serene princess of Wolfenbittel may embrace the Roman Catholic faith, and be married to the archduke,—chiefly, if we consider that she has not directly or indirectly sought to bring about this marriage, but that it has been presented to her by an effect of divine Providence ; and, in the second place,

because that contract of marriage may be useful to her duchy, and perhaps help to procure a fortunate peace. It is proper to remember, however, that she ought not to be constrained to abjure the Protestant religion. She must not be wearied with controversies and articles of faith contrary to her own; but she must be briefly and simply instructed upon the things which are necessary to her salvation; for instance, the annihilation of self, continual penitence, humility before God, charity to the poor, and the love of God and of her neighbor. All these are good works, which are also taught by the Catholics."

Such is that famous decision, which we have thought fit to insert in full, because it is curious and but little known. It has given rise to many reflections.

"Why, then," exclaims the continuer of the *History of England* by Rapin, Thoyras—"why then so much noise and bloodshed about the reform of that religion in which one may be saved, and of which the doctrine is good? What becomes of the railing of Luther against that Church—railing and accusations upon which it is pretended that the separation was founded?"

That unanswerable argument of the historian presented itself to the mind of every one. The journalists of Trevoux made good use of it to support the authority of the Roman Church, and the truth of its teachings, recognized by its very enemies. And, accordingly, the Lutherans were exceedingly ill-pleased with the too great candor of these indiscreet doctors of Helmstadt; there was but one exclamation against them. Even Leibnitz, moderate as he was, showed no less vivacity than the rest. He wrote to Fabricius that the consultation must be disavowed.

The university of Helmstadt, besieged with protests and threatened in its independence, put forth, on the 7th of December, 1708, a document by which it disavowed and condemned the preceding declaration. But the blow had already been struck, and that tardy and obviously compulsory disavowal seemed not to weaken the force of the first decision. The princess, who had occasioned it, embraced the communion which she was assured was good, made her solemn abjuration, and set out for Spain. By the act of abjuration, the princess recognized the belief in purgatory; she promised all obedience to the authority of the pope; and after what, in so much detail, her former teachers and doctors had advised her, the Spanish theologians asked her no more upon the subject. A host of the German princes of the family of that empress followed her example.

But the business of Jansenism was to have results more injurious to Catholicity.

Father Pasquier Quesnel, priest of the Congregation of the Oratory of France, has published a book, entitled: "The New Testament in French, with moral reflections upon each verse; or, an abridgment of the morals of

the Gospel, of the Acts of the Apostles, of the Epistles of Saint Paul, &c. : 1671." A few years later, he added two other volumes. When he saw that his work was well received, he made an appendix to his reflections, and then assailed the Catholic powers, and endeavored to add new force to the maxims which for fifty years had afflicted the Church.

Of the new work, thus augmented, two editions were printed in Paris, one in 1692 and the other in 1694; and then appeared a series of refutations. The Jesuit, Father Michael de Tellier, confessor to Louis XIV., found in the work of Quesnel a hundred and one propositions which he deemed deserving of condemnation. The king denounced them to the supreme pontiff, and the latter, by a brief of the 13th of July, 1708 (Constitution *Universi*), condemned in general the New Testament of Quesnel, for four reasons given in the said brief. The French cabinet deemed that a simple condemnation was not sufficient, but that there needed an extended explanation, with particular qualifications. In consequence, an examination was commenced at Rome, which lasted two years. Twenty-three congregations were held, consisting of cardinals and illustrious theologians,—the Holy Father being almost always present at their meetings. At length, on the 8th of September, 1713, Clement published the famous bull *Unigenitus Dei Filius*, in which he condemned *in globo* very severely, and with appropriate censures, a hundred and one propositions extracted from the work of Quesnel, as not Catholic, and containing that very Jansenism that had already been reprobated and condemned. Previous to inserting here the consequence of the publication of that bull, we must refer, almost at its proper date, to a letter that Louis XIV. wrote to cardinal de la Tremouille, his chargé d'affaires at the Holy See, on the refusal of bulls to a bishop elect, the abbé de Saint Aignan, who approved the four articles. The king expressed himself thus :

"Pope Innocent XII. did not demand any abandonment of them (the four propositions), when I terminated with him the differences which commenced under the pontificate of Innocent XI. He knew that it would be useless, and the pope, who was one of Innocent's principal ministers (Cardinal Albani), knows better than any one that the engagement that I entered into reduces itself to non-execution of the edict that I had made in 1682, on the 23d of March.

"Contrary to the truth, he has been made to believe that I have contravened the engagement taken by *letter* that *I wrote* to his predecessor, and I have not obliged any one to maintain, contrary to his own opinions, the propositions of the clergy of France. But it is not just that I should prevent my subjects from speaking and maintaining their sentiments upon a matter which, like many other theological questions, may be freely sustained

on either side, without the slightest prejudice to any of the articles of the faith. His Holiness, therefore, cannot justly complain that I have broken engagements that I made with his predecessor; but I should have only too just ground for complaint of his not satisfying the concordats, should he persist in refusing bulls to a subject whose doctrine cannot be censured.

"I cannot, without pain, imagine the results of such a refusal, and I assure myself that the pope, so full of zeal and enlightenment, will be himself sufficiently impressed by the idea of them, to desist from a novel pretension, and one upon which I cannot admit any expedient.

"Upon which, I pray God, my cousin, that He will have you in his holy and good keeping.

"LOUIS."

This letter, though signed by the king, is not from his own hand. At that time, the king signed all letters concerning foreign affairs. The style here is official, dry, and harsh, the true bureau style; the minister, feeling himself beaten upon the question of the edict, intrenched himself, so to speak, upon that which is not in the letter of 1693, well and truly written, and signed by the king, as we have already shown. The chanceries which, moreover, are responsible to successors in the ministry, are generally very sparing of compliments, and sometimes even of forms. From time to time, a Seminarist spoke about the four propositions, admitted the whole or a part of them, and excited little or no attention by his tardy zeal. The bulk of the clergy showed very much greater reserve. Accordingly, there was no good ground for refusing the bulls solicited by de Saint Aignan, and therefore they were granted; but it must not be inferred from this letter that Louis XIV. contemplated contesting the authority of the pope. The bull *Unigenitus* was about to be published, and Louis XIV. was never wanting to that document, which cast far away the four propositions.

The bull was immediately sent by the Holy Father into France, and referred to the assembly of the clergy. Forty prelates recognized it; only seven hesitated, and adhered to cardinal de Noailles, who at the outset had approved the book of Quesnel. More than a hundred bishops published the bull throughout France. Its admission encountered some difficulties in parliament, where, however, it was registered, by order of the king, on the 14th of February, 1714, in spite of the repugnance of the president, Menard.

A small number of bishops having refused to accept it, the bishop of Tours attacked it in a pastoral; and at that moment cardinal de Noailles also attacked the bull.

Clement could close the mouths of the detractors of his bull. The king's government was ready to take up its defence energetically, but the pope,

animated by the true spirit of religion, which never punishes until after all means of mildness and clemency have been tried, moderated the intentions of the king; and shortly afterwards, that great prince, after a reign of seventy-two years, died on the 1st of September, 1715.

The regent of the kingdom, the duke of Orleans, did not show himself quite so favorable to the bull; and then things changed their aspects. Those who had been exiled for disobedience to the pontifical decisions, were recalled as innocent. The Sorbonne, which at first had accepted the bull, began to attack it. On this the pope manifested his displeasure, suspended the privileges of that institution, and forbade its conferring of ecclesiastical degrees.

The Sorbonne persisted in its resolutions, and in 1717 joined the appellants, revoking the decree by which, in 1714, it had pronounced the exclusion from the magistracy against any of that body who verbally or by writing attacked the bull.

On the 5th of March, 1717, was published an *appeal from the bull to the pope when better informed, or even to the council*; and that appeal was signed by cardinal de Noailles, by the bishops of Mirepoix, of Montpellier, of Bologna, of Senes, and by many ecclesiastics.

But the appeals did not increase in proportion to the number of the Quesnelists. Then illicit measures were thought of. It was determined to purchase appeals. One of the partisans of that incorrigible opposition furnished a considerable sum of money with which appeals were bought from those whom need or greed had brought to the brink of the precipice. Five hundred francs were given to any one who in disputation defended one of the condemned errors, and even clergymen were put forward who consented to betray their faith. More considerable sums were remitted to the canons and religious who engaged their chapters or their communities to appeal. This cabal lasted until the moment when the regent heard of the complaints of the creditors of Mr. Lord, secretary to cardinal de Noailles, and of de Servien, secretary of the bishop of Chalons-sur-Marne. They had received as a loan the sum spoken of above, and had never repaid it to the creditors. It had been expended in purchasing the votes of two thousand appellants of all ranks and conditions, the greater number of whom were found in the dioceses of Rheims, Orleans, and Rouen.*

Clement was greatly grieved at perceiving so many divisions. Observing that he could not recall to the right path the misguided French, he condemned the appeals of the cardinal de Noailles and of the four bishops.

* Upon this subject it may be well to consult a book entitled, "Warning of Monseigneur J. Joseph Languet, bishop of Soissons, to those in his diocese who have declared themselves appellants from the Constitution *Unigenitus*." (3 vols., 12mo.) The first and second volumes have no mark to indicate their place of publication; the third bears the date, Rheims, 1718.

The duke of Orleans had thought to impose silence upon both parties. The pope reproved the edict of the regent. On the 25th of March in the following year, His Holiness wrote to cardinal de Noailles a letter in Italian (a sign of affability and of gentle and friendly familiarity), begging him to return to the pontifical obedience ; but that attempt, like the others, proved useless. Then, on the 27th of August, 1718, by the Constitution *Pastoralis*, the pope declared that thenceforth he would not only not recognize as sons of the Church, but would even denounce all those who should refuse obedience to the bull *Unigenitus*, even though the disobedient should possess episcopal or cardinalate dignity. The bull *Unigenitus* had now been published five years.

The regent and the refractory bishops, alarmed by the unshaken firmness of Clement, proposed to the Holy Father to receive the bull if His Holiness would consent to add to it some explanations. But the pope refused that condition, as being offensive to all that the Church decides. Some zealous French bishops endeavored to give those explanations, and did so in terms honorable to the Holy See. Nevertheless, Clement, while he praised their zeal, refused his consent to their mediation, lest it should seem that the Holy See stood in need of explanation of that which it had already and absolutely determined upon.

The czar, Peter of Russia, who was at Paris in 1717, received a memoir from some doctors of the Sorbonne, when he paid a visit to that establishment. He went through the library attended by three of those doctors, who pointed out to him whatever was most interesting. They contrived to turn the conversation upon the reunion of the Russian to the Latin Church, and assured him that that reunion was not as difficult as it appeared to be. In the first place, the Greek Church would be at liberty to preserve most of its practices ; and then, as to what concerns the faith, the question brought back to its proper state would easily be cleared up. Upon the invitation of the emperor, the doctors drew up a memorial which they were to deliver to him before his then approaching departure ; they therefore hastened to finish it. Assuredly, they could only employ such matter as they could find in France, and those scanty materials could not replace the ample ones which are to be found in the Roman chanceries. After establishing the points of belief held in common by both parties, the doctors proceeded to consider the particular articles which separated the two Churches. There would be no obstacle, they affirmed, to the Russians retaining their discipline, which permitted the consecration of leavened bread, provided that they would recognize the validity of the consecration of unleavened bread. They established the primacy of the pope as of right divine, and endeavored to quiet the fears of the Russians that in recognizing that primacy they might lose the rights and privileges of their Church.

Moreover, the doctors expressed themselves on that subject according to the principles of the Gallican Church, and took the four articles as their fundamental doctrine. As regarded the procession of the Holy Ghost, they observed that it might be said to be a mere dispute as to words. They concluded their memoir by reflections upon the mischief of schisms, and upon the advantage that both sides would derive from a sincere reconciliation. This document was signed by nineteen doctors. It was composed by Bourcier, one of the most stirring of the then members of the Sorbonne, who, involved in miserable disputes, devoted to them the talents which he might have made serviceable to the Church. The other signers were also appellants—that is to say, supporters of a doctrine which the Holy See had condemned.

The czar having received this memoir, paid them some compliments in return. On his return into his own dominions, he submitted the document to those bishops who were then at court, and ordered them to reply to it. The bishops, three in number, did, in fact, make a reply, dated on the 15th of June, 1718, old style, or 25th of June, new style. They did not in that document sound the question to its depths, but contented themselves with showing some desire to succeed, but added that they could do nothing without consulting the other Greek bishops, and especially the four Eastern patriarchs. It would seem that that reply was dictated rather by their deference to the wishes of their prince, than by any real desire for a reconciliation. The letter was sent to the king of France, who gave a copy to the doctors.

A few years afterwards, it is supposed in 1721, another reply appeared, and signed by the bishops of Great, Little, and White Russias. They still did not enter deeply into the question, but confined themselves to saying that they could do nothing, having no patriarch. The czar, in fact, had abolished that dignity, and had substituted for it a synod intrusted with all the affairs of the Russian Church, and consisting of bishops and archimandrites. But probably that was only a pretext; it is presumed that the Russian bishops were really indisposed to a reunion. One of them, who was subsequently archbishop of Novogorod, and president of the synod, was said to be the principal opponent; and it has even been credited that he was the author of a piece published at Jena in 1719, under the name of Buddæus, a Protestant theologian, in which it was attempted to show that the union of the two Churches was an impossibility.

Be that as it might, the matter went no further; God did not permit that it should succeed through the agency of persons little qualified and as little accustomed to speak in favor of peace and union. The czar,* occupied

* Picot says, in a note: "Perhaps, in fact, the czar never seriously desired the reunion of the

with political objects, lost sight of the question ; moreover, Javorsky, archbishop of Resan, in whom Peter had great confidence on religious subjects, composed a work entitled *Petra fidei*, or the *Touchstone of the Faith*, in which he represented the reunion as impossible, yet refuted Buddæus as to many of his assertions. It is known that Clement XI. also made some efforts to bring about that most desired reunion. He sent missionaries into Russia, in the hope that individuals at least might be brought back to the true Church ; but it does not appear that that effort produced any good result.

The doctors of the Sorbonne, who had still been expecting an answer in detail to their memoir of 1717, at length imagined they perceived a favorable opportunity for renewing the endeavor. Jubé, rector of Asnières, went to Russia, as almoner and preceptor of the children of the Princess Dolgorouki, a Galitzin. Twelve doctors, almost all of the number of those who had signed the memoir of 1717, signed another document, dated 24th of June, 1728 ; forming *quasi* credentials for Jubé, empowering him to negotiate that business with the Russian bishops. They gave other reasons for the reunion.

These new efforts had no more success than the former ones. In vain did Jubé, to invoke the blessing of God upon his apostolate, renew his appeal at Pillau, in Prussia ; in vain, in the account of his journey, does he say that it was necessary to render the Greeks *appellants* ; in vain did he take care to provide himself with very extensive powers from archbishop Barchman, which he seems to have thought better than those of the Roman court—that is to say, that he applied to one schismatic for aid in converting other schismatics. On his arrival in Russia, he found, it is affirmed, great assistance in the influence of the Dolgorouki, and in the affection shown to him by the Spanish ambassador, probably with the consent of Philip V. Some bishops, even, showed good-will ; but the archbishop of Novogorod, president of the Senate, and a great favorite at court, exhibited a quite contrary disposition. Such was the state of things, when a revolution took place which put an end to all those projects. Peter II. being dead, Anne succeeded him, as empress.

The Dolgorouki, suspected of being somewhat favorable to even a bastard Catholicity, were disgraced. The protectress of Jubé, after enduring much ill treatment, returned to the religion of the country. The bishops who had been relied on were deposed or sent into exile, and Jubé himself was

Churches. Lévesque, in his History of Russia, relates that Peter, on his return to Russia, was so far from favoring the reunion that he endeavored to turn the Holy See into ridicule—created as mock pope a fool named Zolof, gave him appropriate mock cardinals, made them march in procession, grotesquely attired, and fancied he diverted his subjects by that equally stupid and indecent masquerade.

obliged to retreat, in all haste, to France. Such was the result of his attempt. It is doubtful if its success, even, would have been as advantageous to the Church as might be desired; and those who complain that Jubé was not favored by the Roman court have no plausible reason for doing so. It was natural that Rome should feel little interest in persons who were in revolt against her; who, previous to succeeding, proposed to attach the Russians to their new schism; and who, far from applying to the pope for powers, took only those of a schismatic prelate, and commenced their mission by an *appeal* that had already been condemned.

I learned at Rome a singular fact connected with this subject. Agents of that party of the Sorbonne acted with so little circumspection, as to say: "Leave us alone; our conduct is not more extraordinary than that of the Jesuits, the Dominicans, the Minor Observantines, and the Capuchins, in all infidel countries. Those various societies, by their missionaries, excite the pagans or the Protestants to approach Rome, and Rome then decides as Rome pleases." To that remark it may be replied: But the missionaries of whom you speak are unshaken guardians of the faith. They attack no dogma, while endeavoring to extend the family of the pontiffs of Rome, and they teach no doctrines that Rome is then compelled to retract. In questions of discipline, they say that they will beg favors, and they do not bind Rome hand and foot in the power of the inimical or the haughty, who may wish to take undue advantage of what has been unduly promised. Those religious, always learned and circumspect, exhort to return; they take replies only to submit them to the Holy See; their very first act is one of tenderness and submission to Rome; they depart not from that necessity of loving Rome, and of never compromising her. All that they say, perhaps, according to circumstances, is not a succession of planned communications, and, strictly considered, words never to be applied in any other sense. The science, learning, experience, and devotion of those religious, question calmly, and, in precise writings, state what has been said by and to them, and what they believe that they may concede or refuse; ever ready to retire if they have engaged themselves too far. Then Rome deliberates, studies, listens to the opinion of those invaluable men of science who so abound at Rome, and decides or postpones decision, as she deems best. It was not thus that Jubé either acted or meant to act. He could only be regarded as a reprehensible man, who, under a false pretence of religious motive, went in search of accomplices in support of a condemned cause.

We again consult the archives of the preceding year. On the 26th of July, a new penal law against the Catholics was passed in England.

It would be a melancholy list that would detail all the penal laws that were successively levelled against the Catholics in the British dominions, from the period of the Reformation. Every reign added, in that respect,

new severities to the last. Anne herself yielded on that point to what seemed to be the spirit of the nation. In reality, the Catholics ought not to have been hateful to her, for she could not but admire their heroic attachment to her family. Nevertheless, there were few years of her reign in which some new attacks were not made upon them. In 1702, a bill of *high treason* was passed against the Pretender, and a form of abjuration was prescribed at the end of the session of 1706. Stratford, bishop of Chester, had made, in the House of Peers, great complaint of the progress of popery. That was the usual phrase when new severities were to be called for. In the twelfth year of the reign of Anne there were new complaints, just as ill-founded as the former ones had been. An act of parliament declared Catholics incapable of presenting to benefices, and their rights in that respect were transferred to the universities.

But it was especially in Ireland that the animosity showed itself in all its inherent turpitude.

In 1703, the parliament of that country passed an act which added iniquitous regulations to those previously enacted. This new act provided that only a limited and very small number of Catholic priests should remain in the island, and they were subjected to numerous vexatious formalities, the omission of which sufficed to render the priests liable to punishment. All other priests were forbidden to set foot in the island, and the people were forbidden to receive or assist them. As regarded the Catholics, all existing laws were changed; their youngest sons were admitted to share the paternal property equally with the eldest—unless these latter were base enough to prevent it by turning Protestants.*

The child of Catholic parents, if he renounced his religion, could summon his parents to declare, on oath, the total amount of their property, and the chancellor awarded him the third of it for his support during the life of his parents. In like manner wives, by embracing Protestantism, could get rid of their husbands. Catholic parents were excluded from the guardianship of their children while minors, and compelled to give them Protestant guardians; and every Catholic was precluded from inheriting Protestant property, whatever his right to it. He could not acquire any real estate or practise at the bar. He was prohibited from wearing a sword, or carrying any kind of weapon, or having a horse above a certain very low price.

All these articles were accompanied by aggravating circumstances; both

* It may be said that in other countries this equality in sharing exists. True, but that is not the question. Where the eldest born of Irish families were really injured, was in their exclusion from the right enjoyed by the eldest born of English families. The alteration in the law as to Ireland was not matter of progress and political philosophy, but of base bigotry and malignant insult.

natural and social laws were reversed, and dissensions, cupidity, suspicion, and confusion were introduced into families.*

In 1710, England was triumphant on all sides. The star of the great king diffused only a feeble light; he sank overwhelmed by family misfortunes. Great Britain seized upon the opportunity to exercise new rigors upon the Catholic worship. The oath of abjuration was invented, which consisted in swearing that the descendants of James II. had no legitimate right or pretension to the crown. This clause in the act was offensive even to honest Protestants, who could not disguise from themselves that those pretensions should be left to the lapse of time, and that the fact of their *right* was too notorious to bear denial. The oath was none the less prescribed and enforced. It was to be taken by the Catholic clergy under pain of banishment; and by the laity of the same communion under pain of heavy fines, imprisonment, and confiscation of property, after an obstinate refusal.

Catholics had already been forbidden to send their children to a foreign country to be educated. The act of 1710 deprived them at home of schoolmasters and school-mistresses of their own religion. Informers were encouraged by ample rewards levied upon the property of the accused.

Even yet the fierce party spirit was not satisfied. It is asserted that the Irish parliament projected, and even drew up two acts of the utmost ferocity against all priests who entered the kingdom. The first of those acts condemned them to suffer an atrocious and infamous operation; and the second condemned them to death.†

And it was in the eighteenth century, at a period and in a nation whose tolerance has been so much boasted, that such savage tyranny really existed! Those who exclaimed so loudly against the revocation of the Edict of Nantes, assuredly should exclaim also against a system of persecution so persevering and so odious. Are those severities alone blamable which are exercised upon Protestants; and are all those which wound Catholics excusable? Are the faithful of Rome the mere *pariahs* of Europe?

Perhaps it will be urged that the Catholics by their conduct gave rise to that extreme severity. History deposes to the contrary, and the throne of Queen Anne was too firmly established to allow of her having any thing to fear from them.

* [Similar laws existed in America down to the Revolution, and bore severely on the Catholics of Maryland and Virginia. In the latter colony, a Catholic could not be a witness in any case civil or criminal; he was reduced to the grade of the negro.]

† Had Cara Mustapha reached Rome and profaned it, then borne his victorious standard to the shores of Ireland, he could not have carried demoniac tyranny and malice to greater lengths. The anti-Catholic legislators in England and Ireland were monsters, human only in shape. See, on these acts, an article by the Abbé Henegan, an Irishman, superior of the college of the Lombards at Paris, in Moreri's Dictionary (vol. vi.: edition, 1759). He adds that George I. refused to sanction such horrors.

On the 26th of July, 1717, George I., having succeeded to Queen Anne, who died on the 12th of August, 1714, sanctioned an act of parliament which obliged Catholics to give a circumstantial account of their property. A historian calls this one of the most tyrannical acts levelled against the Catholics in 1717. They were again disarmed in Ireland, and priests and members of religious orders were strictly searched after. The motive to this new measure was an armament in Spain, in favor of the Pretender, brother of the late queen, and known as the chevalier de Saint George. But the fleet that was to convey and protect that expedition was scattered by the winds, and the few troops who, in Scotland, had declared for the prince, were speedily dispersed. James retired into Italy, where he married the grand-daughter of John Sobieski, king of Poland and deliverer of Vienna.

We have omitted a great portion of the miseries endured by the English and Irish Catholics, lest we should too much interrupt our general narrative. We now return to the course of events during the reign of Clement XI.

At length, the religious peace was concluded; for the regent ordered, by a decree of the 4th of August, 1718, that throughout France the bull *Unigenitus* should be received and faithfully executed, all appeal to a future council being forbidden, and all appeals already made being annulled.

Cardinal de Noailles would not, however, yield as yet; but it must not be forgotten that, under Benedict XIII., he did at length submit to that famous bull.

At the moment when that cardinal was braving the Holy See, it was often remarked that members of his family, who were attracted to the true doctrines, solicited him to return to his duty, and still promised a prompt reconciliation.

During the war, the pope had suffered much from the violence with which the belligerents carried on hostilities; there was an occasion when his grief was made more bitter still.

A great number of imperial troops were assembled in the territory of Ferrara, and the general led them to Comacchio, a pontifical fief of which the commandant of the imperial troops had taken possession in the name of the emperor. Leopold I. died in 1705, and his son Joseph succeeded him. Clement tried every method of being on amicable terms with the new emperor; but this unjust invasion compelled the pope to demand justice from his imperial majesty. He exhorted him well to consider the penalties the canons imposed upon those who violently invaded the property and violated the rights of the Church; and he reminded the emperor that all, both high and low, are answerable before the dread tribunal of God for all abuse of the employments to which God has raised them. The rights and property which the emperor had sworn to defend, he now, by his troops, invaded. The prince was warned that though a pontiff, knowing well the duties of his

office and of his apostolic ministry, must know how to suffer injuries with patience, he yet must always be prepared to defend the rights of the Holy See. Clement reminded Joseph that it was his duty to give no scandal to the faithful, and entreated him not to sully his youth by wrong-doing, and not to commence his reign by so great an insult to the spouse of Jesus Christ.

This gentleness had no effect upon Joseph. Clement, by a bull of the 17th of July,* renewed his complaints. The pope demanded of the prince if he would judge the cause of Jesus Christ and his vicar on earth. He exhorted him to desist from his evil course, and to resume the deference which he owed to the Church, and on his doing so, the pope would forgive him and embrace him as the first-born;† but if the prince persisted in following the evil advice that he had received, the pope would renounce the clemency of the father, and punish the rebellious son by excommunication; and even, if necessary, by force of arms. The pontiff feared nothing, he added, because he defended the cause of Christ and his Church, and therefore the Lord would give him strength to conquer. "Moreover," added the pope, "if you are not ashamed to fight against the Church and God himself, if you deviate from the ancient Austrian piety, and especially from that of your father Leopold, who was always so reverent to the church, and who was so magnificently helped by the Church during the Hungarian war, as the house of Austria always has been by the pontiffs; remember that the same God who giveth kingdoms can also destroy them."

Such, but in vain, were the remonstrances of Clement to the Emperor Joseph; in vain, because Cardinal Grimani, imperial minister at Rome, daily sent false information to Vienna as to the disposition of the pope. In consequence of various circumstances, it appears that the minutes of the correspondence of that cardinal are at present in the archives of the Holy See. There is no doubt that truth was outraged in those culpable dispatches, but Rome does not betray the secrets even of its enemies.

Meantime, the imposts were not always adequate to the expenses the people suffered; and their misery must, at all costs, be relieved. Clement never acted by any other than frank, straightforward means, obvious and known to all. He assembled those cardinals who were in Rome, and with their consent he took from the castle of Saint Angelo half a million from the five million of crowns deposited there by Sixtus V. Moreover, he assigned as security for that sum, which he would consent only to borrow, the revenue of the rich abbey of Chiaravalle, in the March of Ancona.

A decree appeared at Rome, at this period, against a work by Collins, en-

* Constitution *Hactenus lenitatis*. There are constitutions which fully indicate their subject by the two first words; as, for instance, that bull of Pius VII., which commences thus: *Nova vulnera*. See *Hist. of Pius VII.*, vol. ii., 329.

† *Primogenito*, the title long enjoyed by the French kings. See Novæ, xii., 66.

titled "A Discourse on Free Thinking," and produced a remarkable effect. Anthony Collins was one of those who, in England, pushed to the greatest extreme the liberty of emitting extraordinary opinions. He commenced his literary career in 1707,* by an "Essay upon the use of Reason, in Propositions of which the Evidence depends on Human Testimony;" in which Essay he seemed to delight to place in opposition the certainty produced by Revelation and the evidence that is furnished by reason. The same year he engaged in the controversy between Dodwell and Clarke, one of the strongest metaphysicians of his time, whose glory would be far purer if, while he defended the principle of natural law and of morality, he had not at the same time compromised one of the most important dogmas of Christianity. It was difficult for Collins to have very clear ideas upon the liberty of man, after showing how inexact were his ideas upon the nature of the soul. He made liberty consist in a simple volition, and excluded from it nothing but physical constraint or physical necessity, little heeding that the moral society that he admitted must appear a revolting doctrine. Clarke maintained the contrary thesis with that luminous logic which characterizes his writings.

Collins, in his preceding works, had only, so to speak, preluded the plan of attack that he meditated. But the discourse "On Free Thinking" openly announced views hostile to Revelation. It was composed, as its title indicates, on account of the rise and progress of a society of Free Thinkers, who, under the pretence of attacking superstition and papacy, really attacked the very foundations of religion. "There is great reason," says Leland, "to complain of his (Collins') want of equity and good faith throughout this book." Collins everywhere assumes that the friends of revelation are opposed to a reasonable liberty of thought; it cannot be doubted that he desired to degrade the doctrines of Christianity, although he sometimes affects to speak of them with respect. According to him, all the evil that has been done by Christians becomes proof against Christianity, and all that has been the subject of dispute should be regarded as doubtful.

In ultimate analysis, the work is reduced to two propositions—1. We should receive nothing without examination; and, 2. Examination will make us certain of nothing. There are many other paradoxes in this work. We must do justice to the Anglican clergy; it rose against the temerity of Collins. The printer was taken before a magistrate and gave up the name of the author, who fled to Holland, where he already had corresponded with John Leclerc, and other literary men and theologians of that time.

Whiston himself, though far from orthodoxy upon many points, placed himself in the ranks to defend that very revelation which he had so often

* Picot, i., p. 144.

endeavored to shake. In some reflections, since reprinted, he reproached Collins with tracing, in season and out of season, a hateful portrait of the clergy and of Christian priests in general, with attacking Christianity on that score with a ludicrous bad faith, with affecting contempt for the Jewish nation and the legislation of Moses, as well as for the great principle of the immortality of the soul, and with incessantly seeking to render our holy books suspected, absurd, or uncertain. Collins thus attacked and confounded by men whom he probably hoped not to count among the number of his adversaries, determined to issue, under his own eyes at the Hague, a French translation of his "Discourse upon Free Thinking." That edition, published in 1714, is probably the one especially had in view in the decree of Rome prohibiting the work.

It was not in entire conformity with the original, though it was announced as being so. Collins made, both in the text and in the notes, many changes bearing on the blunders and infidelities which had been pointed out by the critic Bentley, who had mercilessly exposed the ignorance and the mistakes of the author.

Rome completed the breaking up of that instrument of detraction, whose writings, however, have not been unserviceable to modern skeptics, both French and English.

On the 28th of August, in the year 1718, the pope issued his letters *Pastoralis officii*. The boldness of the appellants, and their violence against the Holy See, led the pope to conclude that he must no longer be a witness to such excesses.* He deemed that he should be suspected of tolerating them if he did not repress them with all the authority that he possessed. He therefore issued a bull addressed to all the faithful, and commencing with these words: *Pastoralis officii*. After giving an account of his efforts and of his condescension in endeavoring to bring back the erring and the obstinate, and the opposition which his pacific views had met with, he solemnly warned those who had not submitted to the constitution as true sons of the Church, but took their stand, disobedient, contumacious, and refractory. "Since," said he, "they have departed from us and the Roman Church, if not by express words, at least certainly by deeds and by multiplied signs of hardened obstinacy, they must be held to be also separated from our charity and from that of the Roman Church, and henceforth there must be no communion between them and us." This language necessarily displeased those whom it concerned. On the 17th of September, cardinal de Noailles signed an appeal from the letters *Pastoralis officii*; and his appellant colleagues followed his example. Painful scenes were then renewed. The chapter of the cathedral of Paris, many rectors, whole communities,

* Picot, i., p. 152.

and, above all, the Sorbonne, followed the bishops in appealing. The parliament of Paris received an appeal of the procurator-general from the bull. Many provincial parliaments did the same ; and at Aix an advocate-general distinguished himself by a requisition in which he unceremoniously addressed to the pope the following language : " While you believe yourself able to cut off all the world from your communion, it is you who separate yourself from the communion of all the world." As if all the world were appellants ! France had gone so far that she had but to name her intended patriarch who was *to replace the pope !*

At that time there was no diplomatic minister, either at Paris or at Rome, who could interpose words of conciliation. Aldobrandi, chargé d'affaires of His Holiness, had long since left Paris ; Mr. Amelot, who had been charged with a mission to Rome, had returned to Paris ; and Father Laffiteau, chargé d'affaires, and bishop of Sisteron, did not set out for Rome until 1720.

The debates grew sharper : fortunately they were to turn to the advantage of the Holy See.

The French bishops did not share the opinion of the advocate-general of Aix. Without citing the pastoral letters, they issued a great number of pastorals calling for submission to the bull *Unigenitus*, as " a dogmatic judgment of the universal Church, every appeal from which was null, frivolous, illusory, rash, scandalous, insulting to the Holy See and to the episcopal body, contrary to the authority of the Church, schismatic, and tending to renew and foment condemned errors."

Forty-eight French bishops thus expressed their opinion, and others, without issuing pastorals, contented themselves with manifesting their dispositions by their conduct. The tribunals again took part. The edict of the 23d of March, 1682, was, however, well and duly revoked in 1693, and we have seen that in 1723, Louis XIV. again declared that he renounced the execution of the edict that he made in 1682.

The tribunals did not make their appearance in the character of peacemakers. Many of the pastorals against the appeal, salutary and obedient as they were, were suppressed by judicial sentences. In vain the regent wrote, on the 25th of October, two circulars—one addressed to the bishops, the other to the parliaments. In the latter, he recommended the parliaments to support the pastors, the non-appellants, against the revolts of their clergy. But in some of the superior tribunals, dispositions hostile to the bishops were very apparent, together with a spirit of encroaching upon their authority, and that marked favor to their opponents, of which we shall find only too many proofs. And yet there was no longer any doubt that the bishops, in the various seats of Catholicity, regarded the constitution *Unigenitus* as a decision of the universal Church, and the appeal as illegitimate and null.

Quesnel had said, moreover, in his "Traditions of the Roman Church," that "*the silence* of other churches, even were there nothing more, should be accepted for a general consent; which, added to the judgment of the Holy See, forms a decision which is not to be resisted."

Says Quesnel, in another place: "It is affirmed that the bull was everywhere received; but, let us have some proofs of that fact! and, that we may spare them all trouble as to getting proof from Asia and Africa, we call upon them only to give us such from all the churches of Europe, and we will hold them quits as to the rest."

We will not dwell upon the bad taste of that style, while that of Rome is always calm, deliberate, and conformable to all the rules of politeness, of high education, and of those proprieties which the Holy See, although the unquestioned and unquestionable superior, never neglects in any of its relations or in any of its words.

However, such was the challenge of Quesnel. It was speedily accepted. Rome requested the foreign bishops plainly to explain their sentiments as to the bull.

Immediately the bishops of the most important Sees sent testimonies of their adhesion to that judgment, and of their aversion for the appeal.

In Italy, the patriarch of Venice and the archbishops of Bologna, Genoa, Milan, Ravenna, Florence, Pisa, Sienna, Naples, Benevento, Palermo, Messina, and Cagliari, bore testimony that the constitution was everywhere received alike by metropolitans and suffragans. The bishop of Mondovi, in Piedmont, made the same declaration. But then Quesnel exclaimed, "Bring forward some other consent! You exert a sovereign empire over Italy and its dependencies."

That is not quite correct. The archbishops of Italy reside, in part, in countries of the Peninsula, where political authority, which always has some concern in religious relations, by no means blindly submits to the decrees of the pope. Finally, Quesnel, dispensing us from long voyages beyond sea, let us see the fate of the bull in countries where it was thought that it would be difficult to meet with regular consent.

In Germany, the three ecclesiastical electors, the archbishop of Salzburg, and the archbishop of Prague, and the bishops of Hildesheim, Ratisbon, Spires, Wurtzburg, Paderborn, Osnaburg, and Munster, affirm that it was recognized and observed in their dioceses.

Cardinal Saxe, archbishop of Strigonia and primate of Hungary, reported that in the kingdom none were refractory.

In Poland, the archbishops of Gnesna and Lemberg, the bishops of Cracow, Posen, and Lucko, adhere to this judgment. The archbishops of Ragusa, Zara, and Spalatro, in Dalmatia, certified that they and their suffragans revered the bull.

In Spain, the archbishops of Saragossa, Burgos, Granada, Toledo, and Seville, and the bishops of Avila, Sigüenza, Tarragona, and Badajos, hastened to show the conformity of their sentiments with those of so many bishops; and the multiplied efforts made with the prelates and the universities of that kingdom to induce them to appeal, only served to prove how far removed the church of Spain was from taking part in any act of insubordination, and of drawing down just reproaches upon the revolted.

In Portugal, the cardinal of Cunha and the western patriarch gave an account of the sentiments of every bishop in that country.

In Switzerland, the bishops of Bâle, Geneva, Sion, and Lausanne, accepted the bull in their synods, and expressed themselves in the strongest terms against the appeal.

In the Low Countries, where the new doctrine had its birth, and where, also, it had its partisans, the bishops incessantly battled against error. From the year 1714, the prelates of Namur, Liege, Ghent, Ruremonde, and Antwerp, Tournay and the vicars-general of Mechlin, Bruges, and Ypres, which Sees were vacant, had issued pastorals for the publication and reception of the constitution.

On the 17th of October, 1718, Monseigneur d'Alsace de Bossu, who had become archbishop of Mechlin, had published a pastoral letter, in which he declared that he did not recognize the opponents as true sons of the Church, but as rebels with whom he refused all commerce. On the 23d of the following November, five other bishops, and the vicar-apostolic of Bois-le-Duc, wrote to the pope to assure him of their submission. The faculties of theology of Douay, Louvain, and Cologne, and the universities of Pont-à-Mousson and Coimbra, successively gave upon that point declarations the most precise.

Finally, in England, three bishops, who in the midst of the greatest dangers exercised the functions of vicars-apostolic, sent their assurance of adhesion.

Now, it is not in our power to increase the geographical extent of Catholic Europe. All that bears that holy name is this part of the world, smallest in extent, but greatest in science, ability, talents of every kind, generous faculties, civilization of the truest kind, a well-considered love of order and the true sense of things, and in fidelity to the ancestral traditions, and devotion to the cause of the fine arts—all that bears that honorable, that magnificent name of Catholic; bows respectfully before the Holy See. Quesnel, you have all the testimony you asked for!

We will here present to our readers one observation, in which, probably, they have themselves anticipated us.

In a previous part, we said of the Council of Trent: "There has been no other council in which so many matters were treated of, concerning dogma,

morals, and discipline. Those matters have never been better defined than in that assembly, which may be regarded as the faithful image and perfect supplement of all preceding councils."

It is the property of every just and circumspect spirit to manifest contentment with that which it possesses, where that which is possessed is the richest, the most salutary, and the most precious that can be desired. We have nothing more to ask from the Council of Trent; it satisfies our dearest wishes; it establishes insurmountable barriers against every thing that might prove delusive, vain, and dangerous; it indicates a secure shelter where only concord was sought, a tribunal of wisdom instituted to light up a beacon shining amidst the darkness, to reconcile, to avert, to maintain ancient rights, and yet to follow all progress that is recognized as practicable and prudent; a sort of areopagus of aged men, all learned, and all experienced, all nourished upon the very life-sap of science, and all already nearly sovereigns previous to arriving at the supreme and only sovereignty.

The congregation of the council created at Rome sufficient for all needs; it commented with precision; it explained with clearness. Suddenly, innovators discovered that they were not well guided. What did they want? Another Council of Trent? No; what they wanted was an opportunity to foment new troubles; it is the facile means of making their pride triumphant, that they call for amidst all that noise. They all exclaimed in chorus, we want a better-informed pope; for many others, those words only signified, we want a council, we appeal from the pope to a council.

You would have a council? Well, God has vouchsafed to listen to your desires; and although he loves neither tumult nor violence, nor rash words nor inconsistency, nor craftiness nor snares, nor the hypocrisies of devotion, nor illogical requirements, nor bad faith, he has given you that council, and has given it to you such as you desired. To save some trouble to the court of Rome, you dispensed it from bringing testimonies from Asia and America, provided that Rome should procure such from all the churches in Europe, in which case you would hold her acquitted as to the rest. It was thus that you spoke. Now, each of the churches of Europe has, as it were, held its own council; we see not, geographically, any place that has a Catholic soul, a Roman spirit, and a heart according to Jesus Christ, his apostle Saint Peter, and the successors of the great apostle, has failed to answer to the appeal. All the episcopacy of Europe, that Europe so conclusive in your judgment that you were content to confine yourself to it, all that episcopacy has spoken, without removal, without fatigue of travel, without fear of those thousand obstacles which at this time hamper such pilgrims, and without representations on the part of ill-disposed governments. Confess that that council of another nature should have imposed silence upon you. You have obtained all that you asked; all those whom

you questioned have replied. Return, then, to reasonable sentiments, you who still feel tempted to raise the same clamors.

That cloud of witnesses left, as it seems to me, to the opposite party, nothing but obedience. Upon what pretext could they now base their indocility?

Vanquished by both authority and reasoning, they had recourse to frivolous subtleties. They disputed about the motives to the acceptance by the bishops; as if those motives, whatever they were, could in any wise weaken the authority of the first pastors, and as if such a subterfuge might not just as reasonably invalidate even the decisions of general councils!

Some of the appellants, however, were alarmed at their solitude. Upon that subject, the Abbé Dorsanne complains, in his journal, of the small profit obtained from the appeals of several bishops.

Almost all were opposed by their diocesans. The bishops of Metz and Arras had a clergy who looked upon the appeal to a future council as a heresy. De Mirepoix, though long in his See, had not been able to provoke a single appeal there. Worse than all that, not one single bishop of any other country extended the hand of fellowship to the appellants.

It was evident, by the confession of one of the warmest of the opposition, that the appeal party was not as strong as it was sometimes represented. The shouts might seem to be raised by a multitude, but on counting, it was perceived that there was but a mere handful of *resistants*. In times of trouble, the factious seem to form the greater number, because they thrust themselves into notice, and make a great noise, while prudent and peaceable men keep aloof and silent.

There had previously been an occasion when Clement had seemed to recognize the archduke as king of Spain. Philip complained. The pope replied that there was a power in Europe, France, which at one and the same time recognized as king of England James III., a Catholic, and William III., a heretic. After that, if a pope, obliged to sustain war with very few troops, without receiving any aid from Christendom, seemed to commit an act of weakness, he had the right to point to a formidable power constantly giving an example which a weak power followed only for a moment.

The grand duke and czar of Muscovy, Peter, having written to Rome, through his minister Kourakin, that he was determined to permit in his States the free and public exercise of the Catholic religion, the foundation of a convent for the Capuchins, and of a house with schools for the Jesuits, Clement caused thanks to be returned to that prince, whom he at the same time solicited for the official documents authorizing those foundations.

To have near him pious anchorets, whose penitent lives might obtain the mercies of the Lord, Clement invited to Rome some of the solitaries of La Trappe, and established them in the ancient abbey of Casamare, giving

means to make the foundation perpetual. Clement trusted much to the piety of those solitaries, and he often said that their prayers and their resignation were the most effectual means of appeasing the wrath of God.

Cardinal de Bouillon, whom we have seen assisting the election of Clement, was compromised by a letter which he had written to his king. Louis first wrote to demand an inquiry into the conduct of that cardinal, and Clement had promised to do the most exact justice. However, Clement, who always sought peace, wrote to the king in the endeavor to appease his prejudice against the cardinal. That monarch, great even in his anger and resentment, would not allow the cardinal to be brought to trial, but allowed him to remain in peace at Brabant, where he had taken shelter.

The Emperor Joseph had long been dead. Clement forgot all the insults the Holy See had received from the prince, and ordered the celebration of magnificent funeral services, at which, as customary, he was present. The pope wrote on that subject to the Empress Eleanora, mother of the deceased emperor, conjuring her to fulfil his intended restoration to the Holy See of all those rights which had so long been usurped from it. Charles VI., brother of Joseph, succeeded him in the empire. Hopes were then conceived of peace, because the competitor of Philip V., having become emperor, would naturally wish to consolidate his power at Vienna, by renouncing pretensions on Spain, which that country had repulsed.

Meantime, Clement, true model of the feeling which a pope ought to experience, between the immense interests of the Holy See and the assuredly less important interests of a Roman family, confident too of his resolution to sacrifice no interests of the Church, would not altogether disregard the claims of blood. He intended to give the purple to his nephew Hannibal Albani, but desired first to know the opinions of the cardinals. They replied that Hannibal had been so worthy a nuncio at Vienna, and possessed so many virtues, that he would honor the purple, even more than the purple would honor him, and they united their solicitations that he should be made a cardinal. Clement, accordingly, gave him the purple.

And now we must take permission for an instant to glance back. We would say a few words more about Louis XIV.

Clement had lost his brother Horace Albani, who had acquired universal esteem. There was a touching scene in the consistory when Clement communicated to the sacred college the letter of condolence of the great Louis. The letter of the monarch was so beautiful, so touching, and filled with such noble expressions, that the pope could not refrain from exclaiming—"Here is a true hero of religion! You know how much family misfortune oppresses him; yet he who so much needs consolation for himself, has in himself the admirable sensibility to console others."

After many labors and struggles in his determination to insure respect to

the ecclesiastical immunities, Clement determined no longer to defer the canonization of Pope Pius V. It took place with a great concourse of people. The cause of that canonization had been introduced in 1621. Clement X. had solemnly beatified Pius on the 1st of May, 1672. Fabricius, though he is one of the most moderate of Protestant critics, speaks of Pius V. as "the first of pontiffs who was declared a saint since Saint Gregory the Great." The malignity of that assertion is as evident as its ignorance. Between Saint Gregory the Great and Pius V. there were nineteen pontiffs* who were declared saints, and two who were beatified. How can people write about our ecclesiastical history without having read it?

The second saint canonized with Pius V., was Saint Andrew Avellino, born at Castelnuovo, in the Basilicate, in 1521. He was an advocate in the city of Naples, then a religious Theatine. He died on the 10th of November, 1608, at the age of forty-eight. Urban VIII., who had not then published the law by which he forbade process of beatification to commence until fifty years after the death of the servant of God had declared Avellino blessed, on the 10th of June, 1625.

The third saint canonized with Pius V., was Saint Felix of Cantalice, of Sabina, in the campagna of Rieti, in the diocese of Civita Ducale. He was born in 1513, and entered as a lay brother into the order of the Capuchins, for which he begged during forty years at Rome. He died on the 18th of March, 1587, at the age of seventy-four years. Urban VIII. had declared him blessed.

The fourth canonization, at the same period, was that of Saint Catherine Vigri, generally called Saint Catherine of Bologna, because she passed a great portion of her life in that city, although she was born at Verona, on the 8th of September, 1413. She was the foundress of a convent, under the rule of Saint Clare, of the order of Saint Francis. She had been beatified by Clement VII.

Some bishops of Armenia had convoked a council, in which, for several offences attributed to the patriarch of Antioch, they had deposed him. He made the case known to the congregation of the Propaganda, which sent to Mount Libanus an apostolic delegate to make inquiries. The patriarch was found to be innocent. Clement declared him so, and restored him to his dignity, enjoining the Maronites to pay him a perfect obedience, which they did with every mark of respect for the Holy See.

Clement maintained an active correspondence with the king of Persia;

* Saint Boniface IV., Saint Deodatus, Saint Martin I., Saint Vitalian, Saint Agatho, Saint Leo II., Saint Benedict II., Saint Sergius I., Saint Gregory II., Saint Gregory III., Saint Zachary, Saint Paul I., Saint Leo III., Saint Pascal I., Saint Leo IV., Saint Nicholas I., Saint Leo IX., Saint Gregory VII., the Blessed Gregory X., Saint Celestine V., the Blessed Benedict XI., and then, after all those, Pius V.

and every time that he sent missionaries into that country, he made them bearers of presents for that sovereign, who, on his part, neglected no opportunity to show his attachment to the pontiffs, whose briefs he read with the most lively gratification. At that time there were a great number of Catholics in Persia, where they were free from persecution. Mr. Desalleurs, ambassador from France to Constantinople, seconded Clement in all the business relating to the Armenian patriarch, and to the state of the Christians in Persia. In that course, Mr. Desalleurs, with great zeal, obeyed the instructions of the French government. The Turks recommenced their attacks: they boasted that ere long they would destroy Venice, and they imagined themselves sufficiently strong and fortunate in war to render themselves masters of Rome. Clement incessantly exhorted the emperor to punish that bravado. Prince Eugene of Savoy, near Peterwaradin, in 1716, attacked two hundred thousand infidels with less than eighty thousand men, and gained a memorable victory. Clement, to show his gratitude to that valiant prince, sent him the *stocco* and *berettone*, that honorable reward of victories over the enemies of the faith.*

On the 26th of August, 1720, the pope permitted the assembling of a council of bishops at Zamoski, in Poland. The Greek religion had long been preserved in that country,† and when, in the 17th century, several bishops of that communion united themselves to the Holy See, it was agreed that they should preserve their rites and customs; and they were only constrained to recognize the general councils, the *procession* of the Holy

* Here we may insert some particulars upon the Constantinian order, to which Clement XI. granted his protection.

By an edict of 489, the Emperor Leo had recognized in Alexis Angelos, and in Michael, his son, prince of Cilicia and Macedon, the dignity of Grand Master of the Constantinian order. (Novaes, xii., 213.) Some authors maintain that that order was founded by Constantine the Great, when he saw in the air the holy cross and the Labarum.

The Emperor Macrinus, in concert with Alexis Angelos, had requested Pope Saint Leo I. to give the knights of that order the rule of Saint Basil, bishop of Cæsarea. That pontiff, by a brief, had granted that favor on condition that they should always remain armed for the defence of the faith, and that they should make vows of obedience and of conjugal chastity. Julius III., by a brief of the 17th of July, 1551, addressed to Andrew and to Jerome, princes of Thessaly, had confirmed the privileges previously granted by Innocent VIII. Subsequently, John Andrew Angelus Flavius Comnenus, prince of Macedon, the survivor of that family of the last Catholic emperors of the East, sold the grand mastership of the order to Francis Farnese, duke of Parma, and his successors. Innocent XII. confirmed that cession by a brief of the 25th of October, 1699.

Clement XI., during his cardinalate, had been protector of that order. First, he ratified the decree of Innocent by another of the 20th of April, 1701, and then he designated as the headquarters of the priory the church of Saint Mary *della staccato*, which thus became the conventual church. The prior of the convent obtained the right to wear the mitre, and to carry the pastoral staff on certain fixed days. Finally, on the 15th of May, 1720, the Pope granted plenary indulgence in that church for the days of the Annunciation, of the Conception, of the Blessed Virgin Mary, Saint Basil, and Saint George, the titular of the order. That order, still in the house of Ferrara, was granted concurrently by the sovereigns of Naples and Parma.

† Picot, i., p. 170.

Ghost, the primacy of the pope, and the other points of faith which separate the schismatic Greeks from the Roman Church. But, on so great a change, there are many points of discipline to be regulated. Leo Kiszka, archbishop of Kiow and of Halitz, desired to be specially authorized by the Holy See to convoke in council the Greek bishops who depended upon him as their metropolitan, and Clement XI. could not but approve so laudable a design. He directed Jerome Grimaldi, archbishop of Edessa, and papal nuncio in Poland, to preside over the council, and he exhorted the bishops not to thwart the invitation of their metropolitan. That prelate appointed the council to meet at Lemberg, on the 20th of August of that year, 1720; but the plague having appeared in that city, he then appointed that of Zamoski, in the province called Red Russia, where the council, in fact, opened its proceedings on the appointed day in the church of Saint Mary and Saint Nicholas, belonging to the Greeks. There were present, besides the archbishop of Edessa, president, and the metropolitan of Kiow, seven Greek bishops, eight archimandrites or abbots, who have great authority in that Church, and more than a hundred and twenty secular and regular priests of the same communion; for the Greek religion is the most followed in the eastern part of Poland. The greatest portion of the nobility and clergy had not long been united to the Catholic Church. The fervor of those present became as exemplary as could be wished. The concourse of nobles, peasants, and even foreign merchants, was immense. The old subjects of John III. everywhere repeated that the king had saved the Holy See, and that the archbishop of Edessa was there to thank faithful Poland, and to ask for new proofs of her devotion.

The first session passed with the customary ceremonies. The members all signed a very detailed profession of faith, directed against the errors of the schism. Among other particulars, they recognized the œcumenical character of the Council of Trent, and submitted to its decrees, as well as to those of the other general councils held in the Latin church.

The second session was held on the 1st of September, when several constitutions of the popes were read, including the celebrated bull *Unigenitus*. The third and last session was held on the 17th of September, when the decrees were adopted which had been drawn up in the private conferences. The first of them concerns the faith. It especially condemned the errors of an individual named Philip, who appeared to have had many partisans in that country, and who taught that the sacraments should not be resorted to, and that the time of Antichrist had arrived. Eleven propositions extracted from his doctrines were quoted and condemned. In the decree upon the Mass, it was ordered that the Greeks should continue to celebrate with fermented bread, and that each should exactly follow his own rite. On many other points, permission was given to follow indifferently the usage of

the one or the other Church. It was ordered that only monks should be raised to the episcopacy, unless by a special dispensation. The reason was, that they were more generally well educated, being taken from the order of Saint Basil, which greatly prevailed in that country, and had many monasteries where an ecclesiastical education could easily be given.

That metropolitan, however, had founded a seminary at Vladimir, which See he also held, and he had also a college at Lemberg.

The other decrees related to preaching, feast-days, the administration of the sacraments, etc. It was decided to unite into one body all the different congregations of the order of Saint Basil, which should have only one abbot, whose inspection would extend over all the monasteries, so that he could the more readily suppress abuses. Many points of discipline, besides, were regulated. The decrees are very numerous, and the council ordered them to be translated into the vulgar tongue, so that the regulations might be known to all, and that all might thus draw from them the necessary information and advice. The documents are signed by the Nuncio Grimaldi, archbishop of Edessa, as president; by Leo Kiszka, archbishop of Kiow and Halitz (those bishoprics are united and always held by the same titular); by seven other bishops, and by eight abbots of other monasteries. There are also at the end the signatures of a hundred and twenty-seven secular and regular clergy of the different dioceses that we have mentioned, and also of those of Novogorod and Minsk, whence it is evident that the council was very numerously attended. Benedict approved it, and confirmed its decrees in 1724.

In 1720, at the time of the plague in Marseilles, Pope Clement XI. showed the most tender interest in that city, and promised to send breadstuffs, because famine followed the plague. Monseigneur Belzunce—"Marseilles' good bishop"—received briefs from His Holiness, who praised the zeal of that prelate in the most flattering terms. The Jesuit fathers, the Carmelites, and all the other religious orders seconded the bishop in his pious labors. One day the population of the city, in the midst of its continual sufferings and apprehensions, was attracted almost entirely to the ports. A pontifical fleet had been signalled, which, aided by a favorable wind, brought from Clement a considerable quantity of wheat, harvested in Saint Peter's patrimony. Nothing was anywhere spoken of but the generous pope and the noble and admirable Belzunce. The latter, in order to relieve the poor, one day sold his gold cross; but the pious inhabitants bought it, and restored it to their bishop. A second time, after taking measures to prevent discovery, he sold it to a Greek, who was about to leave the port; but the noble act of the prelate was again discovered, and the cross again restored to him. A third time the same thing occurred, and then the bishop saw that his people would not allow him to deprive himself of his cross, and

he took care to wear it in full view upon his breast when he went to visit the sick.

The number of the sick daily increased. We must not omit to say that the regent's government also sent abundant succors, which were distributed without charge, to arrest the progress of the disease. Roman physicians lent their aid to their French professional brethren, at the head of whom was Chirac, first physician to the duke of Orleans. The aldermen of the city neglected nothing in their sphere of duty, but labored unremittingly in procuring provisions, building hospitals, and in the still more painful and difficult task of burying the multitude of corpses that encumbered the squares and streets, and exhaled an odor of corruption that fearfully increased the disease.* That was the most difficult of their duties, and they did it with heroic courage. A monument was erected at Marseilles signaling the beneficence of Pope Clement XI.†

Faithful to the universal duties imposed upon the pontificate, Clement, perceiving that cardinal de Tournon had not obtained entire success in his mission to China, sent Monsignor de Mezza Barba to that country, with the title of patriarch of Antioch, where that prelate relieved from censure several Jesuits of whom Cardinal Tournon complained, and also the bishop of Macao, who had acted harshly towards that unfortunate legate. Mezza Barba confined himself with ordering them to take the oath prescribed by the bull *Ex illa die*, which he was ordered to enforce among the missionaries. If due obedience to the Holy See was exacted in Europe, it was no less necessary that it should be exacted in distant missions, where explanations were so tardy; especially where there is a mistaken zeal productive of unforeseen evil.

One of the great difficulties that arises, is the dissension between members of the different religious orders. The intentions of all are praisewor-

* In 1792, the revolution swept away to the guillotine or exile the clergy of France. Father Pouyard, the historian of Marseilles, a Carmelite, returned to his convent to take a last look before he departed in disguise. He found the fiends, in human form, ghoulish, digging up graves to get the clothing found on the dead. He knew at a glance what those dead were. They were the victims of the plague, buried in that cemetery in all their clothing. At the peril of his life, he hastened to the authorities, showed the danger, and saved the city. Father Pouyard became guardian of the church of Saint Martin-ai-Monti at Rome, and subsequently sacristan of the Tuileries.

† Many accounts have appeared of the plague in Marseilles. But who would believe that, in spite of all the memoirs and narratives of the time, not a word is said in Marmontel's "History" of the zeal and devotion of the ecclesiastics of that great city, of the death of two hundred and fifty priests and religious, or of that of Father Milley, that intrepid Jesuit, who slept only when nature overcame him, as he watched by the bedside of some wretched sufferers, and whose name was pronounced in entreaty by every suffering lip? Such a studied omission appears scarcely excusable; but the spirit of party has no bowels of compassion, and that is especially the case when party spirit attacks blindly, and without knowing the evil that it prepares, an evil which it learns to detest only when it becomes the victim of it.

thy, but the divergency of feeling upon questions of discipline leads to misunderstanding and embarrassment, which the congregations at Rome do not soon enough become aware of.

Mezza Barba obtained an audience of the Emperor Kanghi, but the matter was not treated to the satisfaction of the legate; nevertheless, when he took leave of the emperor, that prelate received presents for the pope, for the king of Portugal, and for himself.

Before he left, Mezza Barba modified, according to the power with which he had been invested at Rome, the bull *Ex illa die*, by inserting eight permissions concerning the honors paid to Confucius, and ancestors, and tablets; and he returned to Europe, taking with him the body of Cardinal Tournon, that funeral honors might be paid to it at Rome.

Many embarrassments, contradictions, and even unexpected breaches of promise, agitated the life of Clement. In all his letters, he recommended peace. This was promised indeed, but the promises were not kept. These vexations shortened the life of Clement, who suffered from a pulmonary disease. Fever set in, and the pope asked for the last sacraments. He implored pardon of all whom he might have offended during his pontificate, and died on the 19th of March, 1721, at the age of seventy-two years, after governing the Church twenty years, three months, and twenty-five days. He was buried at the Vatican.

Clement was as pious as he was learned. He formed a congregation consisting of the ablest astronomers in Italy, and submitted the Gregorian Calendar to their examination. Strictly speaking, some defects were discovered; but as they could be corrected only by very difficult means, it was deemed best to leave them just as they were. There are precisions of seconds and half-seconds, with which science must be acquainted, and of which it must take account, but, in practice, those exactitudes lead to embarrassments which should be avoided. At the commencement of the nineteenth century it will be time enough to think of stricter calculations.

It was to this pontiff that Provence owed so many ship-loads of bread-stuffs, and considerable sums of money, to be distributed during the prevalence of the plague in 1720.

Clement XI., having been educated in the Roman college, wrote Latin very well. The Bullarium of this pope was published in 1718, in folio: the *Consistorial Harangues*, in 1722, also in folio. Cardinal Albani, his nephew, collected all the pontiff's works at Rome, in 1729, in two volumes folio. His life prefaces the collection. It has also been separately published by Lafiteau and Reboulet. The former published his life of Clement in 1752 (in 2 vols. 12mo); and the latter published one at Avignon in 1752 (in 4to). There are no kinds of horrors which the Jansenists have not related in connection with this pope. Like all heretics, they rise in fury against him who

proscribed their errors. His constitution is nevertheless a rule of faith throughout the Church, and a kind of test by which its true sons may be recognized.

Clement was tall. His noble and intelligent features impressed the beholder in his favor. He was the first pope, after Clement VII., who appeared without a beard. His face was pale, his eyes dark, small, but lively, piercing, and full of fire. He had a sonorous voice. His mind was well cultivated, and his memory very faithful. He never allowed himself to be provoked to great anger, or to conceive hatred, and he was religiously careful of his own secrets and of those of other people. When he wrote, he displayed at once clearness of mind, firmness of judgment, penetration, fecundity, extensive thought, lively imagination, lucidity of ideas, energy of style, gracefulness in affection, eloquence in exhortation, and fitting loftiness when he felt obliged to threaten.*

* I am under singular obligation to Mazio, director of coins and medals at Rome. When Pope Pius VII. presented me with the collection of medals which I have partially described, that minister added to my collection six medals for this reign, all of them of great value. I subjoin a description of them :

1. CLEMENS XI PONT. OPT. M. The head of that pope, covered with the tiara. *Rev.*: Without inscription. Saint Luke, painting the Virgin and the infant Jesus, who are before him in the clouds. On the right, the ox.

2. COMMODIORI ANNONÆ PRÆSIDIO. 1705. The granaries at the baths of Diocletian. This medal is the work of Hermenegild, son of John Hamerani.

3. IN HONOREM CRESCENTINI MARTYRIS. An altar with a cross and candlesticks; statues of Saint Peter and Saint Paul. Besides this altar, Clement had another raised to the same saint, in the church of Saint Theodo, formerly the temple of Romulus, at the forum Boarium at Rome.

4. VADE ET PRÆDICA. MDCCII. The Holy Father, seated on his throne, delivers instructions to the patriarch de Tournon. Executed by Beatrice Hamerani.

5. IN VIAM PACIS. Moses crossing the Red Sea.

6. In the field, NATIONE VRBINAS FIL. CAROLI ALBANI A S. COLL. ELECTVS PONT. M. A. MDCC. D. XXIII NOV. PRVDENTIA ERVDITIONE PIETATE AC ZELO INSIGNIS HOMILIAS IPSE DIXIT AD POPVLVM PACIS CONCILIANDÆ STVDIOSVS DIEM FESTVM BEATÆ VIRGINIS SINE LABE ORIGINALI CONCEPTÆ PER TOTAM ECCLESIAM INDIXIT PIVM V PONTIFICEM ANDREAM DE AVELLINO FELICEM DE CANTALICIO ET CATARINAM BONONIENSEM S. S. FASTIS ADSCRIPSIT SEDET FELICITER A. XIII Venuti describes the following :

7. CREATVS D. XXIII NOVEM. MDCC. The Albani arms. By Westner.

8. FACTVS EST PRINCIPATVS SVPER HVMERVM EIVS. Christ bearing the cross. Engraved by Herm. Hamerani at the age of seventeen.

9. BENEDIXIT FILIIS TVIS IN TE. The pope closing the gate.

10. INFVNDE LVMEN VT SINT ASPERA IN VIAS PLANAS. In the field, three mountains. The dove above.

11. PIETAS PRVDENTIA ERVDITIO. Above, FLORES MEI FRVCTVS HONORIS ET HONESTATIS. ECCL. XXIV. Below, FLORES CIRCVMDATI.

12. CREAT. D. XXIII. NOV. ET CORON. D. VIII. DEC. MDCC. Probably by Westner.

13. EQVO NE CREDITE TEVCRI.

There are historians who, in insulting pages, sneer at treaties concluded with the popes, and represent them as illusory, wretched, and of short duration. We see, however, that a treaty concluded in 1267, was in 1701—that is to say, four hundred and thirty-four years later—still in force and full of life and power. According to the terms of that treaty, Clement XI. replied to

As to the Christian virtues, it might be said that if Albani the youth was a model of chastity and purity of morals, Clement XI. under the tiara presented the same innocence.

The often inextricably perplexed affairs with which he was burdened,

de Lamberg, the imperial ambassador: "The crown of the two Sicilies is incompatible with the empire; these are the *terms* of a positive treaty. Leopold, the emperor, will be succeeded by Joseph, his eldest son, who has no issue male. The imperial crown will belong to Prince Charles, for whom you demand Naples." Clement XI. then said to Uzeda, the Spanish ambassador, who spoke in the name of Philip V.: "The crown of Sicily is incompatible with the possession of Lombardy. From the time of Charles V. we have protested against the union of these two States: now that the Holy See is appealed to on the difference that has arisen, we must hold to the conditions signed in 1267." The negotiations continued. On the part of France, or, rather of Spain, the two provinces of the Abruzzi were offered to the pope, in the vicinity of his own States. Lamberg, the imperial ambassador, offered no inducement. Meantime Saint Peter's day drew near; that was the day on which the tribute should be paid. The pope was obliged to give a clear and explicit reply. He declared that more than ever he held fast to his right of investiture; that he loved to see four august princes rivalling each other in zeal to proclaim the same right; that as to the question of who would receive the new investiture, it was necessary to wait till the powers of Europe should be in accord, in order to recognize only one king of Spain.

Suddenly there arrived from Madrid a royal dispatch enjoining the duke of Uzeda to present the tribute with the accustomed formalities, and should the pope refuse to receive it, to endeavor to fulfil the order of the court by *surprise*. Uzeda ordered Prince Colonna, constable of the kingdom of Naples, to take measures to secure the execution of the royal order. The pope again endeavored to moderate the zeal of Uzeda. "We will not at this time," said the pope, "receive money or palfrey, or any thing that bears the semblance of liege homage; wait till matters are better cleared up: moreover, we are not willing to prejudice the rights of any one." The Spaniard then thought of resorting to subterfuge. He called to him secretly the agent of Spain, Alphonso de Torralba, and said: "At whatever cost, the palfrey must be presented."

Alphonso bought a horse of the requisite color, caparisoned it in trappings embroidered in gold with the pontifical arms, attached to it a notarial acknowledgment of the tribute, which was then reduced to seven thousand ducats. He then almost entirely concealed the horse beneath those long coverings which countrymen use to wrap up their horses when crossing the mountains. Having in this fashion introduced the palfrey into the court-yard of the Vatican, he advanced at the moment when the tribunal of the Camera appeared, and then, throwing off the coverings from the horse, he rapidly uttered the official words of presenting the tribute, and took flight.

The count de Lamberg laughingly protested against that singular fashion of rendering homage, in which there was no tincture of the proverbial Spanish gravity; but the first rule for the ambassadors of Spain is prompt and exact obedience.

In the middle of the field of the medal is seen a horse galloping away after throwing off the document offering the tribute. Beneath the horse are the letters, ARTEFIC. C. VV. It is difficult to explain these initials, except the first, in which it is easy to recognize allusion to an artifice or trick. If the three other letters are not affronting to Spain, it is useless to make any further research. This medal was engraved by the German, Westner. The directors of the mint may be blamed for admitting such a medal into their collection; nevertheless, it is not irrelevant to say that it furnishes metallic proof that policy often exerts itself, in its own interest, to prove the rights of the pontifical power.

14. FIAT PAX SVPER ISRAEL. 1701. The Church, under the figure of a kneeling woman.

15. CVNCTIS CLEMENS. The sun upon the three mounts of the Albani arms. Above, the name of the author, Hermenegildus Hamerani.

16. LVCET IN VVLTV EIVS. Religion, seated.

never daunted him ; on the contrary, they only served to display in brighter light his prudence, his magnanimity, and many other virtues which beyond other men he displayed when tempests and dangers surrounded him.

He deserved a more peaceful pontificate ; but it seems that God had

17. *APTATA SECVLA VERBO DEI. GNOMONE ASTRONOMICO AD VSVM CALENDARII CONSTRUCTO.* The meridian line placed in the church of the Carthusians.

18. *AVXILIVM MEVM A DOMINO. NOVA BASILICA SS. XII APOST.* The Basilica of the Twelve Apostles, restored by Clement XI.

19. *NAVRIETIS CVM GAVDIO.* The port of Civita Vecchia, with the aqueducts. Engraved by Saint Urban.

20. *ROBYR AB ASTRIS.* An armed woman ; at her side, a lion ; above, a cloud from which issue rays.

21. *SECVRITAS POPVLI ROMANI.* The symbol of security.

22. *VT ERVANTVR A VIA MALA.* Interior of the house of Saint Michael for juvenile delinquents.

23. *MEMORIAE CHRISTINAE AVGVSTÆ.* The monument erected to Christina in Saint Peter's. A woman standing and holding a lighted torch. The ashes of the queen are laid in the part of the subterranean church which supports the monument.

24. *COMMEDITATI ET ORNAMENTO.* View of the Ripetta gate in the street of that name.

25. *DEO SACRA RESVRGET.* The machine used to replace the column that stands in the square of Mount Citorio.

26. *PORTAVERVNT TABERNACVLVM FÆDERIS. M DCCIX.* A figure of Christ carried in procession, in thanks to God for the restitution of Comacchio.

27. *IN HONOREM S. FABIANI PP. ET M.* Clement XI. had set up in the Basilica of Saint Sebastian, in honor of Saint Fabian, pontiff and martyr, an altar.

28. *DOMINE DEPRECABILIS ESTO.* A woman kneeling upon a cannon. Two children, one of whom holds the pontifical tiara, and the other extinguishes a torch. Struck during the negotiations of Gertruidenberg.

29. *INTER SANCTOS SORS ILLORVM. M DCCXII.* Four saints kneeling. Saint Pius V., pope ; Saint Andrew Avellino, of the regular Theatins ; Saint Felix of Cantalice, Capuchin ; and Saint Catherine of Bologna, Dominican.

30. *ECCLESIA NOVISQVE ÆDIBVS AD BALNEA NVCKERINA.*

31. *D. O. M. CLEMENS XI. P. M. PRIMARIVM LAPIDEM IMPOSVIT DE MENSE SEPTEMB. ANNO SALVTIS MDCCXIV.* In the last part of the shield, H. F. Medal struck when the first stone was laid of the church in which are venerated the stigmata of Saint Francis of Assisium. The church was finished after designs by Contini, continued by Canevari. Over the high altar is Saint Francis receiving the stigmata, by Trevisano.

32. *CORPORE S. LEONIS MAGNI TRANSLATO D. XI APRILIS MDCCXV.* Clement XI. removed the body of Saint Leo the Great from the crypts of the Vatican, into the tomb constructed by Algardi.

33. *TEMPLO S. CLEMENTIS INSTAVRATO.* Church of Saint Clement. The pontiff caused the old construction to be duly respected in the restoration. Accordingly, that church, which has no resemblance to those of the present, deserves the attention of observers. The altar, the *atrium*, and the portico, are very remarkable.

34. *AVXILIVM CHRISTIANORVM.* When Achmet III., emperor of the Turks, declared war against the Venetians, the pope induced the emperor and Portugal to send them aid, and he obtained from Philip V. a suspension of hostilities in Italy.

35. The chair of Saint Peter, and the tombs which are placed to the right and left. On the right of the altar the tomb of Paul III., by William della Porta, and on the left that of Urban VIII., by Bernini. This medal, of a very large size, was struck at the beatification of Saint John Francis Regis, of the Society of Jesus.

36. *VIRGO POTENS, ORA PRO NOBIS.* Struck on the day when Clement XI. ordered the celebration of the feast of the Immaculate Conception.

formed him for stormy times, and had placed him in the chair of Saint Peter that he there might constantly show himself superior to attacks and reverses, and always himself—in prosperity, adversity, sickness, suffering, labor, or rest.

Such was his conduct under every circumstance of his reign, that criticism was always obliged to be silent upon the habits of his life, which were so admirably calculated that they could not be spoken of but in praise.

When his ministers, until then but little accustomed to the inconstancy of fortune, condoled with him, at the commencement of his pontificate, on the ill success of affairs, he replied: "Do not lose courage! God sends us toil, not fortune. Learn by the storms that already terrify you, we are only at the beginning of our days of trial." And then he smilingly added: "We warn you that henceforth men will call our palace the house of Job."

When only a prelate, he possessed the same intrepid spirit. An ambassador, astonished at the vivacity displayed by Albani on a business matter, said: "The king my master has long arms." The prelate, unmoved, replied: "God's are longer, and I always fear His justice more than man's power."

Unless absolutely prevented by illness, he celebrated Mass daily. He refused none of the functions of solemnities, and attended in them with a profound feeling of piety and majesty.

He always recited the office kneeling, and twice a day he devoted himself to meditation.

His table was so frugal, that it was inconceivable how a noble of his rank and fortune could be content with it. During his repast, a pious book was read aloud by an attendant. He ate but once a day, after noon, and never had more than three dishes; and the daily expense of his table did not exceed fifteen bajocchi. On that point, he excelled even his two predecessors, Saint Pius V. and Innocent II., whom we have had occasion so highly to praise for frugality.

When laboring under serious indisposition that occurred in Lent time, he was compelled, by order of the physicians, to mitigate the lenten fast by the use of eggs and milk, on three days of the week. Then, to punish himself for that yielding, he imposed upon himself other fasts in the rest of the

37. SUPER FUNDAMENTVM APOSTOLOR. ET PROPHET. CONSTANTIN. BASILICA STATVIS ET PICTVRIS ORNATA. A woman, seated, representing the church of Saint John Lateran.

38. VENTI ET MARE OBEDIUNT EI. Christ in the bark with his apostles.

39. BONARVM ARTIVM CVLTVI ET INCREMENTO. INSTIT. SCIENT. BONON.

40. OCCIDIT ALBANVM SIDVS COLLES QVE RELIQVIT. XIX MARTII MDCXXI. By Westner.

41. PERENNIS OMNIS SOLIS HABENS HIS NVNC QVOQVE SPLENDET IN ASTRIS. PIE EXINCTVS ROMÆ DIE SANCTI IOSEPH.

year, at times more convenient for his health ; and he observed those new fasts with an inflexible strictness.

In the hospitals, which he frequently visited, and in the Vatican Basilica, he frequently heard confessions, especially after dinner, during Holy-week ; and then he addressed to the people elegant and touching homilies, redolent with the manly eloquence of Saint Leo the Great, his especial patron and model throughout his pontificate. He often spoke with enthusiasm of Saint Damasus I., that illustrious Portuguese pontiff who governed the Church nearly eighteen years. This same pope, who was so exact in fulfilling the laborious duties of the pontificate, suffered from a painful disease, which for ten years he concealed from his physicians.

He was accustomed to say—"A prince ought not to do every thing, but he ought to know every thing." He was a stranger to all feeling of vengeance ; and he often said : "He who avenges himself upon his enemies by doing them good, avenges himself divinely." Such a man, of course, had a keen sense of the need of gratitude ; and, accordingly, all Rome exclaimed : "Clement has no mastery of himself in his gratitude."

He most kindly treated James II., king of Great Britain ; and after the death of that exiled king in 1701, Clement transferred his kindness to the deceased prince's son, James III.

The latter, after the peace of Rastadt, being obliged first to quit France, and then Lorraine, where he had found shelter, proceeded to the Ecclesiastical States in 1717. At first, the pope advised him to reside at Urbino, and then, in 1719, received him in Rome and paid him royal honors ; lodging him in the Sacchetti palace, and giving him, as is well known, a considerable revenue.

The banks of the Tiber, the squares, the streets, the capitol, the Vatican, the hospital, the academic halls, the pontifical chapels, the churches, and the Basilicas, all attest how much Rome owes to Clement XI.

"Clement XI.," says Lafiteau, "united in his own person the talents of the greatest men, and the virtues of the greatest saints."

The Holy See was vacant one month and twenty days.



248. INNOCENT XIII.—A. D. 1721.



HE reign of Clement XI. has shown us to what an extent the popes are driven to take part in all political affairs. We can therefore appreciate the wisdom of the rule which requires that no one is to be raised to that lofty degree until he shall have deeply studied the rules of law, and the various combinations of the events of life; and it must be confessed that, in that respect, Rome is a school calculated for the prompt formation of statesmen.

We have now to behold one of the most distinguished of Roman princes seated in Saint Peter's chair.

Innocent XIII. (Michael Angelo Conti), eldest child of Charles Conti, duke of Poli, and Isabella Muti, was born at Rome on the 13th of May, 1655. The Conti family, which Sixtus V. pronounced to be one of the four most illustrious and most ancient in Italy, was originally Roman. It counted no fewer than sixteen pontiffs, among whom were Saint Leo, Saint Gregory the Great, Innocent III., Gregory IX., and Alexander IV.

Michael Angelo Conti made his first studies in the Roman college. Alexander VIII. then named him his chamberlain of honor, and sent him to Venice to carry thither the *stocco* and the *berettone* to the doge Francis Morosini, who had gained advantages over the Turks.

Innocent XII. placed Conti in the prelacy, and named him governor of Ascoli, then of Frosinone, and finally of Viterbo. Two years later, Conti was elected archbishop of Tarsus, and sent as nuncio into Catholic Switzerland. In 1698, he proceeded in the same quality to Lisbon, where he remained twelve years. Clement XI., in a single promotion, named him cardinal on the 7th of June, 1706, but without mentioning the nunciature in Portugal. It was not desired at Rome that it should be supposed that he was raised to the purple as nuncio in Portugal. That prerogative was not granted to Portugal until the reign of Clement XII.

After the funeral of Clement XI., the conclave commenced on the 31st of March. On the 9th of April, only forty electors had assembled. Subsequently, fifteen more arrived. It was remarked at the time, that the Cardinals da Cunha and Pereyra, although they had come from Lisbon to Leghorn in nine days, did not enter Rome until after the election. The same thing occurred in the case of Cardinals Belluga and Borgia, Spaniards.

As the constitutions for the election of a pope prescribed that, in order

to render the election legitimate, all absent cardinals, even those who were excommunicated, should be summoned, Cardinals Noailles and Alberoni were invited to the conclave. The former excused himself on account of his advanced age, and the latter suddenly made his appearance from his place of confinement.

It was at first proposed to elect Cardinal Paolucci, and in the second scrutiny he would have obtained the tiara; the three scrutators had several times repeated his name,* when Cardinal Althan, the imperial minister, seeing that the votes were fast approaching the requisite two-thirds, greatly to the astonishment of all present, pronounced, in the name of the emperor, the exclusion of Cardinal Paolucci. He, although astounded by so sudden and unexpected an attack, quickly resumed the cool bearing to which he was well accustomed, having for twenty years been secretary of state to Clement XI. He demanded liberty to be heard, and praised the justice of the emperor, who, knowing Paolucci's demerits, saved him from a pontificate of which he was unworthy. Meantime, the scrutators continued to read the ballots, and only three votes were wanting to give Paolucci the requisite two-thirds. And very certainly, Paolucci would have been elected and *adored*, "for the exclusions," says Ottieri,† "which are pronounced against a single subject who might displease the three courts—those of the Empire, of France, and of Spain—are admitted not by any compact or determination, but by a *prudent attention*, so as to prevent a schism in the Church in case that some one of those most powerful among the princes should refuse to recognize a pope personally or politically distasteful.

Some authors maintain that the privilege of exclusion enjoyed in the conclaves by the three courts of Vienna, Paris, and Madrid, originated with the Council of Saint John Lateran, celebrated by Nicholas II., in the year 1059. But that privilege, granted to the emperors, concerned, as Cenni observes in the Bulletin of the Vatican‡ Basilica, only the coronation, and not the election of the sovereign pontiffs. The right, then, of exclusion practised from about a hundred years back, originated, as has been said above, in a kind of precautionary connivance, inoffensive to the pontifical authority; a species of prudent dissimulation, which determines that the supreme pontiffs shall not be disagreeable to the great Catholic powers, for the pope is for all of them the father and the pastor. There have been more than thirty schisms, all occasioned and fomented by the suspicion existing between the pontiffs and the princes. It is fitting, therefore, sometimes to consent to this exclusion; for if it be despised, there will be the risk of disturbing the peace of the Church; and a pontiff elected in despite of that exclusion, will

* Novaes, xiii., p. 8.

† Vol. iii., p. 510.

‡ *History of Europe*, vol. vii., p. 510.

be deprived of the friendship of the most powerful monarchs. The affections of those monarchs are of the utmost importance in the storms which may assail the bark of Saint Peter; and a schism may be raised by a sovereign to whom an election may be distasteful. The Jesuit cardinal de Lugo, a man of rare doctrine, and celebrated for his attachment to the Holy See, resting upon those arguments and many others, published, at the time of the conclave which, in 1644, elected Alexander VII., a document replete with solid theological and judicial arguments. He demonstrated to the sacred college the precise obligation, even in conscience, not to vote in favor of cardinals excluded by Catholic sovereigns. Cardinal de Lugo added, that attention should be paid to the sentiment he expressed; the more so that it was written at a time when experience had compelled him to retract the contrary opinion, which he had advocated in his former works, because, as said Saint Augustine (book ii., *Retract.*, chapter v.): *Tunc mihi non placebat quia nondum expertus eram*—*That did not please me then, because I was not experienced.*

In the same conclave, Cardinal Albizzi, also a very learned man, replied to de Lugo, in a document which, though less powerful than that of de Lugo, was nevertheless of great ability.

After giving every mark of sympathy to Paolucci, the cardinals resolved to choose as pontiff Michael Angelo Conti, and he was elected on the 8th of March, 1721. Conti had given his vote to Cardinal Tanara, dean of the sacred college, as is the custom. Conti having accepted the pontificate, took the name of Innocent XIII., in memory of Innocent III., who was of the Conti family.

On the 18th of May he was crowned at the Vatican, by Cardinal Benedict Pamphili, first deacon; and on the 16th of November, he took possession of Saint John Lateran.

The Romans vied with each other in magnificence, on account of their joy at seeing the tiara upon the head of one of their fellow-citizens, for the first time since the pontificate of Clement X.

In the first days of his election, Innocent XIII. had loaves brought to the palace, taken at random from various bakers, in order to examine them as to both quality and weight, in order that poor people should not be cheated by dishonest dealers.

On the 20th of June, Innocent raised to the purple his brother Bernard Mary Conti, of the dukes of Poli and Guadagnolo, born on the 26th of March, 1664, monk of the order of Saint Benedict, and successively abbot of Farfa, and bishop of Terracina.

On the 16th of July, in the same year, Innocent made his second promotion of cardinals.

The first was the celebrated Dubois, born in France, at Brives-la-Gail-

larde, in the lower Limousin, on the 23d of September, 1656, of poor but worthy parents, his father being an apothecary. At twenty-five, he had been preceptor to the son of the duke of Orleans, brother of Louis XIV. By their favor, he had obtained rich benefices. On the death of Louis, Dubois, by serving the caprices of the regent, gained his confidence, and became secretary of state, secretary of the cabinet, ambassador extraordinary to England (1715) to supervise the league of Great Britain and Holland with France. He had negotiated peace at Hanover and at the Hague, when the regent named him minister of state in 1718, and archbishop of Cambray in 1720.

It is certain that Louis, apparently with a view to conciliation, intended to give a bishopric to Dubois; but the representations of his confessor, Father la Chaise, prevented him. That confessor told the king that Dubois was addicted to debauchery, to wine, and to gaming.

After the death of the king, came the entreaties of the regent and of *almost all the sovereigns*,* and Dubois was named cardinal. Innocent had made a long resistance: the entreaties were redoubled, and the nomination may be said to have been European rather than papal. The foreign ministers who had met Dubois in England, in Holland, and at Hanover, remarked nothing in him but his talents, his facility for work, and a sort of propensity of asking little for France, and conceding much to other nations, and the pope was obliged to yield to so many interested solicitations.

Innocent at the same time addressed a letter to the new cardinal, in which he begged him to change his conduct. Dubois, in a very respectful letter, promised that he would do so, but he did not keep his word.

Here we have to insert a diplomatic fact of considerable importance, which produced useful results to Portugal, without being at all mischievous to the Holy See. John V., established as king at Lisbon, saw that some sovereigns still regarded him with either coldness or indifference. He begged the pope to take an interest in his position, and he reminded him that at the election of Conti, the court of Lisbon had heartily contributed to his success by its good wishes and influence. The two princes were acquainted, and greatly attached to each other. Michael Angelo Conti had been nuncio in Portugal, and had been treated with the most respectful distinction. John now solicited a display of *gratitude*, perhaps somewhat exaggerated.

Under Alexander VIII., the Emperor Leopold and other sovereigns had demanded that the Holy See, previous to sending a nuncio to their courts, should forward a list of the aspirants to that position. "By that means," said the princes, "we shall be forewarned, and no nuncio will reside with

* Novaes, xiii., p. 14.

us without our approbation." Alexander refused to recognize that pretension; but, finally, Innocent XIII. had granted that favor. Clement XI. having to send such a list to John V., had placed the name of Monsignor Bichi at the head of the list; but the king would not notice that intimation, and only yielded after much entreaty from the pontiff. Bichi, therefore, was as it were forced upon that court. John one day ordered his ambassador at Rome to demand that the nuncio, Bichi, should be recalled, and various charges were made against him to the pontiff, who immediately ordered the secretary of state to recall Bichi. Meantime the nuncio, warned by friends of what the king had done, brought such influence to bear that John actually retracted his most calumnious accusations, and strongly insisted that Bichi should not lose his post at Lisbon.

The order received by the nuncio was strict, and he had not obeyed, hoping that things would easily be arranged between the two courts, since the accusations no longer existed. But the pontiff did not see the affair in that light. Whether innocent or guilty of the charges, Bichi had disobeyed. It was not for him to indulge in suppositions and hopes of arrangement. Recalled in the most absolute terms, he should have left Lisbon without delay, yet at Lisbon he still remained.

Clement would hear nothing more from the king; he required Bichi to return to Rome, and sent in his place the nuncio Firrao. The circumstances became critical: the king would not allow Bichi to depart, and also refused to receive Firrao.

John still imagined that the former affection of the nuncio Conti would revive in the heart of the pope, and that he would be allowed to retain his nuncio at Lisbon. But as often as the Portuguese ambassador, Andrew de Mello, spoke to Innocent about that continual hope of the king, the pope replied in these words: "*Let the nuncio obey us.*" Mello then received a formal command to demand passports, and to notify the pope of his recall, which greatly pained the king's heart. Mello had scarcely finished his half menace, when Innocent replied: "Ambassador, you will do well, very well, to set out immediately in obedience to your king, for princes should always be obeyed by their ministers."

Such a reply circumvented the stratagem of Mello, who on no account was to quit Rome. That ambassador, however, obtained, on the instant, every favor that he requested, except what concerned Bichi. John, impressed by the pontifical constancy, at length announced his consent to the departure of the nuncio, on condition that previous to leaving the cabinet he should receive the cardinal's hat. The cabinet of Lisbon, said Mello, dwelt the more emphatically on that request, because it understood that course would be pursued towards future nuncios, as had been granted to the three nuncios residing at Vienna, Versailles, and Madrid.

Clement well understood John's intention, and he as pontiff would grant nothing that was prejudicial to the Roman court, and which might displease the three great courts, jealous for the maintenance of their peculiar privileges. He refused to admit the new project. In consequence of his refusal, Bichi remained at Lisbon during the remainder of his pontificate, Firrao not being received.

It was not until the reign of Clement XII. that that business was settled. That pontiff consented not to recall the nuncios from Portugal until after they should be named cardinals.

It has not been useless to relate these details, which show the origin of a right which the sovereigns of Portugal still persistently claim. It is now solemnly recognized at Rome, and by all the powers which possessed or have since acquired the same right.

In 1722, the pilgrims continued to go in crowds to Jerusalem. On that subject Innocent granted to the guardian of the holy tomb, Father John Philip of Milan, the faculty of conferring the sacrament of confirmation, provided there were no Catholic bishops present. That right was recognized by Benedict XIV., on the 30th of March, 1742.

The Holy Land always contains a great many indigent Christians. Urban VIII., Innocent X., Alexander VIII., Innocent XII., and Clement XI., had ordered the bishops to exhort the faithful twice a year, at Advent and in Lent, to give alms for the Holy Land. Innocent renewed the decrees of his predecessors, by the Constitution *Salvatoris*, of the 21st of November, and he imposed the same obligation upon all the ordinaries in Christendom.

The general chapter of the Observantine Franciscans had not met for twenty-five years. Innocent, to manifest the affection that he bore that order, commanded the ceremony to be celebrated in the usual form, declaring his desire to preside himself at that ceremony, which took place in the church of the Araceli, on the 15th of May, 1723. Father Cozza* was elected there as minister-general, he obtaining a hundred and eighty-three votes. On that occasion the gratitude of that order was so great, that they decided by a perpetual law that for the future, in all the convents of the order, a Mass should be celebrated for the preservation of the pope while living, and a *requiem* Mass every year after his death. Every priest of that order was also to celebrate three Masses on account of the pontiff-benefactor. In order that the remembrance of that act should not perish, the father solicited Innocent to authorize it by a bull;† and he published one

* This Father was subsequently created cardinal by Benedict XIII., on the 9th of December, 1726.

† That bull commences with *Ex injunctis*; it is in the *Roman Bullarium*, vol xi., part ii., p. 264.

on the 3d of June of the same year. An inscription in the church of Araceli records the whole.

The war having ended in 1722, the pope gave the investiture of Sicily to Charles VI., whom the treaty of peace declared the sovereign. It was granted at this period with the same conditions imposed by Julius II. upon the Catholic king, Ferdinand of Aragon, in 1510 ; by Leo X., on the Emperor Charles V., in 1521 ; by Julius III., on King Philip, after the abdication of Charles his father ; by Clement VIII., on the Catholic king, Philip III., in 1559 ; by Gregory XV., on Philip IV., in 1621 ;* and by Alexander VII., upon King Charles II., in 1666. Cardinal Althan received that investiture in the name of his master, Charles VI.

The Turks made preparations for war and vengeance. Villena, the grand-master of Malta, feared that that island would be the object of the Turk, and he called for aid, especially in money. The pope on the instant dispatched a part of what he could spare, and the cardinals subscribed sums more or less considerable, according to their fortunes. When the Jesuit Cardinal Salerno was asked what he would do, he replied that he had nothing, that he possessed no income, but that Augustus, king of Poland, having given him a crucifix ornamented with brilliants, he would joyfully sacrifice that. It was sold for a thousand Spanish *doppia*, and that sum was added to the amount already received, which reached to a hundred thousand Roman crowns. The time had now arrived when Providence had ordained that Innocent should terminate his life. He had been to a fief of his family for the benefit of his health. On his return to Rome the nobility and the populace met him, testifying the utmost joy at seeing him again. The crowd insisted upon following him even into his rooms, where he thus had to give *an audience of love and tenderness* to almost all Rome. The outer guards lowered their arms, the Swiss allowed the multitude to enter, comprising the highest and the lowest, nobles and magistrates, sailors and street-porters. The great concourse of children and old men was especially remarked.

But the good pontiff speedily fell ill. The hernia, which so tormented him, and which he had disclosed to no one except his valet, burst, and febrile inflammation ensued. Innocent called for the consolations of religion, made his profession of faith, and died on the 7th of March, 1724, aged sixty-nine years, after governing the Church two years and ten months. He left four hats vacant. He was urged to give them, but he replied : "*We are no longer of this world.*"

Innocent had not time to distinguish his pontificate by any extraordinary actions ; his sufferings would not allow him to do all that

* Gregory XV. then reserved to himself the possession of Benevento and Ponte Corvo.

his zeal suggested for the interests of religion. He was interred at the Vatican.*

Innocent was above the middle height, and strongly built; with light eyes and a large nose. He was grave and majestic in his bearing, believing that his predecessor had perhaps shown somewhat too much mildness and affability. He never allowed any one, except cardinals and ambassadors extraordinary, to be seated in his presence; all others were obliged to remain kneeling or standing.

He was not wanting in either modesty or humility, but he thought it necessary to be of a reserved bearing, and no one better than he could sustain the pontifical dignity. In his relations with the Stuart family he showed great magnificence, and he assigned to the son of James III. a pension of eight thousand Roman crowns.

In closing our examination of the labors of Innocent XIII., we shall quote some facts mentioned by Picot, in his *Memoirs*. Having determined to concern himself with the disputes which divided France, the pope addressed two briefs to the king and to the regent. In them, he said that his predecessor had blamed the arrangement of 1720, and did not believe that there was any other way of conciliation than by an unequivocal and unfeigned obedience, thoroughly frank and sincere. He complained that the opponents had not been persuaded to revoke their appeal, explained himself with great force against a letter which some of them had written to him, and declared that to trust sheep to such shepherds, was rather to destroy the sheep than to give them guardians. Finally, to reply to the allegations of the parties, he repeated that the constitution *Unigenitus* condemned only errors, and attacked neither the sentiments of the Fathers nor the opinions of the schools. The regent had those briefs printed at the Louvre.

Innocent was greatly grieved at seeing the first symptoms of a division

* As usual, I commence with the explanation of the medals which are in my own possession. All the medals are by the Hameranis and Westner.

1. INNOCENT XIII P. M. A. I. *Rev.*: CONSTITVI TE PRINCIPEM. Saint Michael tramples Lucifer under foot. Innocent was elected on Michaelmas.

2. OMNIA POSSVM IN EO QVI ME CONFORT. MDCCXXII. A young man in front of an altar, holding a globe in his right hand; on another altar the tiara and keys. Struck on the treaty by which Charles VI. confessed himself feudatory to the Holy See, as regarded Sicily.

3. In the exergue: FRANCISCAN. COMITIIS SVMMO PONTIFICI PRÆSENTI. The Holy Father upon a throne, in the church of Araceli, receives the ballots.

Venuti gives also:

4. MICHAEL ANGELVS DE COMITIBVS ROMANVS ELECTVS DIE VIII, CORONATVS DIE XVIII. MAII MDCCXXI. Distributed on his taking possession of Saint John Lateran.

5. IN TERRIS INNOCENTIVS DECIMVS TERTIVS. The Church places the effigy of the pope upon a rock; above, Saint Michael the Archangel. Around the field are the words: IN CÆLIS CONSVRGIT MICHAEL ARCHANGELVS PRINCEPS MAGNVS.

6. RENOVABIS FACIEM TERRÆ. A church in the clouds, and Saint Michael the Archangel crushing the serpent.

which burst out at Utrecht. He was engaged in an earnest investigation of the affair at the very time when he was surprised by death.

On the 27th of April, 1723, seven Dutch priests, on their own authority, named an archbishop of Utrecht. After the death Codde, in 1710, there had been no bishop in Holland. The vicars apostolic that had been sent thither, found themselves obliged to abandon their mission. The spiritual government of those provinces was intrusted by the pope to his nuncios in Cologne and Brussels. But the partisans of Codde and Quesnel had never consented to submit to the jurisdiction of the nuncios, and recognized only the vicars-general named by Codde or by the chapter of Utrecht, which had pretended to have the right to govern during the vacancy of the See. It named patrons, gave demissions, and exercised all the other functions of the ecclesiastical administration. The Roman court, on the contrary, judged that the chapter of Utrecht having become extinct by the change of religion in Holland, and having for a long time ceased to exist, the priests who called themselves by the title of Canons of Utrecht, but who did not even reside in that city, but were attached to different parishes of that country, could not be considered as forming the cathedral chapter and the Metropolitan Church. How could seven priests, followed by scarcely sixty more, represent the remainder of the clergy of Holland, who were infinitely more numerous, and who remained faithful to the Holy See?

Such was the state of affairs in 1723, when, after writing to the pope for mere form's sake, the chapter of Utrecht, or, more correctly speaking, the priests who pretended to form that chapter, met to the number of seven and elected as archbishop Cornelius Steenoven, one of themselves, who for a long time had exercised the functions of vicar-general. They announced that election to the pope, and begged that he would confirm it. They received no reply, and the college of cardinals,—the Holy See being vacant,—on the 8th of April, 1724, charged the internuncio of Brussels to recommend the neighboring bishops not to lend their hands to the cause of Steenoven, seeing that the election of that false bishop had been made without lawful authority. Subsequently, Benedict XIII. cancelled that election, and Steenoven died on the 3d of April, 1725.

The good Catholics of Holland applauded the resistance of the Roman court.

One of the last acts of Innocent was to prescribe the more exact observance of several decrees of the Council of Trent.

Count d'Albon says, in his *Memoirs upon Italy* (vol. ii., page 234): "Innocent knew how to immortalize his short reign. Great virtues, and the science of government, made Innocent XIII. an eminent prince."

Beloved by all the great, they testified the most vivid grief at his death. The populace expressed their grief by tears.

Lalande, in his *Journey in Italy* (vol. v., p. 21), pays the same testimony to that pontiff: "Innocent was the best sovereign who is at present spoken of. It was many years before the Roman populace ceased to praise him, and to lament the short duration of his pontificate. In his reign abundance was general, the police exact, and the great men and the populace alike content."

For the most exact important details upon the great Conti family, consult the book of Felix Cantelori, "On the Genealogy of the Families of Roman Counts" (Rome, 1650, 4to).

The Holy See was vacant two months and twenty-seven days.

249. BENEDICT XIII.—A. D. 1724.



BENEDICT XIII. belonged to the illustrious Orsini family, which counted among its members eighteen saints, five pontiffs, and forty cardinals. His original name was Vincent Mary Orsini. He was the eldest son of Ferdinand X. Orsini, duke of Gravina, and Jane Frangipani de la Tolfa, daughter of the duke of Grumo.

Vincent Mary was born on the 2d of February, 1649, at Gravina, a city of the kingdom of Naples, in the territory of Bari. He renounced the rights of primogeniture that belonged to him, refused a noble establishment which was offered to him by his parents, and set out for Venice, where he entered the order of Saint Dominic. Then, abandoning to his brother all his rights, he made his profession on the 13th of February, 1668. Brother Vincent Mary applied himself to the study of the holy Scriptures, the councils, and the ecclesiastical annals, principally the works of Baronius, which he read from beginning to end twenty-four times.

Clement X. created Vincent Mary a cardinal on the 22d of February, 1672, while he was still studying in the convent of Bologna, and was only twenty-three years of age; and even then he had already three times refused the purple. Nor did he finally accept it, till the pope and Roccaberti, the general of the Dominicans, gave him the formal order to submit to the will of the pope in virtue of his vow of obedience.

On the 17th of January, 1675, the new cardinal was named archbishop of Manfredonia, in the kingdom of Naples, whence he was transferred to the bishopric of Benevento.

On the 20th of March, 1724, the sacred electors to the number of thirty-one entered into conclave. Two months were spent in weighing the merits of the candidates.

The national cardinals put forward Cardinal Piazza, while others supported Cardinal Gazzadini. Finally, on the 29th of March, a day when fifty-three cardinals were present, fifty-two were unanimously in favor of Cardinal Orsini,—his own vote, which he gave to Cardinal Paolucci, being the only one against him.

For more than one whole day Orsini resisted, although the Jesuit Cardinal Tolomei endeavored to prove to him that he ought to accept. Tolomei feared that a schism would be the consequence of any further delay in the election. Orsini still refused. Even as cardinal, he had continued to recognize as his superior the Dominican general of his order, and now the general was called into the conclave, and he was requested to order Orsini, in virtue of the rules of obedience, as had been done to cause him to accept the purple, to submit to the wishes of the fifty-two cardinals who had elected him.

Orsini, at the first words of his general, bowed his head to the divine will, begged the cardinal penitentiary to absolve him from the promise he had secretly made to God not to accept of any dignity; and received the tiara, under the name of Benedict XIII., in memory of Benedict XI., a pontiff of most holy life, and who had also belonged to the order of Saint Dominic.*

From the conclave, Benedict, placed on the *sedia gestatoria*, was carried to the Vatican Basilica. There, in spite of etiquette, he alighted and kissed the threshold of the door. Then he went on foot to the altar of the Blessed Sacrament. In vain those very useful men, the masters of the ceremonies, whose spirit of order and constant presence of mind, contribute much towards rendering the ceremonies conformable to the magnificence of our worship, represented to the pope that he was departing from the established custom. Benedict replied: "We are not worthy to sweep this sacred Temple." Then it seemed to the masters of the ceremonies that the *Ecce sacerdos magnus* should not be sung, for they shudderingly said, Why sing "Behold the High-priest," when none will see him?

When the pope was conducted to the Vatican, he at first refused to pass the night in the bed appropriated to the pontiff, but at last he consented to do so, and thus passed the first night. On the second night he had his convent bed brought to him, with its woollen sheets and coarse coverings. During three days he refused to give audiences, spending his whole time in prayer.

* We are still in the age of anagrams. In the words, *Vincentius Maria Ursinus dominicanus*, are found the words, *Vir mirus, scando in Vaticanum sine nieu*.

On the 4th of June Benedict was crowned, and on the 24th of September he took possession of Saint John Lateran.

When he first went out, on the 11th of June, the pope visited the hospital of the Holy Ghost, where he administered Viaticum to a dying man.

On the 10th of June he had published a universal Jubilee, in order to ask the favor of God for the new reign.

On the feast of Saint Dominic he visited the *Minerva*, the convent of his order, and dined with the brethren in their refectory. On Saint Francis of Assisium's day, he was present in the church of *Araceli*, and dined with the religious, but wore the Dominican habit.* Often during his promenades, when he left Rome, and he was asked for the benediction on a patient in the article of death, he alighted from his carriage and hastened to the patient, an act which excited the great joy of the people, whose applause he received with the most profound humility.

On Saint Peter's eve, Constable Colonna, ambassador extraordinary from the court of Naples, could not present to the pope, who was ill, the tribute of the palfrey, for the fief of the two Sicilies. That ceremony, therefore, was deferred till the 8th of September, when it took place in the church *del Popolo*.

At that moment the pope thought fit to grant to the four principal patriarchs, those of Constantinople, Alexandria, Antioch, and Jerusalem, the use of the mozetta over the violet *manteletta*; whence it results that in Advent and Lent there is no difference between the vestment of the patriarchs and that of the cardinals, who at that season do not wear the purple.

The freedom from the tax on wine as to all who had twelve children had been suppressed: Benedict restored it.

It is known that differences still existed in relation to the usurpation of Comacchio, occupied by the emperor. That prince restored it on the 20th of February, 1725.

The same year Benedict, with exemplary piety, celebrated the sixteenth ordinary Jubilee of the holy year, which he had announced on the 26th of June of the preceding year.

Our readers will remember the penalties pronounced by Innocent X. against those who took snuff in the choir and Church of Saint Peter. Benedict removed that prohibition, which is only explicable by the abuses caused by handing around snuff-boxes—the recommendations of those who offer, and the often exaggerated compliments of those who accept. It sufficed to renew the prohibition to speak, and thus equally prohibited those conversations which have always been justly forbidden in sacred places.†

* A remarkable union, dating from the days of their holy founders, has always existed between the sons of Francis and of Dominic.

† Father Stella derives *tobacco*, from a sign, which read, *Et ab hac*, meaning *ab hac herba salus*.

The cares demanded by ecclesiastical discipline frequently absorbed all this pontiff's hours. He celebrated a provincial council in the Basilica of Saint John Lateran, composed exclusively of Italian bishops. It commenced on the 15th of April, and terminated on the 29th of May.

In the council there were thirty cardinals, six archbishops, thirty-eight bishops, three regular abbots, and thirty-five proxies of absent bishops. It declared that the bull *Unigenitus* was a rule of Faith, and condemned all writings that were published against that bull.

On the 23d of March, by order of Benedict, five Roman knights, deputed by the Conservators and the Senator of Rome, Mario Frangipani, crowned with laurel Bernardine Perfetti, knight of Saint Stephen, a Siennese, who among the Arcadians had the name of Alaurus of the Eurotas. The Holy Father received the Laureate with great demonstrations of kindness, sent him presents, and gave him the right to Roman citizenship. Rome had not witnessed that ceremony since the coronation of Petrarch, and did not see it again till the poetess Corilla was crowned in 1776.

On Corpus Christi Benedict departed from the custom of carrying the Blessed Sacrament kneeling on a platform, borne on the shoulders of the *parafrenieri*; he carried it on foot the whole length of Saint Peter's square, in the route usually taken by the procession.

By a single bull, but with various solemnities, Benedict canonized ten beatified servants of God, including Saint James della Marca, a Franciscan; Saint Agnes of Montepulciano; Pellegrino Laziosi, a Servite; John of the Cross, a Carmelite, founder and companion of Saint Teresa, in the reform of the Barefooted Carmelites; Saint Aloysius Gonzaga of the Society of Jesus;* Saint Stanislas Kostzka, novice of the Society of Jesus,† who died at the age of eighteen, after ten months' novitiate; and Saint John Nepomucene, confessor of Queen Jane of Bohemia, martyred for refusing to reveal her confession; one of the most courageous priests of whom Catholicity can boast.

Benedict also canonized, but by *equipollent* canonization, Saint Gregory

The apothecaries called it *cristarium nasi*. It was introduced into Europe by the Spaniards, in 1520, and was taken from Yucatan or Tobago. Cardinal Prosper Santacroce took it from Lisbon to Rome, and it was long called in Italy *herba santacroce*. John Nicot of Languedoc, French ambassador to Portugal, introduced it into France, where it took the name of *herba nicotiana*; it was called also *herbe du grand prieur*, and *herbe de la reine*. Petun was another name for it in France.

* The *Life of Saint Aloysius*, by Father Virgil Cepari, appeared at Rome, in 1606 (4to, reprinted in 1746, 1765, and 1782), and in Latin at Cologne, in 1616. The Bollandists give in vol. iv., p. 914. There are French lives by Croiset and Orleans.

† The *Life of Saint Stanislaus*, was published by Father Francis Sacchini, Rome, 1612, Cologne, 1617, Ingolstadt, 1699. There are also lives by Father Daniel Bartoli, Rome, 1670, etc.; by Father Joseph Perdicaro, and Father Longaro degl' Oddi.

VII., the Roman pontiff. From time immemorial that pope had received the cultus rendered to canonized saints.

Anastasius IV., when adorning the oratory of Saint Nicholas, bishop, caused Gregory VII. to be painted there with the title of saint. The name of that pontiff was placed by Gregory XIII. in the Roman martyrology of 1584, and preserved in that which was printed under Sixtus V.

Pope Paul V., considering that the body of that saint, five hundred years after his death, had been found almost entire, and still dressed in the pontifical habit, as related by the Bollandists, granted his office to the church and the clergy of Salerno, and afterwards to the chapter of Sienna. Finally, Benedict XIII., by a decree of the 25th of September, 1756, ordered as of precept (in which consists the *equipollent* canonization), that throughout the Church the office and the Mass of Saint Gregory VII. should be celebrated on the 25th of May, as a double; subsequently, in virtue of various briefs, he annulled and condemned the edicts that some bishops and secular magistrates had published in France against the extension of that office throughout the Church, already granted to many of the churches of Christendom, by the Pontiffs Paul V., Clement X., Alexander VIII., and Clement XI.

The second saint canonized by the *equipollent* canonization, was Saint Wenceslaus, martyr.

Some African bishops, during the persecution by the Vandals, towards the close of the fifth century, having removed the body of Saint Augustine from Hippo, where he was buried, to the island of Sardinia, where those prelates had taken shelter, Luitprand, king of the Lombards, when the Saracens invaded Sardinia, redeemed the body of the holy doctor, and conducting it in solemn pomp to Pavia, enshrined it in the church of Saint Peter, *in cælo aureo*. The sacred body was found on the 1st of October, 1695, after all trace of it had for a long time been lost. The regular canons of Saint Augustine published an authentic account of that discovery.

A controversy then arose between the Augustine hermits and the regular canons, as to whether the discovered body was really that of the holy doctor, the former denying and the latter affirming it.*

Benedict directed the bishop of Pavia, Monsignor Pertusati, to make a strict examination. The prelate declared that in his opinion the body was certainly that of Saint Augustine, and Benedict, by a bull of the 22d of September, 1728, approved the bishop's opinion, and ordered perpetual silence as to that controversy.

From 1226 the Carmelites alone had performed the office of our Lady of Mount Carmel. On the 6th of July, 1728, Benedict by a decree extended the office to the whole Pontifical States, and subsequently to all the Church.

* Novaes gives an exact list of the authors who discussed that question.

On the 11th of September, 1726, Benedict created as cardinal Andrew Hercules de Fleury, born at Lodève in Languedoc, on the 23d of June, 1653;—successively canon of Montpellier and chaplain to the king; named in 1699, by Louis XIV., bishop of Frejus; then preceptor of Louis XV., president of the Posts, and subsequently, after the regency, prime minister of the kingdom during fourteen years;—who died at the age of ninety, with the reputation of an exemplary ecclesiastic, a zealous pastor, and a statesman celebrated for his uprightness and disinterested conduct. No minister ever cost France less. He died poor. After paying the expense of his funeral, there was scarcely enough to pay the small legacies he had imagined himself entitled to make. It was to this cardinal, who has not been sufficiently praised, that France owed the acquisition of Lorraine, that province which prevents her neighbors from setting foot in France, and at the same time gives France a foothold in Germany.

In the following promotion the pope named as cardinal Father Lorenzo Cozza, a Minor Observantine, who for six years had been guardian of the Holy Sepulchre. He was a religious of rare merit, piety, and courage.

Benedict XIII. raised to five thousand three hundred crowns the ordinary allowance of the cardinals who had no private fortune. This *nepotism* of a novel description, in favor of the sacred college, was an act of munificence, justice, and apostolic liberality. The cardinals could increase their almsgiving, and would not be found so cruelly destitute when circumstances should arise to demand those sacrifices to religion which they were always the first to offer.

It was at this precise period that Benedict XII. created as cardinal Prosper Lambertini, whom we shall meet with again as pope, under the name of Benedict XIV.

Having resolved to visit Terracina, in order to inspect the Pontine marshes, Benedict embarked on one of the pontifical galleys. Two Barbary corsairs becoming aware of that imprudent voyage, which ought not to have been made with so little precaution, landed their crews at San Felicità; but they were too late to seize upon the person of the pope. What mischief would have accrued to the Holy See had the pontiff been seized and carried to Tunis, Tripoli, or Algiers!

It was for the sake of seeing again the cathedral of Benevento that Benedict XIII. had quitted Rome. Touching example of the affection of a bishop for his church!

Neapolitan troops received the pope at Gaeta with military pomp. He lodged with his Dominican brethren at Capua. On the 31st of March he set out for Benevento, but stopped to pass the night at Cerverina, in that diocese. In the morning he was unable to proceed, in consequence of a heavy fall of snow. When the roads were clear, Benedict delivered a dis-

course to his chapter in the cathedral, taking for his text these words of the Gospel: *My sheep hear my voice*. At Benevento, Benedict gave audience to all; consecrated churches, and assisted in choir. Subsequently, he celebrated the ceremonies of the Holy-week, heard children's lessons, administered the sacraments, preached, waited upon the hospital table every day, washed the feet of the poor, and performed other acts of piety.

On the 12th of May, Benedict left Benevento on his return to Rome. On reaching Epitaffio, which is on the frontier of the State, he found the cardinal viceroy in waiting for him, who paid him homage, as he had done in every part of the territory dependent on Naples. Benedict on reaching the extreme frontier alighted from his carriage, kissed the ground, weeping as he did so, and went to pass the night at Monte Serchio. At Capua, he again saw some of his Dominican brethren. At Teano, he was received by the Franciscans; at Mount Cassino, by the worthy successors of Saint Benedict.

On the 19th, Benedict, assisted by the cardinal viceroy, seven archbishops, seven bishops, and seven Benedictine abbots, solemnly consecrated that august temple which was founded by Saint Benedict in 529; consecrated in 748 by Pope Saint Zachary, after the Lombard pillage; consecrated anew in 1061 by Alexander II., after it had been fired by the Saracens; and finally, rebuilt after being almost totally destroyed by an earthquake. Benedict XIII., in order to perpetuate the memory of this third consecration, sent on the 27th of August to the abbot of that monastery, Sebastian Gadaleta, a brief, in which His Holiness confirmed the ancient privileges of the order, and granted some additional favors.

On arriving at Veletri, the pope passed the night in the palace of Prince Lancelloti, whose marquisate of Castelginnetto he had changed to a principality.

By the constitution *Loca Sancta*, the Holy Father confirmed all the indulgences granted to those who visited the holy places of Palestine, and to the Franciscan friars, the zealous guardians of those places. Those indulgences are recorded in sixty-three bulls, emanating from his predecessors in the pontificate, which he enumerated, commencing with the reign of Gregory IX., in 1230.

There still existed in the *Ceremoniale Episcoporum* (Ceremonial of Bishops) many incorrect and scarcely intelligible passages, in the editions issued by order of Clement VIII. and Innocent X. The Holy Father, who had been a bishop for fifty years, and was perfectly familiar with all customs, ordered all these passages to be made conformable to the ancient originals, and explained in an absolutely correct manner, and required bishops in future to use only the ceremonial thus corrected.

At the solicitation of the general of the Minor Observantines, the pope, by a bull of the 1st of April, instituted in the convent of Araceli the confraternity of the congregation of the Virgin Mary, with the same indulgences which had been enjoyed by a society of the same name in the church of Saint Laurence *in Damaso*, but which had been suppressed; and he gave the Franciscans power to bless the beads of the Immaculate Conception, to which he applied many indulgences.

After the death of Clement XI., who had endeavored, by the bull *Unigenitus*, to extinguish Jansenism, Innocent XIII. had manifested the same sentiments,—although, at the entreaty of the cardinal de Rohan, he had promised not to take any new step in regard to the churches of France until King Louis XV. was of age. To this agreement a condition was attached; namely, that the Jansenists should give the pope no reason to repent of having consented to it.

While Innocent adhered to this agreement, Monsignor Maffei, nuncio in France, informed the Holy Father that the refractory bishops had published, in their dioceses, pastorals imbued with their old errors. Innocent wrote a brief to the king, and another to the regent, dated the 24th of March, 1722. In them, he explained the reasons by which they might be induced to silence bishops who dared to brave the orders of their sovereign. Innocent was a pontiff who spoke little, but who well knew how to both think and speak to the purpose. He obtained the interference of the regent, and the bishops were silenced.

Benedict XIII., on succeeding to the pontificate, availed himself of an intimacy formed with cardinal de Noailles, during the conclave in which Innocent XII. was elected, and since maintained, to induce that cardinal to withdraw his opposition to the bull *Unigenitus*.

Cardinal de Noailles was eighty years of age; he reflected with some alarm on the consequences of supporting the opposition of the four refractory bishops and other Jansenists. He addressed a letter to the pontiff, dated on the 19th of July, in that year, in which he promised to submit to the bull. He condemned Quesnel's "Book of Moral Reflections," which he had formerly approved, as well as the hundred and one propositions drawn from it: condemning them in the same manner in which they were condemned by the bull. At the same time he revoked his pastoral of 1719, as well as every thing published in his name against the bull.

The cardinal, not content with this, courageously confirmed by a pastoral his letter to the Holy Father. The pope replied by the constitution commencing with the words *Sapientissimum consilium*, greatly commended the cardinal for his resolution, granted him the Jubilee which he solicited for Paris, only excluding from the Jubilee those who were opposed to the bull *Unigenitus*.

This conduct of the cardinal produced a great effect at Rome.* The bishops did not follow the cardinal in his obedience, as they had done in his opposition: the bishop of Senes, especially, grew more and more obstinate and audacious.

De Tencin, archbishop of Embrun, and therefore metropolitan of Senes, proposed the assembling of a council, to compel the bishop to appear before it, for either condemnation or absolution.

Benedict, a zealous defender of the faith, approved the archbishop's proposal.

The king also lent his authority, promising to enforce whatever the assembled bishops should order, after it should be approved by the pope. The council was opened with sixteen bishops present. In the first session, the bishop of Senes, Monseigneur Soanen, an Oratorian, was summoned and compelled to appear. Accusations were produced against him. They consisted in proving that he was a zealous Jansenist; that he had written against the bull both before and after his appeal to a future general council; and finally, that he had approved the condemned doctrines of Quesnel.

The bishop obstinately refused to make any defence, and denied the competency of the bishops to try him, appealing to a future council. But by whom would the bishop of Senes have been tried in a future council, if not by bishops?

The bishops, however, courageously carrying out the rules of a sound theology, suspended the bishop from his episcopal functions, and were of opinion that, in addition, he should be exiled to the abbey of *Chaise Dieu*, in Auvergne.

This sentence, with all the other decisions of the council, was approved by the Holy Father, and the king of France ordered the sentence to be carried out. Thus ended the history of the Jansenist appellants.

Clement XI. had suppressed a tribunal called the Monarchy or Tribunal of Sicily; but his act led to troubles. Benedict XIII. renewed a bull issued August 30, 1726. It contained, in thirty-five articles, rules for deciding ecclesiastical affairs in that kingdom, reserving the most important cases to the Holy See.

At this period there was an unforeseen opportunity for studying the disposition of Benedict XIII., upon which his successor Benedict XIV. often modelled his own.

When Pampeluna was invaded by a contagious disease, the people assem-

* Cardinal Ansidei, born at Perugia, of which he became bishop, published a faithful account of the letters and briefs, and of the congregations during the pontificate of Benedict XIII., with the resolutions touching the acceptance of the Constitution *Unigenitus*, by cardinal de Noailles and the particular form of that acceptance—folio sine loco et anno.

bled on the public square and made a vow, that if God would stay the ravages of the plague, no comedies whatever should be allowed to be performed in Pampeluna. The fury of the plague suddenly abated. The corregidor, or police magistrate, kept his word, and no more comedies were allowed. But some inhabitants complained of the deprivation of their accustomed amusement, and demanded to be absolved from their vow. The question was referred to Rome. There it was decided that the theatre of the city being, for a long time past, one of the properties of the hospital for illegitimate children, it was wrong to diminish their means of support, and that means must be found to restore their property. But it was replied by those who were opposed to theatrical performances, that the vow was good and ought to be fulfilled, because all comedies were improper.

Benedict decided that the Catholic king would never be inclined to allow improper comedies to be performed in his dominions, and absolved the inhabitants from their vow, on condition of their giving an alms to the poor of not less than five hundred dollars.

The Diet of Grodno, in Poland, had established five laws, as injurious to ecclesiastical liberty as to the apostolic nunciature, at that time held by Monsignor Vincent Santini. The complaints made by the Holy Father to the king and to the primates of the kingdom proving useless, His Holiness declared those laws null and void, and pronounced censures against all who had taken part in forming them.

The pontiffs being by their immense occupations prevented from attending to all confidential causes, Pius IV. had instituted an auditor-general *delle confidenze*. Saint Pius V. confirmed, and Sixtus V. extended his jurisdiction. Subsequently, it was decided that this auditor should renounce his office. Then Benedict, by a bull of the 5th of November, 1729, united it, with the same faculties and the same emoluments, to the post of auditor-general of the chamber, because the causes submitted to that prelate had much connection with those of the confidences.

Innocent XIII. had ordered, in 1682, a great reform in the tribunals; but disputes and altercations were the result, especially as to the right of judgment attributed to the *major-domo* of the palace in cases concerning offences committed in the pontifical palace. By clear and precise decrees, Benedict put an end to all controversy upon that subject.

John V., king of Portugal, still insisted that the nuncio Bichi should be named cardinal before leaving Lisbon. Benedict loved peace, and was about to yield, but resolved to submit the difference to the judgment of a congregation. That body decided that the wish of the prince ought not to be acceded to; and they gave as their reason, that were such a precedent established, the pope would thenceforth be unable to recall any of his ministers without consulting a will which might be altogether hostile to his own.

On learning this decision, John V. yielded to unseemly anger, and ordered Cardinal Pereira, a Portuguese, to quit Rome, and at the same time recalled his ambassador Mello, the prelates of the nation, and all the subjects of the crown. Then he commanded Monsignor Firrao, whom he had never recognized as nuncio, to quit Lisbon. At the same time, he enjoined the former nuncio, Bichi, not to quit that city, although he was recalled by Rome, and threatened with censures if he disobeyed the orders of His Holiness. All this did not suffice to satisfy that petulant prince. No Portuguese was allowed to ask any thing from Rome, to send any money thither for dispensation, or even to continue any commercial intercourse. This prince insensibly fell into that situation which necessarily brings about a schism. Happily, the nation did not sympathize with the sentiments of the king.

Benedict, always reasonable and conciliating, applied to Philip V. to aid him in restoring harmony. Philip had given his daughter in marriage to the hereditary prince of Portugal, who subsequently ascended the throne under the name of Joseph I. But the discord still existed, and it was reserved for Clement XII. to terminate the difference.

Meantime, Benedict had received so much pleasure from once more seeing his church at Benevento, that he resolved to go thither again. On his return, notwithstanding his narrow escape on the former occasion, he again had the courage to make a part of the journey by sea; but this time he embarked on board a pontifical war-galley, which was capable of making some resistance, and would not have declined a combat.

To prevent abuses, the Holy Father established at Corneto a prison, called the *Ergastolo*, for priests deserving punishment: they were to suffer none more severe than that sombre imprisonment.

King James III., of England, continued to reside in Rome. Benedict endeavored to mitigate the lot of that unfortunate monarch. He presented him with all the furniture of Innocent XIII., of which the chamber had the right to dispose.

Benedict never losing his warm affection for his brethren of Saint Dominic, went to dine in their common refectory at the Minerva; allowing no distinction, except that a seat was left vacant between him and the general, whom he permitted to kiss his hand; but immediately after the good pope kissed that of the general, to show that he still recognized him as his superior.*

* The following are the medals of Benedict that I have under my eyes:

1. BENEDICTVS XIII PONT. MAX. The head without the tiara. *Rev.*: CAROLO MAGNO ROMANÆ ECCLESIE VINDICI. On the right, on entering under the porch of Saint Peter's, is a marble statue of Constantine; on the left, one of Charlemagne. The former is from the chisel of Bernini; the latter, from that of Augustine Cornacchini, was finished under the reign of Benedict XIII., and inaugurated during the year of Jubilee, 1725. The medal, by the younger Hamerani, shows

He tenderly loved his nephew, Don Philip, duke of Gravina; but neither that noble nor his brother, Father Mondillo, priest of the oratory at Naples, was either admitted to the pontifical palace, or allowed to interfere in the business of the government.

Novaes thinks that Benedict should have raised the duke of Gravina to a higher dignity, instead of intrusting the affairs of state to men brought from Benevento, who, in the administration of affairs, chiefly thought of their personal interests, and neglected their duty to their prince. That pontiff, Novaes again remarks, who was wanting neither in kindness nor

great progress in art. On an elegant pedestal is seen the equestrian statue of Charlemagne. The attitude somewhat resembles that of Marcus Aurelius that is in the capitol. On the exergue are the words: ANNO IVBILEI MDCCXXV.

2. In the exergue: BEATVS QVI INTELLIGIT SVPER EGENVM ET PAVPEREM. The pope throned, gives audience to the poor. On the right are the Swiss with their halberts, and in the costume of that day, which, by order of Cardinal Consalvi, they resumed after the return of Pius VII. to Rome.

3. PER ME SI QVIS INTROIERIT SALVABITVR. The holy gate open, on which is the date, MDCCXXV. Our Lord is seen on the threshold; pilgrims kneeling.

In Venuti I find the following medals:

4. DOMINVS ILLVMINATIO MEA. ELECTVS D. XXIX MAIL. CORONAT D. IV IVNII MDCCXXV. The candlestick of the Temple, with the Holy Ghost above.

5. DE RORE CÆLI. An opening rose. A rose forms part of the arms of the Orsini.

6. HAVRIENTIS IN GAUDIO DE FONT. SAL. IVBILEI INDICTIO 1724.

7. FLVENT AD EVM OMNES GENTES. The Vatican Basilica; wolf suckling Romulus.

8. DOMVS DEI ET PORTA CÆLI. (Gen. xxvii. 17.) The pontiff opens the holy gate.

9. BENEDIXIT FILIIS IN TE. The pontiff closing the holy gate.

10. IVE. DEO. OMN. TER. 1725. Opening of the holy gate. At this Jubilee there were present the Princess Beatrice, of the house of Bavaria, and the grand duke of Tuscany.

11. SS. PETRVS ET PAVL. ROMA. The bust of the two apostles.

12. COR NOSTRVN DILATATVM EST. S. MARIE ET S. GALLICANI NOSOCOMIVM. This hospital, where diseases of the head are treated, was erected by Benedict XIII., who consecrated it on the 6th of October, 1726.

13. S. HELENA IMPER. The saint has a crucifix in her right hand.

14. EREXIT IN TITVLVM. Jacob pouring oil upon a stone, inscribed Gen. vi. 28. (It should be xxviii. 18.) There is an allusion to the consecration of all churches, altars, chalices, and bells, in which Benedict XIII. was so assiduous.

15. FVLGITE ME FLORIBVS. MDCCXXVI. Religion, wearing the pontifical tiara, accepts flowers from a boy, who presents them to her; beneath, the arms of the pope, including a rose.

16. EGO SVM PASTOR BONVS. The Saviour carrying a lamb.

17. SVOS PROPRIO SANGVINE PASCIT. The Pelican feeding her little ones.

18. CORPORE S. FLAVII CLEMENTIS EXCONSVLIS ET MARTYRIS ELEVATO. MDCCXXVII. In 1727, Cardinal Annibal Albani, while exploring the church of Saint Clement for the relics of Saint Ignatius, martyr, found those of Saint Flavius. This medal was by Hedlinger.

19. S. PATER BENED. Saint Benedict, abbot, with the pastoral staff.

20. Saint Luke paints the portrait of the Virgin.

21. ERGASTVLVM CENTVM CELLENSE. MDCCXXVIII.

22. APOTHEOSIS IN LATERANO S. IOANNIS NEPOM. MDCCXXIX. Saint John Nepomucenus was canonized in the church of Saint John Lateran by Benedict XIII.

Venuti remarks that among the ancients, the word *apotheosis* signifies the act of placing among the number of the gods, but that in our religion it signifies only the act of enrolling among the saints.

in rectitude, had not the necessary sagacity to select incorruptible ministers.

Benedict was now more than eighty-one years old. He was suddenly attacked by a catarrh, of which he died on the 21st of February, 1730, after governing the Church five years, eight months, and twenty-three days.

This pope was of middling size; his countenance was mild, his nose aquiline, and his forehead broad. At the autopsy, it was discovered that his heart was remarkably large. His funeral ceremonies were performed at the Vatican, whence he was removed to the Minerva.

Benedict XIV. said of Benedict XIII. . "We respectfully love that pontiff who backed his carriage rather than dispute the passage with a cartman." On that occasion, Benedict exclaimed to his coachman: "*Non ci far impicci*—Do not involve us in a quarrel."

Benedict left "Homilies upon Exodus," which he delivered when archbishop of Benevento (2 vols., 4to: Rome, 1724). The third volume, published in 1725, is by a Dominican, whom the pope appointed to complete the edition. His life was written by Alexander Borgia, archbishop of Fermo, and dedicated to Benedict XIV. (Rome, 1741, 4to).

One day seeing a peasant complain bitterly of a tax which he was paying, he inquired into the nature of the tax, and seeing that it really was unjust, he suppressed it, saying at the same time that the peasant was right, and had good reason for complaint.

The Dominicans erected a fine tomb, by Marchioni, to Benedict XIII., in the chapel of Saint Dominic at the Minerva.

The Holy See was vacant eight months and twenty-one days

250. CLEMENT XII.—A. D. 1730.



WE are now to examine the reign of Clement XII., an illustrious countryman of the noble family of Medici.

Clement XII. (Lawrence Corsini), of a most illustrious family of Tuscany, was born at Florence, April 16, 1653.

His father was Bartholomew Corsini, marquis of Casigliano; his mother, Isabella Strozzi, sister of the duke of Bagnuolo.

The Corsini family originated at Florence. It descended from Corsino, whose son was lord of Castelluccio and Poggibonsi, about 1150. Thomas,

Philip, John, Peter, Gerard, rose to the dignity of gonfaloniers, supreme magistrates of the republic. Thomas was also ambassador to Sienna, Bologna, Milan, and Rome, as well as to the Emperor Wenceslaus and the king of Hungary. Philip, his son, was employed in the same embassies, and repeatedly sent to France. Peter Corsini, bishop of Florence, and subsequently cardinal, had been accredited by Urban V. as legate to the Emperor Charles IV., from whom he obtained, in 1371, the title of Prince of the Holy Empire, in consideration of his services in restoring peace.

Among other glories of the family, is that of having given to earth and to heaven, Saint Andrew Corsini, a Carmelite, who died in 1374, and was canonized in 1629 by Urban VIII. Neri Corsini, who succeeded his brother Andrew on the See of Fiesole, also by his virtues obtained the title of Blessed.

Bartholomew Corsini, marquis of Casigliano in Umbria, of Lajatico and Orciatice, and of other places which formerly belonged to the family of the Marquis Malaspina, was son of Philip Corsini and Lucretia Rinuncini, and consequently great-nephew of Clement XI. He became great equerry to the grand duke of Tuscany and king of Naples; viceroy of Sicily in 1737; prince assistant to the throne; duke of Saint Columba in 1731, and grandee of Spain in 1739.

Lawrence made his first studies in the Roman college, where he was placed at the age of fifteen. He was the fourth pupil of that college who became pontiff. Having received the doctor's cap at Pisa, he went to Rome to complete his studies under the direction of his uncle, Cardinal Neri Corsini. Being recalled by his father, he made a brief stay at Florence. At the age of thirty-three years he returned to Rome, where he abandoned his rights of primogeniture and embraced the ecclesiastical profession.

Under Innocent XI., Lawrence entered the prelacy, and commenced forming a library. In 1691 he was made bishop of Nicomedia, and was then named for the nunciature at Vienna, to which residence, however, he did not proceed.

On the 17th of May, 1706, he was created cardinal, but, as he filled the post of treasurer-general, he could only hold the title of pro-treasurer. After the Mass of the Holy Ghost, on the 5th of March, 1730, twenty-six cardinals who were in Rome entered into conclave. On the day of the election, the number of cardinals present had increased to fifty-three.

During five months the sacred electors discussed the merits of their colleagues Ruffo, Imperiali, Zondadari, Banchieri, Davia, and Corradini; each of whom seemed to be on the point of obtaining the chair of Saint Peter.

Cardinal Imperiali, who on one day needed only one vote to become pontiff,* was excluded by Cardinal Bentivoglio, in the name of the king of Spain.

* This shows how strict is the rule that a cardinal cannot vote for himself.

Cardinal Ruffo was then supported with much firmness, but the votes were less favorable when it became known that he was a friend of Cardinal Coscia, the late and odious minister of Benedict XIII.

Cardinal Davia, on the 10th of June, obtained twenty-nine votes, but thirty-six were needed to make two-thirds of the fifty-four cardinals then present. On the 16th of June, Cardinal Corradini had thirty votes; then Cardinal Bentivoglio, who had expended his exclusion and could not pronounce another, declared that if Corradini were elected, the Spanish cardinals and he, Bentivoglio, would instantly leave Rome.* A pamphlet appeared upon that subject, under the title of *Bellum Corradinum*, assailing that cardinal. Moreover, Cardinal Cienfuegos had the emperor's orders to exclude Cardinal Corradini. The question was how to vanquish the repugnance of the Imperialists, who for a long time were opposed to the partisans of Corsini, but at length he was elected by fifty-two cardinals, on the 12th of July, 1730. He was then seventy-nine years old.†

He chose the name of Clement XII., in memory of Clement XI. his benefactor, who had given him the purple. Having been crowned on the 16th of July, he took possession of the Basilica of Saint John Lateran on the 19th of November.

We have already said that the ministers of Benedict XIII. had excited the hatred of the Romans. Cardinal Coscia, who had abused the power which he held under that pope, had taken shelter at Cisterna, with the prince of Caserta. The sacred college sent his eminence a safe conduct, to enable him to attend the conclave. Scarcely was Clement XII. elected, when Coscia was deprived of all right of choosing or being chosen in the congregations. Some other members of the court of Benedict were also called to account for their frauds upon the kindness of Benedict—that pontiff whose excessive good-nature was only too well known and too much practised upon. For this trial the pope named a congregation of six cardinals, and gave to it the most ample powers to proceed against the actors in the offence against the most delicate and the most revered of laws. Coscia received an order not to leave the pontifical territory, and he was at the same time notified that he was not to exercise, in any manner, the arch-episcopal ministry in his diocese of Benevento.

Coscia having refused to renounce that authority, his trial proceeded before the congregation *Nonnullis*. The government at the same time

* This new mode of obtaining an additional exclusion astonished the Romans. They said, justly, that ten cardinals less would not have prevented the validity of an election made after the departure of these deserters from duty.

† Etruria already numbered fourteen popes—Saint Linus, Saint Eutychian, Saint Leo the Great, Saint John I., Sabinian, Alexander III., Pius II., Pius III., Leo X., Clement VII., Clement VIII., Leo XI., Urban VIII., and Alexander VII.

deemed it necessary to order the arrest of Coscia, bishop of Targa, brother of the cardinal, and several cardinals and other Beneventians who had offended under the former reign.

Cardinal Coscia was condemned to restore to the treasury the sum of two hundred thousand crowns, which he had improperly received in contempt of the Gregorian and Innocentian laws—*De Datis* and *De Acceptis*. He solicited from Clement the favor of not being confined in the castle of Saint Angelo, which the pontiff generously granted. Cardinal Coscia then begged Cardinal Cienfuegos, minister of the emperor, to give him a passport, and he fled from Rome to Naples, disguised successively as an ecclesiastic, a monk, and a layman. An interdict was the punishment of his disobedience, and all his personal property was sold for the benefit of that apostolic chamber which he had so much plundered.

The pope having subsequently threatened Coscia with excommunication and deprivation of the purple, should he not at once return to Rome, he came back in 1632, and was then confined in the monastery of Saint Praxedes.

Lotteries originated at Genoa, and made their way to many other countries. Innocent XIII. had permitted them in the Ecclesiastical State; but Benedict XIII., by his constitution of the 12th of August, 1727, had strictly forbidden them. Clement XII., considering the great amount of money that left Rome for Genoa,* allowed the establishment of a lottery, in spite of the dissenting representations of the cardinals; and, in fact, very considerable returns of money accrued. The Papal State drew a considerable revenue from a tax equally objectionable and contrary to sound rules.

Meantime, the Corsicans revolted against the government of the republic of Genoa. In order to maintain themselves in their new situation, they sent to Rome, as their agent, Paul Orticoni, to invite the pope to take the government of the island. We will here give a brief summary of the history of the island of Corsica.

It had been governed by twenty-four of its native kings, by the Roman Republic, and by the Roman emperors, up to the year of Christ 600. At that epoch it passed under the authority of the Moors. In 775, Pepin, king of France, gave the island to the Holy See. After Charlemagne, that proprietorship was confirmed by Louis the Pious, by Frederic II., and by Rodolph III.†

Pope Stephen IV., according to the chronicler Filippini, sent to that island, in 771, Hugh Colonna, who, in a thirty-six years' war, expelled the

* Some attribute the first idea of an institution resembling a lottery to Father Savanarola, so famous in Florence in 1494.

† Baronius, *Annals*, year 775, and year 1275.

Saracens, and distributing seignories among his officers, assumed the title of count of Corsica, a dignity recognized by the pope, on condition that the island should still remain under the protectorate of the Church.

Colonna was succeeded by five counts, his descendants through Bianco his eldest son. That lineage failed in the person of Henry, surnamed *il bel Messere*. Anthony, descendant of *Cicarco*, second son of Hugh, and of Mary Blanche, heiress of Henry, laid claim to the succession, and the Corsican Colonnas spring from them. The other barons refused to obey Anthony; they declared that both they and their fiefs were independent. Other populations elected a count for themselves. A cruel war arose among those lords. The Corsicans became so wretched, that they sent deputies to Gregory VII. to beg him to take into his own hand the general government of the island of Corsica. The Holy Father sent over the marquis de Massa, who subjected, one after the other, all those lords, and remained for seven peaceful years the quiet possessor of the island.

The pontiffs continued to send governors to Corsica; though those governors found some trouble in keeping on good terms with both the nobles and the people. Urban II. gave the island into the hands of the Pisans, that they might govern it as a fief of the Holy See. The Corsicans had nothing to complain of, when there arrived in the port of Bonifacio a Genoese vessel, with soldiers on board. Those men taking advantage of a wedding, seized the castle and drove out the Pisans. That was the first occupation of the island by the Genoese.

The second occupation was in consequence of the death of several of the lords of Cape Corsica, whose people decided upon self-government as a republic. They sent to Genoa to ask for two officers, who, with the title and authority of *judges*, paid by the Corsicans, should administer justice in the self-constituted republic. The Genoese sent, in that quality, two of their own subjects, one of the Avogari family, and the other of the Peverelli. These latter soon after contrived to make themselves, not mere judges, but lords.

The third conquest of the island took place in the seigniory of Istria, where a captain of two Genoese galleys established himself as lord and master. There, some malcontents, aided by that Genoese captain and his soldiers, revolted against the Pisans.

The fourth conquest arose from nearly the same cause. The Genoese made themselves masters of Calvi, whither they were invited by the inhabitants of that province, who wanted aid against their baron, whom they then despoiled of his power.

Then the Genoese seized upon Capraja, which belonged to the nobles called *del Mare*.

To those evidences which prove the sovereignty of the Holy See over

the island of Corsica, we might add further proofs. Gregory VII., writing to the Corsicans, declared to them that that island had no other legitimate sovereign than the Apostolic See. Honorius III. ordered the Genoese to give up the usurped castle of Bonifacio, and Boniface VIII. gave that island in fief to James, king of Aragon. The donation made by this last pope was confirmed by Benedict XI., Clement V.,* and John XXII. Benedict XII. granted the investiture of it to King Alphonso. Urban V., with solemn exhortations, demanded from King Peter IV. the unpaid tribute for the fief of that island. Finally, Eugene IV., when Corsica again came under the direct domination of the Holy See, sent thither, as governor of the island, Monaldo Terrani, or Paradisi, who was succeeded by Didacus, bishop of Portenza. After whom Rome accredited Francis Angelo, bishop of Montefeltro, who was confirmed in his authority by Nicholas V., on the 23d of April, 1447. The same pope sent as his nuncio and governor of the whole island, Friar James of Gaeta, a Dominican.

On the 1st of July that religious, in the name of the pontiff, intrusted the fortresses of Biguglia, Cortes, and Bastia to Thomas de Magistris, as *locum tenens* for John de Campo Fregoso, doge of Genoa, who then held them in the name of his republic. In a brief that the same Pope Eugene addressed to those populations, he denounced as usurpers and tyrants the actual possessors of Corsica—in other words, the Genoese.

At present, notwithstanding those titles, which so completely justify the offer made by the Corsicans to Pope Clement XII., that pontiff, instead of accepting, thought it more fitting to present himself as a mediator between the disputants. He, therefore, sent a brief to the archbishop of Genoa, Nicholas Franchi, whom he directed to communicate the desire of His Holiness to the senate; but the senators repulsed the proposal. The pontiff, who assuredly merited a better reception, manifested his grief.

On the 15th of July, 1731, de Vintimille, archbishop of Paris, after informing Rome of what had taken place under his own eyes, published a pastoral on a miracle attributed to the intercession of Deacon Paris.

Francis de Paris, deacon of the diocese of Paris, who died on the 1st of May, 1727, had always lived in obscurity, and even, as it was said, in the austerities of penance. All at once, a clique resolved to make him a saint and a Thaumaturgus. This would, in truth, have been a great service to the cause to which it was well known that he had always been extremely attached. However, the whole life of this strange person had not been equally edifying. Remaining a deacon, after a not uncommon usage among the Jansenists, he at one time went for two whole years without communicating, not even receiving at Easter. This neglect to obey a formal com-

* Constitution *Ne in posterum*, dated at Bordeaux, 9th of June, 1304.

mandment of the Church, was, in the eyes of his blind admirers, only another proof of a high perfection, exempting us from the duty of obeying the orders of the Church. There are many other examples, the most signal of which is that of Father de Gennes, ex-oratorian, whose biographer tells us that he was fifteen years a non-communicant.

But to return to our Deacon Paris. He was buried in the little cemetery of the parish of Saint Medard, where, by degrees, his tomb became the meeting-place of a credulous crowd. The attraction of novelty, and the success of interested views, drew to that cemetery a multitude who, from those motives, were led to believe, upon the slightest possible evidence, whatever was told to them. They felt a strong necessity for miracles. The party, which was thoroughly subdued by the government, could see no help for their desperate cause, except in the way of miracles. One of the writers of that party had even avowed that the authority of a bull was such that nothing could avail against it but miracles. Perhaps, supposing the miracles real, it would still remain to decide whether to believe miracles or bow to recognized authority when they clash. The sure and infallible means should undoubtedly be preferred to one often treacherous, against which Scripture itself warns us. (Gal. i. 8.) If we are not to let ourselves be seduced by a miracle so imposing as an angel descending from heaven to teach a new doctrine, there is no sure way but the authority of pastors. Moreover, this discussion is not necessary: the miracles of Saint Medard's cemetery are not such as will stand examination, and the partisans of these wretched prodigies must needs have had a thick band indeed over their eyes not to see their absurdity and falsity. Their very number is suspicious. More than two hundred were wrought here in a few years, while for several centuries heaven seemed chary of these extraordinary favors. Surely a great change in the economy of divine Providence.

One of the first of the alleged miracles was wrought, it is said, on a girl named Lefranc. If we believe the published account, nothing could exceed the frightful state to which she was reduced. Great oppression, a general swelling, spitting of blood, raging fever, total prostration, loss of sleep and of sight, all this disappeared instantly at the tomb of Deacon Paris. Certificates of one hundred and twenty witnesses attested the fact. Who would not deem so well attested a miracle beyond dispute? Yet truth soon dawned. The archbishop of Paris ordered an official investigation. Forty witnesses were examined; among whom were the mother, brother, and sister of Anne Lefranc, and the surgeons who had attended her. Her disease was not beyond remedy. In fact, the Lefranc family disavowed the miracle and contradicted the alleged facts.

The fraud being discovered at Paris, the Jansenists of Holland endeavored to create a sensation in their favor by some very striking event; and

a girl of Amsterdam was cured by kissing the rochet of Barchman, archbishop of Utrecht, who drew up an official act of this wonder wrought by his intercession.

Finally, the archbishop of Paris published a wise and prudent criticism, followed by a formal ordinance, which first annihilated the prodigies which had been maintained by many rectors; then passed to some other pretended miracles, whose falsehood he demonstrated; denounced the ignominious pretences of the convulsionists; and ended by declaring the statements destitute of proof and unworthy of belief, and by forbidding the publication of those and other miracles attributed to the Deacon Paris, and by condemning an infamous proposition with which it had been attempted to support them.

Unfortunately, two bishops, de Colbert and Caylus, partook of those errors.* Their writings, condemned at Rome and suppressed by the king's council, were refuted by some of their colleagues, especially by Monsignor Languet, and by Dom la Taste, Benedictine, and afterwards bishop of Bethlehem.

In that year, it was made known to Rome that thirty missionaries had been expelled from China. The new emperor withheld from the Catholic religion the protection accorded by his father, the late emperor. Priests had been arrested in various provinces and sent to Canton, for not being provided with the imperial patent. They were continually threatened with expulsion from China itself, but the prudent measures taken by the Jesuits at Peking for some time prevented that extreme measure. On the 18th of August, those missionaries were ordered to leave Canton and retire to Macao, their protests and entreaties being alike disregarded. They were embarked on the 20th of August, on board of small craft. One of them died on the passage. Fifty Christians, who had followed the missionaries to Macao, were seized on their arrival by the mandarins, loaded with chains, then taken back to Canton, where twelve of them were condemned to be bastinadoed, and the rest imprisoned. The residence of the missionaries at Macao still gave offence to the pagans, who feared lest those strangers should find means to return into China. The mandarins, therefore, sent orders that the missionaries should as quickly as possible be sent back to Europe; and even the Jesuits, who resided at Peking as scientific men, were threatened with expulsion.† In some provinces the Christians were rigorously pursued; in Fo Kien many were fined, imprisoned, whipped, or banished, two missionaries were arrested, and a learned Christian was condemned to death.

* *Memoirs of Picot*, ii., p. 95.

† The observatory and other scientific establishments were superintended by Jesuit Fathers, who were not considered as missionaries.

At the commencement of the year 1732, the Holy Father redoubled his efforts for the benefit of the Catholic religion. On the 21st of January, an edict promised pardon to religious who had abandoned their duties, if, within a certain time, they returned to the bosom of the faith. The pope, aware that many Protestants in Germany clung to their errors only from views of personal interest, published a bull, in which he granted them the peaceful possession of their ecclesiastical benefices, provided they recognized the Catholic faith. That paternal foresight brought back many wanderers, and then that important matter was regulated still better.

On the 31st of the same month, the pope approved the constitutions of the Maronite monks of Saint Anthony, the abbot, these religious having been called to Rome.* Those Maronites have been learned and courageous defenders to the Church; and Rome, in turn, has never ceased to feel a deep interest for those sons of Lebanon.

About the middle of June a patrol of soldiers was going its rounds in the neighborhood of the Venetian palace. Some Dalmatian servants of the ambassador endeavored to prevent the soldiers passing. A tumult ensued in which one soldier and three Dalmatians were killed. The news of that event reached Venice, when the senate recalled the ambassador, Zachary Canalis, and dismissed from Venice the pontifical nuncio, Gaetano Stampa, who was not to return until Rome should grant that satisfaction which Venice imperiously demanded. The French ambassador, the duke of Saint Aignan, interposed to restore concord; and Clement ordered an inquiry, for the purpose of ascertaining the exact state of the facts. The inquiry proved that justice was on the Roman side. The pope therefore constantly refused to listen to any demand made by Venice, maintaining that the soldiers were justified in defending themselves, and had only done so when attacked and one of their number killed. The pope also required that his nuncio should return to Venice and be received with all due honors, which was done after some negotiating on the part of Cardinal Quirini. The affair being thus amicably arranged, Clement turned his attention to other labors, and to the care of his health, which at that time caused serious anxiety.

The pope at this time thought it necessary to add to the regulations that had already been made with respect to the conclaves, and deliberately considered that important question. He prescribed to the cardinal electors the utmost temperance, and he put an end to some abuses in introducing the dinners, which were sent from the palaces of the cardinals in the most luxurious style, and with a needlessly large attendance. The pope strictly limited the number of servants waiting upon the members of the conclave. He gave the major-domo authority over those servants; fixed the salary to

* *Constitut. Apostolatus, Bullarium Romain, t. xiii., p. 223.*

be paid for all servants, and declared how they should be occupied during the vacancy of the Holy See; and, finally, he set limits to the authority of the Camerlinga.

Thibet sent to Rome to ask for missionaries. The Holy Father dispatched thither some Capuchins, who zealously fulfilled the wishes of the pope, and revived in that country the veneration it had formerly felt for the Roman court.

In the oriental missions of the Propaganda, also, some very precious fruit was gathered. Ten thousand Copts were converted, led by the patriarch of Alexandria, who had always resisted the efforts and entreaties of previous pontiffs. At this same time the patriarch of the Armenians erased from the sacred dyptics the impious anathema against the Council of Chalcedon and against the holy pontiff Leo the Great.

Clement XII., after some exertion, induced the Benedictines of Saint Maur, in France, so celebrated by the works of great learning that they have published, and who till then had opposed the bull *Unigenitus* of Clement XI., to receive the formulary in their chapter, celebrated in the month of September of that year.

The pope was greatly rejoiced in 1733 by seeing at his feet Muley Abder-Rahman, nephew of the king of Morocco, who had come to Rome to abjure the errors of Mahometanism and embrace the Catholic faith. This Turkish prince sought instruction, studied with great zeal, and was solemnly baptized at Saint Peter's by Cardinal Guadagni, vicar of Rome, under the name of Lawrence Bartolomeo. The godfather was the pope, in whose name His Holiness's nephew, Bartholomew Corsini, acted as his sponsor at the baptismal font. Lawrence Bartolomeo died piously at Rome, and was buried in the church of Saint Andrew *delle frate*, where his tomb is still to be seen.

The death of Frederic Augustus II., king of Poland, which happened on the 1st of February, 1733, rekindled war in Europe. A successor was to be given to the deceased king, and Louis XV. thought it a good opportunity to restore to that throne his father-in-law, Stanislaus Leekzinski, who had been violently driven from it, after receiving it from the favor of Charles XII., king of Sweden, on the 12th of July, 1704. While France favored Stanislaus, the Emperor Charles objected to the approach to the throne of a prince who was father-in-law to King Louis, and declared in favor of Frederic Augustus, who was son of the deceased king of Poland, and who, moreover, was supported by a strong Muscovite army.

Notwithstanding such resistance, Stanislaus was elected, almost unanimously, on the 12th of September, 1733. Pope Clement being informed of that choice, recognized Stanislaus as king of Poland, and ordered his nuncio to pay the due honors to that prince.

Clement had not long the pleasure of seeing Stanislaus master of Warsaw : the united forces of the emperor and of Russia maintained the election of Augustus III., duke of Saxony, made on the 5th of October. Stanislaus, who was in Prussia, abandoned the Polish crown to his rival, and was recompensed in 1736 by the possession of the duchy of Lorraine and Bar.

The emperor still maintained his claim to the kingdom of Naples, and held some places, as well as the whole island of Sicily. He ordered the prince of Santa-croce (Scipio Publicola), to present to the pope the palfrey, together with the tribute for the fief. At the same time, Duke Cesarini, on the part of the infante, Don Carlos of Spain (afterwards Charles III.), presented the same tribute. The pope was obliged to offend one of the parties, and could descend to no duplicity. To be the better guided, he submitted the question to a congregation of cardinals, and by their advice accepted the offer of the emperor, and refused that of the infante Don Carlos, because he was not in possession of the whole kingdom, and had not received investiture from the Holy See. The court of Spain complained of that decision, and asked Clement why he so long postponed the time for giving that investiture. Clement replied that Spain was guilty of a flagrant usurpation of the States of Parma and Placentia, belonging by ancient right to the Holy See, on the extinction of the male line of the Farnese.

Meantime fortune was favorable to the Spanish arms, Sicily fell, and Charles was crowned at Palermo, and proceeding to Naples was there proclaimed sovereign of the whole kingdom. Nothing was here wanting to him but intervention by the pope, who had the right of investiture. Clement consulted another council of twelve cardinals, who unanimously decided that the tribute ought not to be accepted from either of the princes till the close of the war. Clement followed the advice, and preserved a scrupulous neutrality.

On the 10th of June, 1734, the parliament of Paris condemned the *Lettres Philosophiques* of Voltaire. Ill treated by a man of rank, Voltaire challenged him, but by his adversary's court influence was obliged to conceal himself. In 1726 he went to England, carrying with him a deep and bitter feeling of resentment. In that disposition he became the impassioned admirer of the government, laws, and customs of that foreign nation. The liberty which so abounded there upon all subjects was flattering to his mind, and the progress already made there in Deism strengthened his inclination towards religious indifference. There, too, he met with Collins, Tindal, Wollaston, Chubb, and other English writers, who at that time more or less boldly sought to sap the foundation of Christianity. It was in England that Voltaire put to press his *Philosophic Letters*, or *Letters upon the English*, which now, under various titles, are merged in the *Philosophic Dictionary*. He endeavored but too successfully to transplant

to France the venom of English Deistical writings. His letters touch upon every thing—theology, metaphysics, history, literature, science, morals, and manners. Light in style, but at the same time very decided in tone, this work, by its jests and epigrams, might seduce a frivolous reader, but could not satisfy one who demands argument and proof.

The parliament also condemned "Consultation upon the Jurisdiction and Approbation which are necessary for Confession." Travers, the author of that work, prided himself on being an *Appellant*. The object of his work was to establish, that any priest not approved by any bishop could properly, and often lawfully, absolve any penitent. Travers confessed that his views were opposed to the universal and uniform practice of the Church, but that did not alarm him. Unsound to him was the decision of the Council of Trent, that the absolution given by a priest to a penitent over whom he had no jurisdiction, ordinary or delegated, is an absolution without weight.* Travers absurdly maintains that the decree applied solely to priests then in function, and that literally construed it subjects only the regulars to the approbation of the bishop. With such views all objections are easily got rid of. Such was the work condemned by the Sorbonne and the archbishops of Sens and Embrun.

On the 17th of May, 1735, Julian de Lezardi, a Spanish Jesuit, was massacred by the Chiriguanes, a South American tribe of Indians. He was shot to death with arrows, as was also an Indian catechist named Bonaventure, who accompanied the Father. Father Lezardi had travelled during many years in the missions in Paraguay. His body was recovered and honorably buried in the town of Tarija.†

On the 18th of January, 1735, Rome lost that distinguished model of piety, Queen Mary Clementina, daughter of James Sobieski, prince royal of Poland, and grand-daughter of the great King John Sobieski, conqueror of the Turks under the walls of Vienna, and wife of James III., king of England. She died sixteen years after her marriage. Clement never ceased to give proofs of his affection for the house of Stuart, which merited that favor, having sacrificed a crown rather than be untrue to the Catholic religion.

On the 30th of September, 1736, the Maronites in Syria opened a provincial council. That people has preserved the Roman faith intact, in spite of

* Picot, ii., p. 136.

† The New World has been bedewed with the blood of many missionaries. To speak only of the parts to which these pages will extend, Florida had seen Father Cancer, of the order of Saint Dominic; Father Martinez, of the Society of Jesus; Father Auñon, Badajoz, and Corpa of Saint Francis render homage to the faith in their blood. New Mexico glories in her Father Rodriguez; the shores of the Chesapeake in her Jesuits, Segura, Quiros, and their companions; New York in her saintly Jogues; Canada in her Recollect Viel, her Jesuits Brebeuf, Lalement, Daniel, Buteux, Garnier.]

the progress around them of heresy and Mahometanism. They have long been distinguished for their ardent attachment to Catholicism. Simple and poor, they are governed by a patriarch and bishops—the latter, however, in the language of the country, being called archbishops. The dioceses of those prelates are as limited as their revenues. They have under them, as their assistants, priests of the country, and some missionaries sent from the West,* who are to be found all over the country, striving to bring schismatics back to the Church. Louis XV. had especially favored those establishments, and had exerted his credit at the Ottoman court to obtain increased favor for those missionaries.

To return to the Maronites. Some abuses which had crept into their discipline attracted the attention of the Holy See. Clement, according to their own wishes, sent to them, in quality of ablegate, the prelate Assemani, who was born in that country, and is known by his vast knowledge and by his learned works. He was to induce the archbishops to assemble in council, and concert proper measures to put an end to the abuses complained of. After some delays, they did so assemble, and the council held its first session on the 30th of September, 1736.

Joseph Peter Gazeno, the Maronite patriarch of Antioch, presided. The prelate Assemani subsequently sat with fourteen Maronite archbishops, two Syrians, two Armenians, several abbots of various monasteries, apostolic missionaries, and many rectors and priests of Lebanon. One of the missionaries delivered the opening discourse, and specified the objects that were to be treated in the assembly.

A letter from the sovereign pontiff was read aloud, and the things to be reformed were then agreed upon, and discussed and considered during six successive days.

On the 13th of October, in the evening, every thing was settled; and the eighth session was closed amidst acclamations of thanksgiving.

The learned ablegate was charged with the drawing up of the acts and regulations of the council, which were to be sent to Rome. Benedict XIV. confirmed the decrees of that assembly on the 1st of September, 1741, and subsequently appointed a new ablegate to put them in execution. He compensated the patriarch for some revenues of which those decrees deprived him, and continued to procure, as his predecessors had done, both spiritual and temporal advantages to that faithful and docile people.

In 1737, Clement canonized four saints, two of whom were French. Saint Vincent de Paul, founder of the Priests of the Mission and of the Sisters of Charity, was for forty years director of the nuns of the Visitation, selected for that duty by Saint Francis de Sales. Saint Vincent died

* Picot, ii., p. 162.

in the house of Saint Lazarus, at Paris, on the 27th of September, 1660, at the age of eighty-five years. The parliament, by sentence, forbade the reception of the bull published by Clement XII. for the canonization of that saint. The plea of the parliament was that the bull was contrary to the liberties of the Gallican Church. It is certain that in that bull the saint was praised for having induced eighty-five French bishops to ask from the sovereign pontiff the condemnation of the five propositions of Jansenius. Further, in the same bull, the miracles attributed to Paris are combated. Those were the real reasons which induced the parliament to give that sentence which the sovereign pontiff condemned on the 13th of February, 1733, and which the cardinal de Fleury caused to be revoked.

The second French saint canonized on that occasion was Saint John Francis Regis, of the Society of Jesus. He took the Jesuit habit at Toulouse, on the 8th of September, 1616. His cause had been introduced on the 25th of January, 1698. Clement XI. announced that the virtues of Regis had been of the heroic order; and on the 26th of May, 1716, declared him Blessed. Benedict XI. ordered, by decree, that the feast of this saint should no longer be celebrated on the 24th of May, as had been ordered by Clement XII., but on the 16th of June, the anniversary of his canonization.

Peace having been concluded between the emperor and the Spaniards, Clement gave the investiture of the kingdom of the two Sicilies and of the kingdom of Jerusalem* to Charles of Bourbon and his descendants in the direct line, in the manner conceded by Julius II. to Philip II.; by Clement VIII. to Philip III.; by Gregory XV. to Philip IV.; by Alexander VII. to Charles II., and by Innocent XIII. to Charles VI.;†—that is to say, under the obligation solemnly to pay, on Saint Peter's eve every year, as an acknowledgment of the sovereign domain in the Holy See, seven thousand golden ducats and a palfrey richly caparisoned. After that investiture, the nuncio, who had retired to Nola, returned to Naples, and the constable Colonna solemnly presented to the pope the tribute agreed upon, *in the usual forms and amounts*.

Subsequently, on the marriage of the new king of Naples with Mary Amelia, daughter of Augustus III., king of Poland, the Holy Father sent to the frontier of the Ecclesiastical State, to meet and receive that princess, Monsignor Chigi, with the title of nuncio extraordinary, and that prelate accompanied the princess to the frontiers of Naples.

On the occasion of that marriage, King Charles instituted the order of

* The latter point is well settled by Novaes (xiii., p. 249). Father Andrew de Montoro, a Neapolitan, was at that time keeper of the Holy Sepulchre.

† In our narrative of the reign of Innocent XIII., we gave the facts and the precise dates of those investitures; here we add the investiture that was granted to them from Charles VI.

Saint Januarius, which was confirmed by a bull of Clement XII., and by another bull of Clement XIV.

Some years before this, a new sect had sprung up in England called *Freemasons*. It was for the most part composed of the rich and aristocratic, who professed to be inclined to distinguish themselves from the coarse and common people. They made oath that they would communicate their statutes to no one; in other words, that they would keep secret the absurd frivolities in which they were engaged, when those frivolities were not intermingled with politics. From England the sect passed into France and Germany, and was propagated in Italy. It was best received at Naples. Although those sectaries professed to have an inviolable law, that religion or politics should not be spoken of in their assemblies, which they termed *Lodges*, that women should never be admitted to them, and that no impure conversation should be suffered there, sovereigns and sacred pastors, nevertheless, had reason to fear that in its secret organization some dangerous conspiracy might be hidden, prejudicial alike to public tranquillity and good morals.

Clement, therefore, deemed it his duty to denounce that sect of freemasons, under the penalty of excommunication. The bull of condemnation, *In eminenti*, dated 28th of April, 1737, was renewed on the 14th of January in the following year. The members of the association, feeling no longer bound by their senseless oath, broke the secret, and published works divulging their regulations. The princes could then more easily convince themselves of the truth, and learn how far they could safely permit in their dominions the progress of this secret society, which often included enemies of both throne and Church, as the various revolutions which subsequently convulsed Europe shows.

In 1739, the archduchess of Austria, Maria Teresa, afterwards empress, being at Naples, Clement sent her the golden rose.

The same year, he gave the purple to Peter Guérin de Tencin, who was born at Grenoble on the 22d of August, 1679. He was minister from France to Rome under Innocent XIII., and then archbishop of Embrun. He was nominated or rather presented by James III., whom Rome still recognized as king of England.

Four leagues from Rimini, and five from Urbino, is the little town of San Marino, which, from an early date, had subsisted as a republic. Every half year it elected a captain and the few officers necessary to dispense justice, and to receive and expend the small revenue, consisting of taxes upon wine and grain, and a much frequented cattle-market. Besides the town, the State comprised several small villages.

In former times the republic had been under the protection of the dukes of Urbino; but the ducal house becoming extinct in the seventeenth century, the republic placed itself under the protection of the Holy See, who

maintained over it a kind of sovereignty. Some of the inhabitants, weary of the tyrannies of their chiefs, applied to Pope Clement, soliciting him to give them the mild government of the Roman Church.* They received no reply. They then sent other supplications through Cardinal Alberoni, then legate in Romagna. The Holy Father being warmly urged for a reply, through his secretary of state, directed Cardinal Alberoni to proceed to the frontier of San Marino, and hear all who came to ratify their supplications; then, should it appear that a majority of the inhabitants desired to be in *subjection* to Rome, the cardinal was to enter San Marino, and take possession in the name of the Holy See; otherwise, the cardinal was immediately to return to Placentia. The fiery Alberoni, without waiting for any demonstration of the consent of the people, as the pope ordered, entered San Marino, and took possession on the 5th of October, placed a governor and prescribed various laws for the government of the country, in spite of the refusal of many of the citizens to take the oath.

Alberoni subsequently committed acts of violence. The people of San Marino complained. The pope knew that Alberoni had disobeyed the orders transmitted by Cardinal Firrao, secretary of state; and as Clement had no design of usurpation, he in good faith condemned the conduct of his legate.

However, some of the people of San Marino persisted in their desire to be subject to the government of Rome; so the Holy Father sent to San Marino the governor of Macerata, Monsignor Enrique Enriquez, to receive the free votes of the people, and to annul any previous acts contrary to the commands of the popes. The commissioner ascertained that the free will of the council, of the city, of the clergy, and of the chief men in the little community, at least for the most part, was in favor of their former liberty; and he restored to that city all the rights and privileges that had been given and confirmed to them by the pontiffs Martin V., Eugene IV., Clement VIII., and Leo X. Clement XII. confirmed the resolution of Monsignor Enriquez upon all these points. Hence resulted a glory of no uncommon kind for the pope, and a character of levity and disobedience for Cardinal Alberoni. The latter replied by a manifesto which the Roman court could not possibly approve, as it attacked the ministry of Rome by publishing letters written by the secretary of state, which no political delegate ought ever to do.

In 1740, after naming new cardinals, the pope, having recovered from a violent attack of gout, returned to his ordinary routine of pastoral cares. In the month of January, he permitted the Most Christian king to nominate to the vacant benefices in the duchies of Lorraine and Bar, as Alexander VII., by a brief of the 11th of December, 1664, had granted to Louis XIV., the

* Novaes, xiii., p. 258.

same faculty for the bishoprics of Mentz, Toul, and Verdun, and Clement IX., on the 23d of March, 1668, for the benefices of those same bishoprics.

The pope granted to the republic of Genoa the right to extend to the kingdom of Corsica, to the mainland, and to the island of Capua, the laws which the Genoese senate had passed against homicides.

On the 21st of March, 1732, he approved the rules of the Maronite monks of Saint Anthony, of the congregation of Saint Eliseus; and in January, 1740, he approved the rules of the congregation of Saint Isaïas, in the same order.

At this time, Clement condemned Fra Paolo Sarpi's "History of the Council of Trent," translated into French, with insulting notes by Courayer.

At the end of the previous year, the Holy Father was informed that the university of Paris had received the bull *Unigenitus* as the *dogmatic judgment* of the universal Church, and as a *law of the kingdom*, and confessed that there was error in opposing it. The pontiff greatly rejoiced, bestowed much praise upon the rector of the University.

On the 27th of January, the pontiff's sufferings from gout became more violent than ever, and it was evident that he could not long bear up under such agony. He asked for the Viaticum, and on the following day for extreme unction. He was unmoved amid the tears of all present. The generals of the various orders, who, according to custom, surrounded him, with Cardinal Petra, penitentiary major, and Father Ridolfi, master of the sacred palace, admired the resignation and the firmness of the patient.

Father Barberini, general of the Capuchins, having reminded the pope that he, perhaps, had to repent of some fault committed in the exercise of his ministry, Clement replied that he had no fault of that kind, because he remembered that he had always endeavored to administer to the best of his ability. "But, Holy Father," replied Barberini, "a pontiff may have some omissions to repent of." "No," replied Clement; "neither on that point do we feel any remorse of conscience."

On the 6th of February, 1740, he ceased to live, nearly eighty-eight years of age, and after governing the Church nine years, six months, and twenty-five days.

During the last eight years of his life he had been almost totally blind, but still rigid with delinquents, very just yet very stern, ever ready to give audience, liberal to the poor, courteous to the humble, and better pleased to hear of self-reform than to be under the necessity of ordering chastisement. Such is the justice that was done to him in the inscription placed upon his catafalque.

He was interred at the Vatican, but only provisionally; being finally removed into the porphyry mausoleum that had been prepared for him during his lifetime.

Clement was of ordinary stature and robust temperament; his features were noble, and the expression of his countenance was agreeable and prepossessing; his complexion was ruddy; his eyes blue, his nose aquiline, and his upper lip prominent. The qualities of heart which distinguished him in life he preserved to the day of his death.*

* We have three medals of Clement XII.

1. CLEMENS III., PONT. MAX. AN. III. Of extraordinary size, by young Otho Hamerani. The pope, with the tiara on head, is giving the benediction. *Rev.*: The façade of Saint John Lateran, as it was in 1733. ADORATE DOMINVM IN ATRIO SANCTO EIVS. Above, in the centre, is seen the statue of Saint John, holding the cross, and on his right and left ten other statues. In the exergue are the words: LATERAN BASIL. PORTICVS.—*Porch of the Lateran Basilica.*

This medal is so finely executed that every detail can be clearly seen without a glass. Honor to the artist Hamerani, who has so well represented the truly sovereign act of magnificence of the great pontiff Clement XII.

2. RECTIS CORDE LETITIA. A female figure, standing, holds the scales in her right hand and a palm in the left. OTTO, in the exergue; the attitude of the figure is extremely graceful. Canova drew inspiration from this composition to improve one of his nymphs.

3. FONTE AQUÆ VIRGINIS ORNATO. The celebrated fountain of Trevi. In the exergue, O and H, and a she-wolf, the symbol of Rome.

This fountain was adorned by Clement XII., in 1735, with the great building which we now see there, which was built after the designs of Nicolas Salvi. The building consists of three pieces, and a basement resting upon a block of rocks whence the water falls into a great basin, around which is a walk reached by six or seven steps.

The centre, which somewhat fronts the sides, represents a triumphal arch, decorated with four columns, bas-reliefs, and statues. In the great central niche, ornamented with four small Ionic columns, is a colossal statue of Neptune standing upon a conch-shell drawn by four sea-horses, driven by Tritons. This group of statuary, sculptured in marble by Pietro Bracci, is placed at the middle of the rock, and occupies nearly two-thirds of it. In the lateral niches are two marble statues, representing *Health* and *Plenty*. They are by Philip Vallé, and above them are two bas-reliefs by Andrew Bergondi and John Grossi, representing Agrippa ordering the building of the aqueduct, and the Roman virgin showing the spring to the thirsty soldiers—the legend from which this water takes its denomination. Also, above the entablature are four statues on as many columns, intended to represent the four seasons.

Far within is an attic, on which is the great inscription, terminated by the arms of the pontiff, supported by two *Flames*.

The two side bodies of the building are ornamented by Corinthian pilasters, among which are seen two rows of windows. Fea observes that it is a pity that so magnificent a fountain is not situated on a great public square, of which it would form the finest ornament. Fea is right, perhaps, as to the greatness of the square, but we need not doubt that there will be a pope who will undertake such an embellishment. As to another critic, who complains that so much expense was not devoted to the centre of the city, that critic is wrong. A considerable portion of the monuments of Rome are at a great distance from the centre, and consequently at the gates of the city. This fountain is very well placed to supply the needs of a numerous population near the *Corso*, and it gives strangers a surprise which intoxicates them with admiration.†

Venuti found in the private collections of princely libraries other medallic riches of this reign, which I will now proceed to describe.

4. PORTÆ INFERI NON PRÆVALEBUNT. A woman, trampling on a hydra. She has the keys

† I experienced that surprise almost as soon as I alighted in Rome. First I heard a singular sound, then the sound became a noise, which in its turn became a deafening tumult; at length I saw that wonderful fountain, and to this day I have not forgotten the effect produced on me by that mass of water falling in multiplied sheets. I had as yet seen nothing of Rome, and at the sight of that first great work I was struck with great respect for the Pope Corsini, who occupies a foremost rank among the benefactors of Rome.

Attaining his throne without losing ought of the caressing familiarity which distinguished him, he named the Monday in every week as his day for giving audience. No one had to go away without seeing the pope, or unheard. He also gave audiences on other days when he could escape business earlier than usual. When a petition was just he could not refuse

in her right hand, and the Gospel in her left. In the distance, Saint Peter's. In the exergue, MDCCXXXI.

5. ADIVTOR IN OPPORTVNIT. MDCC. View of Ancona and its harbor. Struck on the suppression of an onerous tax, laid upon Ancona during a time of scarcity.

6. OB MEMOR. CHRISTIAN. SECURIT. REST. The model shows the arch of Constantine as restored by Clement. In the exergue, O and H, with the she-wolf. The Marquises Theodoli and Capponi, amateurs of the fine arts, were intrusted with the care of that restoration. One of the columns of the arch having been destroyed, was replaced by one of Carrara marble. Bracci remade the statue of a captive which had been carried off, and the heads of other captives which Lorenzino de Medici carried to Florence. In consequence of that breach of hospitality, the senator of Rome made a decree that the Medicis should never return to the Pontifical States.

7. MVLTIPICASTI MVNIFICENTIAM. A woman, seated upon the globe; she is helmeted, and in her left hand she holds the sword-belt and sword, and with the right a winged genius; that, in turn, holds a cornucopia and a crown. Upon the globe is the date, 1734. Beneath, the she-wolf. In the exergue, VETERIBVS SIGNIS IN CAPITOLIO ERECTIS. Clement collected in the capitol the ancient statues and other monuments of ancient Rome. Cardinal Alexander had set an example of taste for the glorious remains of the eternal city.

8. SECVRITAS POP. RAVEN. A woman, reclining, holds in her right hand the cornucopia; near her, a pine-tree, and at her sides, two urns inscribed MONTI and RONCHVS. In the exergue, MDCCXXXV. Clement feared that the rivers, which the ancients called VITIS and BEDESIS, but which are now known as MONTI and RONCHVS, and which traverse Ravenna, would overflow. He consulted the learned mathematicians, Eustace Manfredi, of Bologna, and Bernardine Tondrini, of Venice. He removed one of the rivers from the city, by having a bed further off, where he erected a bridge for the convenience of travellers. Ravenna, in gratitude, erected a statue to Clement.

9. ADMINISTRORVM COMMODO ET EQVITVM STATIONIBVS. Clement erected a palace near Monte Cavallo, for the superior members of the *Consulta*, and as a station for the pontifical light-horse, on guard at the sacred palace.

10. ILLOS ET GLORIFICAVIT. Four saints, in the clouds; above, the Holy Ghost, darting rays. Struck on the canonization of, 1. Saint Francis de Paul; 2. Saint John Francis Regis, of the Society of Jesus, who by his preaching brought so many back from the errors of Protestantism, in Lower Languedoc, and who had the superhuman courage to preach one day in a mountain village, which he reached only after breaking his leg by a fall as he ascended the mountain. Without alluding to the accident, or applying any relief, he began and ended his discourse, touched and converted some Protestants, and gave no thought to self till the victory was won. Surely that was the very sublimity of courage in the cure of souls! 3. Saint Catharine of Genoa; and 4, Saint Julian Falconieri. The four saints are distinctly seen in prayer.

11. PIA DOMO SERVATA. The pope, standing near him a man holding a cornucopia; more in front, a woman with three children; in the background, the hospital of the Holy Ghost. Below, the Holy Ghost illuminates the pontiff. Clement XII. had granted a considerable income to that hospital, which received both the poor and the sick.

12. Saint Luke, in the clouds, paints the Blessed Virgin and the infant Jesus whom she holds in her arms. There is no inscription in Venuti, but there are copies, with a separate border, bearing an inscription.

13. NON QVÆRIT QVÆ SVA SVNT. A woman, nursing a child and caressed by another.

14. IVSTITIA FIRMATVR SOLIVM. In the exergue, the arms of Trajan Aquaviva, major-domo. Struck at the expense of Aquaviva, to be placed in the foundation of the *Consulta*.

a favor, and petitions often seemed to him to be just; and when he said, "*E giusto*"—*it is just*—it was settled. He was very liberal with all, but especially so with men of letters, and the people under his administration. He gave great attention to the raising of silk, a taste worthy of a Florentine. He magnificently supplied the constantly recurring needs of the Propaganda. He built a fine library in the convent of Araceli. The castle of Saint Angelo, often ill-supplied with wholesome water, he supplied abundantly from the Vatican. He laid the first stone of the façade of Saint John Lateran.

This Basilica is the principal church of the Catholic world—*ecclesiarum urbis et orbis, mater et caput*. Accordingly it is the See of the sovereign pontiff, who, after his exaltation, takes possession of it in his capacity of sovereign pontiff. At first it was called the *Constantinian* Basilica, because it was founded by Constantine the Great. It is described under that name in the *regionaries* before the seventh century. Anastasius the Librarian gave it the name of *Lateranensis*, because it was built on the ruins of the palace of the noble house of the Laterani. It was called the Basilica of our Saviour after its dedication to our Saviour by Pope Saint Sylvester; Basilica Aurea, from the previous gifts with which it was enriched; and the Basilica of Saint John, because it was dedicated to Saint John the Baptist and Saint John the Evangelist.

Constantine the Great, erected this Basilica in the year 324, in the midst of his palace, which, enlarged by new buildings, was granted with the church to the holy pontiff. The popes inhabited that palace up to the time of their going to Avignon. When Gregory XI. removed the Holy See back to Rome, the papal residence was fixed at the Vatican.

The Basilica has existed more than a thousand years, allowing for the repairs made there by the popes, especially by Saint Zachary, Saint Leo I.,

15. PRIMO IMPOSITO LAPIDE XV CAL. IVNII SACELLVM IN HONOREM S. ANDRÆE CORSINI IN LATERAN. BASIL. CONSTRUCTVM. 1732.

16. DIE QVA FVNDAMENTA IACTA SVNT TEMPLI. MDCCXXXI. Around this: IN HONOREM INFANTIS IESV. Clement, when cardinal, protected the convent called the Conservatory, and also called of the Infant Jesus, situated at the foot of the Esquiline Mount. When he became pope he erected a church there.

17. SACELLO IN LATERAN. BASIL. S. ANDRÆE CORSINI ÆDIFICATO. Interior view of that chapel, the she-wolf, and the signature of Otto Hamerani; a piece of very great size.

18. ADORATE DOMINVM IN ATRIO SANCTO EIVS. The Basilica of Saint John Lateran. A large medal.

19. SACERDOS MAGNVS IN DIEBVS SVIS CORROBORAVIT TEMPLVM. ECCL. (Eccl. i. 1.) This medal was placed in the foundation of the church of the name of Mary, at the forum of Trajan. That church was built after the design of a French architect named Derizet. Fea adds: "And built in the capricious taste of that time."

20. PVBLICÆ INCOLVMITATIS PRÆSIDIO. View of the Loretto of Ancona, with vessels and the city in the distance. In the exergue: DORICÆ VRBIS LOEMOCOMIVM. The she-wolf and initial of Otto Hamerani. Clement fortified Ancona and gave it a lazaretto.

Benedict III., Sergius III., Adrian V., and Nicholas IV. ; but in 1308, while Clement V. resided in Provence, the roofing, the sacred vestments, the residence of the canons, the porches, and the whole of the palace, except the chapel known as the *Sancta Sanctorum*, having been destroyed by fire, that pope, deeming himself exempted from none of his duties towards his capital, sent agents, provided with large sums of money, who repaired and sumptuously restored the buildings which the fire had damaged or destroyed.

Gregory XI. opened the door of the lateral nave,* and Martin V. caused the façade to be added. Eugene IV., and afterwards Clement VI., furnished it with elegant ornamentation. To the latter it owes the fine gilt fretwork. He at the same time erected the side façade which was destroyed, and added the two belfries. Sixtus V. adorned that façade with a double portico, after the designs of his favorite architect, Fontana. Clement VIII., in the year 1600, restored the upper nave with the aid of James della Porta ; and Innocent X., at the year of Jubilee, 1250, put the great nave in its present state by the advice of Barromini.

It was on that same occasion the discovery was made that the old walls had no foundations. Moreover, deep quarries were found from which puzzolane had been taken. Those quarries prove that the site of Saint John Lateran was beyond the inclosure of Servius. Clement XI. perfected that nave, and rendered it singularly majestic. Finally, Clement XII. made the principal façade, after the designs of Alexander Galilei, of the family of the great mathematician. It is one of the most remarkable and magnificent in Rome. Galilei adorned it with four columns, and six pilasters of the composite order, terminating with eleven statues. The arch of the balcony from which the pope gives the blessing, rests upon four columns of granite ; the lower porch is supported by twenty-six pillars, also of the composite order. In the distance is seen the statue of Constantine. That emperor is represented there in the very centre of the gifts with which he enriched the city of Rome. The bas-reliefs at the bottom of the gates were executed by Bernardine Ludovisi, Maini, and Pietro Bracci. The great bronze gate is from the Church of Saint Adrian at the Roman forum. It is the only specimen of the four-leaved gates which has come down to us from the ancients. It was enlarged, to adapt it to the entrance to which it was destined. The other gate that is closed up is only opened in the great years of the Jubilee ; whence its name of the *Holy Gate*. The honor of opening that gate is almost always reserved for the dean of the sacred college. The glasses of the five windows of the façade have the arms of

* We have spoken in a manner as complete as possible of the vast edifice of Saint Peter's ; and we believe it our duty here to pay homage to the mother and chief of all the churches of Rome and the universe.

the Corsini, above which triumphs *the rose*. Those same arms, more largely sculptured, are seen beneath the pedestal of the statue of our Saviour. Beneath that novel ornament are the following words, in very distinct characters: CLEM. XII., ANNO III. CHRISTO SALVATORI ET JOANNI BAPTISTÆ EXTR.

In 1734 he constructed the magnificent palace of Monte Cavallo. To favor the studies of scholars, painters, and sculptors, he placed in the capitol a fine collection of ancient statues, busts, sarcophagi, and inscriptions, acquired in part from Cardinal Alexander Albani. He set apart an edifice in the capitol to the study of architecture. He erected a new façade to the church of the Florentines. He paved many of the streets of Rome, and restored the consular ways leading to that city, which ways had for a long time been abandoned. He embellished the delightful and imposing fountain of Trevi. The street of the Corso was made straight, and rendered the finest in the capital.

Clement prohibited his relations from accepting any mediation whatever for office.

Under this pope no one could accumulate plurality of offices or benefices. The Holy See was vacant ten months and ten days.

251. BENEDICT XIV.—A. D. 1740.



BENEDICT XIV. (Prosper Lambertini), was born at Bologna, on the 31st of March, 1675, and was the son of Marcellus Lambertini, senator, of illustrious family, and of Lucrezia Bulgarini.

Prosper went to Rome, in 1688, as a pupil in the Clementine College, on leaving which he applied himself to jurisprudence. Pope Clement XI. frequently consulted him in difficult controversies, and at length made him consistorial advocate and promoter of the faith, and then domestic prelate. In 1712, he made him a canon of Saint Peter's. After obtaining many and various dignities, Prosper was named secretary of the congregation of the council. In 1722, Innocent XIII. made him canonist to the penitentiary. Benedict XIII., in 1724, named him archbishop of Theodosia *in partibus*, and on the 9th of December in that year created him cardinal, reserving him *in petto* until the 30th of April, 1728.

Clement XII., in the Consistory of the 30th of April, 1731, named him archbishop of his native Bologna ; and Prosper, after becoming pope, would not renounce that archbishopric for twelve years.

After the death and funeral of Clement XII., the cardinals, to the number of thirty-two, entered into conclave with the intention of giving the tiara to Cardinal Ottoboni, dean of the sacred college ; but an opposition was raised on account of the cardinal being protector of France. Meanwhile, Cardinal Ottoboni died, and other cardinals arriving the conclave consisted of fifty-five, of whom forty-six were Italians. Two died, and two more were so ill as to be obliged to leave the conclave : the number was thus reduced to fifty-one, requiring thirty-four votes for an election. Thirty-one votes, including the French and Spaniards, and Cardinal Corsini, supported Cardinal Aldovrandi during forty days. Twenty were for Lanfredini : these were headed by Cardinal Annibal Albani.

The author of the life of Clement XIV. says, that all the factions within and without the conclave wanted to elect Aldovrandi, but were always three votes short. Lambertini, in mere pleasantry, said : "If you wish a saint, take Gotti ; if you wish a politician, take Aldovrandi ; if you wish a good man, take me." If this anecdote is true, it proves how far Lambertini was from desiring the dignity ; for those who really desire it never joke.

During this canvass, it was noticed that fifteen votes were constantly given to Cardinal Corradini. But he, being eighty-two years old, represented to the electors that he did not wish to be again named, on account of his advanced age.

Occasionally some of the ballots bore the name of Father Barberini, ex-general of the Capuchins, and apostolic preacher, notwithstanding his not being a cardinal.

The cardinals grew weary ; the heat inconvenienced them in their cells, and they offered up prayers for a speedy election. At length the minds of most centred so completely on Lambertini, who previously had not been spoken of, that when his old friend Cardinal Aquaviva, then minister from Spain, pronounced his name, he was on the instant unanimously elected. On the 16th of August, Lambertini had not a vote—on the 17th he obtained all but his own, which he gave to Cardinal Aldovrandi.

When Lambertini was formally asked whether he would accept the pontificate, he replied : "I accept for three reasons—the first is, that I am unwilling to disdain your kindness ; the second, because I will not resist the will of God, which I know this to be, because I have never desired so high a dignity ; the third is my desire to put an end to our conclave, which has already lasted so long as to cause general scandal."

Lambertini on the instant was invested with the pontifical habit.

In memory of the pontiff Benedict XIII., who had given him the purple, and to show his gratitude to the Orsini family, he took the name of Benedict XIV. On the 22d of August he was solemnly crowned in the Vatican Basilica, by Cardinal Marini, first deacon. On the following day he went to reside in the palace of Monte Cavallo. On the 30th of August, 1760, he took possession of Saint John Lateran, and gave the benediction from the summit of the new façade built by Clement XII. It had previously been given from the façade of the other lateral portion.

In the first consistory of this pontificate, held on the 29th of August, for the purpose of thanking the cardinals, Benedict granted the legation of Bologna to Cardinal Alberoni, and showed his clemency to Cardinal Coscia by absolving him from the censures under which he labored, and restoring him to the liberty of which he had again been deprived at the close of the conclave. Clement XII., when dying, had ordered that Coscia should be released from prison, so as to take his position in the conclave, but confined again as soon as the conclave should close. That was showing great respect for the rights of the cardinalate, and no less respect for a sentence which had been justly pronounced.

Benedict lost none of his old kindness and well-known courtesy. He proved to every one that it would be difficult to equal him in sentiments of liberality; but his family were deprived of it forever. The Portuguese Jesuit, Manuel Azevedo, admired that fortitude and strictness of Benedict towards his family, and his generous affection to all others, whom he treated as though they were his own. Benedict had a nephew, Egano Lambertini, a senator of Bologna, to whom he wrote: "You will not come to Rome till summoned;" but though the pope had an excellent memory, he never, during his long reign, thought of inviting his nephew. He, however, permitted John, Egano's eldest son, a boy only nine years old, to study in the Clementine college.

The vacancy of the Holy See having lasted past the eve of Saint Peter, the Neapolitan tribute could not be presented at the proper time, but on the 8th of September, Nativity of the Blessed Virgin, Benedict, with the usual solemn escort, repaired to the church of Saint Mary *del Popolo*, and received from the constable Colonna the accustomed tribute. After sending the golden rose to the queen of Naples, Benedict informed the sacred college of the death of the Emperor Charles VI., and, after the example of many of his predecessors, published a universal Jubilee, to ask from the Divine goodness a prosperous and salutary pontificate. He at the same time declared that all who wished to obtain the blessings of the Jubilee, should yield both interior and exterior obedience to the bull *Unigenitus*.

Benedict at once turned his attention to the due administration of the Church, without neglecting the political advantage of his States. He found

that excessive outlays had exhausted the treasury. He instantly reduced the expenses of his palace and table, as well as the allowances granted to the pontiff, surrendering to the apostolic chamber certain dues which had entered the private treasury of his predecessors. At his accession, the chamber owed two hundred thousand crowns : in a short time, it had that amount in hand, after payment of every debt. The reforms were especially in military expenses ; a private soldier in the pontifical force receiving more than an officer in France or Germany.

When there was a surplus in the treasury, Benedict awarded a portion of it to reduced noble families. At the same time, he reformed the luxury of the more wealthy nobles. The pope himself so learned, and aware of the value of knowledge, exhorted the Roman prelates to strengthen themselves still more by study. He declared that he would give employments only to those who should distinguish themselves by consummate ability, zeal, and good morals. In the whole of the Pontifical State, Benedict was the best judge of such matters, and Benedict was now master there.

To that end, he established four academies ;—at the capitol, the academy of Roman history and profane antiquity ; in the house of the priests of the Oratory of Saint Philip Neri, the academy of sacred history and ecclesiastical learning ; in the college of the Propaganda, the history of the councils ; and at Our Lady de' Monti, the academy of liturgy.

On Monday in each week, the Holy Father, unless unavoidably prevented, presided, in the Quirinal palace, over each of those academies in its turn ; while one of the academicians pronounced a discourse on the respective subjects. In the entire world, it is only at Rome that the sovereign gives such an example.

It is to be regretted that these discourses, pronounced by men selected for their learning, and in presence of a learned pope, were not collected and published. Still, twenty-two, by Cajetan Cenni, were published at Pistoia in 1778-1779, in two vols. 4to. Ten of them are upon ecclesiastical and twelve upon Roman history.

We may repeat what John the Deacon said of Saint Gregory the Great, that the science of things had erected a temple at Rome for all to visit, and that the portico of the Holy See appeared to be supported by seven arts, as by seven noble columns. The study of the various sciences there reflourished ; and latinity, clad in the purple, found all Latium again in the real palace of the Latin tongue.

On the 23d of September, the pope authorized *the abbreviators of the major park*—that is to say, the twelve prelates forming the tribunals of the chancery—even after quitting office, to wear a violet cord in the hat.

These abbreviators abridge the rescripts of the popes upon memorials to which favors are granted. Those officials are divided into abbreviators

of the *major park*, and abbreviators of the *minor park*, because the site of the office in which they assemble is called *Parco*. The prelates of the *major park* form a *tribunal*. They decide upon doubts which arise upon the formulas and the clauses of bulls, upon the decrees and emoluments; the prelates of the *minor park* draw up the bulls, which they submit to the prelates of the *major park* for examination, before they go to the copyists.

In the first of these colleges, seven of the senior members received a more considerable stipend. They enjoyed the same privileges as the referendaries of both signatures, and they had their portion of the bread and wine which are distributed to those employed in the palace of the pope. In fact, they enjoyed many privileges now suppressed.

By a *motu proprio* of the 24th of November, the Holy Father confirmed the decrees of Innocent XIII., of the 23d of January, 1722, and of Clement XII., of the 20th of July, 1733, by which all regulars except the *Fate bene Fratelli* were forbidden to practise pharmacy beyond their respective orders, to sell or to give medicines to laymen, except treacle and apoplectic balsam, which they were freely permitted to sell or give.

The Holy Father soon afterwards sent Monsignor Merlini to Turin, as apostolic nuncio to deliver to the sovereign a brief which established the nuncio as vicar of the fiefs which the Holy See possessed in the States of Piedmont and Montferrat, as had been agreed with Clement XII. The prince was to recognize those fiefs as dependents of the apostolic See, and to pay to the pontifical chamber an annual tribute of two thousand crowns. The king of Sardinia, by virtue of this decree, solemnly made the oath between the hands of the nuncio, and sent to the pope, for the first time, a golden chalice, with the promise to do the same annually, in acknowledgment of the right due to the legitimate possessor of those fiefs, which was regularly performed until the French revolution invaded Piedmont.

On the 20th of October, in the preceding year, Charles VI. had died. Benedict learned that Maria Teresa, daughter of that prince, and queen of Hungary and Bohemia, heiress of the house of Austria, had, by a new formula of promise, required from the deputies from the duchy of Parma and Placentia the oath of fidelity to her as duchess of those two States; but they, in fact, were fiefs of the Holy See. The pope stated the case to the cardinals in a consistory, and declared that he would never cease to maintain the rights in the patrimony of the Church which had been intrusted to him, and that in that he would follow the example of his predecessors Clement XI., Innocent XIII., Benedict XIII., and Clement XII., who had recently been the firm defenders of those undoubted rights of the Holy See.

On the 3d of November, 1741, Benedict gave the bull *Dei miseratione*, to maintain the validity of marriages. In some Christian countries abuses had crept in upon that subject; judges had dissolved marriages without

having ascertained the propriety of that measure by sufficient preliminary inquiry. The pope strongly opposed the abuse, and reminded the judges that the Son of God himself had said: *Whom God hath joined, let no man put asunder*. He ordered the appointment, in each diocese, of a *defender of marriage*, who should labor for their indissolubility, and be present at all proceedings upon that subject. The parliament of Paris and the official of Soissons, however, did not conform to the decision of a pope who, to his authority as sovereign pontiff, added such profound acquaintance with canon law and theology.

A council assembled on Mount Lebanon. It was composed of the patriarch, fourteen archbishops and bishops, two abbots, many missionaries of various orders, and some princes and magnates, who had obtained the honor of being allowed to support, by their influence, the decisions of that august assembly. Many useful decrees were adopted which Benedict, after careful scrutiny, approved by the constitution *Singularis*.

By virtue of a direct bull, of the 11th of July, 1742, Benedict confirmed the constitution of Clement XI. upon those rites in China of which we spoke at great length in our Life of Clement XI. Benedict gave an account, even to the minutest details, of the whole controversy, and then annulled and condemned eight concessions made by Mezzabarba, patriarch of Alexandria and apostolical commissioner in the vast empire of China. By the same bull an oath was prescribed to be taken by all engaged in those missions.

Previous to reaching the highest dignities, Benedict XIV. had held the post of consistorial advocate. By a bull, he definitively organized that college, which consisted of twelve subjects. The pope recognized their right to propose to the pontiff three advocates whenever a vacancy in the college should occur. These superior officials, he urged, are the true familiars of the pope. It is by them that consistorial causes are treated. In the causes of beatifications and canonizations they write *in jure*, and support them verbally before the consistory. They have also the right to propose *instances* in the solemnities of the canonizations, and to solicit the *pallium* for the archbishops and other dignitaries entitled to it. They govern the university of Rome, with the title of rectors; enjoy the privilege of receiving doctors in either law, in consequence of a decision upon a question which was mooted between them and the apostolical prothonotaries.* To that college belongs, in perpetuity, the offices of Promoter of the Faith—Advocate of the Poor—Advocate of the Fisc—Advocate of the Apostolical Chamber—Advocate of the building of Saint Peter's—Advocate of the Roman Senate and People, and Commissioner of the Conclave while the Holy See is vacant.

* Novaes, xiv., p. 75, note.

They can fix statutes, and discharge the officers of the college. In the collegiate acts the dean takes precedence of all his colleagues, even though they personally enjoy a higher dignity than he. The advocate of the fisc, the apostolic chamber, and the poor, can never defend any other cause, as is distinctly seen in the pope's ninety-eighth constitution, *Inter plures*.

The first promotion made by Benedict XIV. took place on the 9th of September, 1743, and included, among others—1. Joachim Ferdinand Portocarrero, a noble Spaniard of the family of the marquises of Almanaro, born at Madrid, April 2d, 1681; protector of Spain in 1749, bishop of Sabina in 1759. He died at Rome on the 22d of June, 1760, aged eighty.*

2. Camillus Paolucci, born at Forli on the 9th of December, 1692, of a noble family, secretary of state to Clement XI. Died at Rome, in 1763.

3. Charles Albert Guidobono Cavalehini, canonist of the penitentiary. Died dean of the sacred college, on the 7th of March, 1774.

4. James Oddi, born on the 11th of November, 1679; nuncio of Lisbon, and bishop of Viterbo. He founded a house there for the reception of the ordinaries and other priests, who then performed the exercises of Saint Ignatius. He died at Perugia, on the 2d of May, 1770.

5. Frederic Marcellus Lante della Rovera, born April 18th, 1695; nuncio extraordinary to Paris in 1730. Died at Rome, in 1773.

6. Marcellus Crescenzi, born at Rome, October 20th, 1674; nuncio in France, and bishop of Ferrara. He died August 24th, 1768.

7. Joseph Pozzobonelli, a noble Milanese, born August 11th, 1696; archbishop of Milan. He died in that city in 1783.

8. Orsini d'Aragon, a noble Roman, nineteenth duke of Gravina, born at Naples, June 5th, 1719; ambassador protector of the Two Sicilies at Rome. Died at Rome, on the 19th of January, 1789.

On making this promotion, Benedict gave, as was the custom, the details of the distinguishing qualities which determined his choice of each of the promoted. At the close of the allocution, remark was made upon the extraordinary mention it made of Monsignor Lazarus Pallavicini, archbishop of Thebes *in partibus*, who had constantly deserved and had as constantly declined the purple, which had been offered to him in reward of his services as administrator-general (*commander*) of the hospital of the Holy Ghost. Benedict knew how to praise at once the qualities which indicated the duty of accepting and those which had dictated the refusal.

A year earlier, Benedict had prepared a decree, which he afterwards published, against several works of the modern philosophy.

* Novaes thus describes him: "He was a candid, prudent, and generous man, a friend to literature and ecclesiastical things, although of but moderate talent and superficial in literature. He aspired to the pontificate in the conclave that assembled after the death of Benedict XIV."

These works were, "Letters on the Religion essential to Man, distinguished from that which is only accessory;" "The Cabalistic Letters;" "The Chinese Letters;" and the "Jewish Letters." The first of those works was from the pen of Mary Huber, of Geneva, a Protestant, who died at Lyons on the 13th of June, 1753; and known by other censurable works.

The Cabalistic Letters, the Chinese Letters, and the Jewish Letters were written by the Marquis d'Argens. There is no respect for religion in that collection, which fiercely attacks the ministers of religion. Everywhere we perceive that the author was a man who had no settled principle, vibrating between the most opposite theories. However, the author does not represent himself as an Atheist.

All the decrees issued by Benedict XIV. were founded upon his own personal observations. He read over and over the works that were to be judged; and then, placed in a separate part of the private library, they for some time awaited a third examination. They thus underwent three judgments. On the 28th of December, 1743, the pope was informed of a decree made by Philip V., concerning the missions of Paraguay. It is known that those establishments were formed by the Jesuits; and known, too, are the zeal and the hereditary wisdom with which they had civilized the Indians. No reading man can be unaware of the obstacles those courageous soldiers of Christ encountered in their labors. At length Rome blessed the religious, who carried their generous persistence so far as to brave the most cruel martyrdoms.

Those hardships, zeal, and the continual offer of their blood did not, however, prevent that great enterprise from being painted in the most unfavorable colors. Some enemies of the society accused it of ambition and avarice. In vain—just and upright men* did justice alike to its intentions and to its conduct. There is a letter extant, written on the 20th of March, 1721, to the king of Spain by Faxardo, bishop of Buenos Ayres. That prelate, who had made a visit of general inspection to the *Reductions*,† acquits the Jesuits of the charges brought against them. His successor, Joseph Peralto, a Dominican, was no less favorable, and in that spirit he wrote to his court. To these testimonies there was added yet another. Philip V. was a reflecting prince, and he loved the Spaniards; he would not on slight grounds condemn any of his subjects; he always desired to know the truth; in fact, that prince, who was not as fortunate as he deserved to be, possessed a precious quality—he inquired into the conduct of the accuser as well as into that of the accused.

Philip sent a commissioner to observe on the spot what was really going

* Picot, ii., p. 185.

† That was the name given to the various missions in those countries.

on, and it was upon his report, founded on the closest observations, that Philip, on the 28th of December, 1743, issued a long decree, by which he specified in detail all the accusations brought against the Jesuits. He no less particularly specified the heads of their defence; and he closed by ordering that every thing, with respect to the Jesuits, should remain on the same footing as before, and that they should be left in control of those establishments which their society had created.

It may be said, at the same time, that that decree was more in favor of the Indians than of the Society of Jesus. There were thirty *Reductions*,* or subdivisions of the country, peopled by about thirty thousand Indians subject to tribute, besides all those Indians who were exempt from tribute. The Jesuits maintained order and promoted piety among their converts; and the value of their labors was afterwards felt when the viceroys endeavored to introduce different systems of administration.

The decree of Philip V. only a few years preceded his death, which occurred on the 3d of July, 1746, in the thirty-third year of his age.

With a pope like Benedict XIV., whose vast erudition enabled him to decide properly upon all questions, and who especially kept careful watch upon proceedings in distant countries, that he might encourage and aid that great work of civilization which is the cherished duty of the Roman pontiffs, requests for advice reached Rome from all parts of the world. Many pious, sincere, and courageous spirits solicited a measure directed against the Malabar rites. Cardinal de Tournon had proscribed them in his *Pastoral* of the 23d of June, 1704, but it had met with much opposition. The mission of India, like that of China, had had its trials and its crosses, and peace was disturbed there also by disputes upon peculiar rites. The archbishop of Goa and the bishop of Saint Thomé resisted the decree. The superior Council of Pondicherry declared it abusive, and the Jesuits disregarded it.†

The Holy See had repeatedly to confirm the legate's *Pastoral*. At Pondicherry, long altercations ensued between the Capuchins and the Jesuits. Each party obtained attestations from Hindoo Brahmins,‡ who certified, some that the disputed rites were purely civil, and others that they were religious. Visdeleu, bishop of Claudopolis, who for a long time resided at Pondicherry, declared against the rites, although he was a Jesuit, and, consequently, was charged with various missions by the Propaganda.§

On the 12th of December, 1727, Benedict XIV., in a brief to the bishops and missionaries of the Indian peninsula, confirmed the decrees of his predecessors, and especially that of cardinal de Tournon.

* Picot, ii., p. 186.

† Ibid., p. 187.

‡ Ibid., p. 188.

§ His differences with his ancient brethren are recounted at great length in the *Memoirs of Father Norbert* (Peter Parisot, a Capuchin, and subsequent favorite of Pombal), a somewhat suspicious authority.

A new brief of Clement XII., of the 13th of May, 1739, contained a formula of the oath by which the missionaries promised to execute the decree of 1734. It was urged that these various measures did not put a stop to the disobedience, and it was to remove all these pretexts that Benedict XIV., who, even when only a promoter of the faith as consistorial advocate, had very zealously urged the execution of the apostolical decrees, issued the bull *Omnium sollicitudinum*, in which, as in that in the Chinese rites, he summed up all that had taken place. He solved all doubts, explained and confirmed the modifications granted by Clement XII., and omitted nothing which might tend to terminate the differences that had arisen about those Malabar rites. Meantime, there still remained some of the old leaven of discord between the other missionaries and the Jesuits, the former reproaching the latter with not fully and frankly observing the bull. These disputes lasted till the dissolution of the Society of Jesus. Then the mission to Malabar was intrusted to the bishop of Trabaca, and to the missionaries of the seminary of Paris. At this time the Holy See was again consulted upon the rites. The reply was, that whatever seemed tolerable might, at least for the time, be allowed, of what had usually been practised.

How vast, in all business, is the influence of a man of knowledge, and of sagacious and tried talent! What enlightenment is sure to arise to meet a cool and close examination, accompanied by sincere views and that moderate zeal which above all things seeks for the truth!

At the first moment, some dissidents exclaimed, "Why! Benedict, while seeming to decide every thing, really does decide nothing!" His writings were often not read; his arguments were not understood. Different opinions were still expressed. The Dominicans said: "Catholicity, its dogmas, its discipline, and its customs, must be in *unity*. The country is new, a multitude of children ask you to enlighten them. Cover them with the waves of that imposing splendor which enlightens the road on which the Christian walks. At first, all will not comprehend, by degrees a few will comprehend; and being prompt in sowing the good seed, you by and by will have an abundant harvest."

The adversaries replied: "The country is new in all that relates to Christ, to his precepts, and to the treasures of morality with which both Testaments abound; but there are invincible prejudices. A different morality formerly prevailed—for many, still prevails. You show respect by attitudes, expressive of veneration; here other and quite different attitudes are required to express the same feeling. Enter into the spirit of the people; in the course of time, it will enter into yours."

The Dominicans replied: "The beginning signifies but little; with our progress, success cannot be wanting."

Again in 1760, under Clement XIII., the question was agitated; the reply

was, that "whatever seemed tolerable should be permitted according to customary practice."

Now, let the title of the bull of Benedict XIV. be perused. That title tells what could be done: it was not immediately done for want of the title being insufficiently read or imperfectly understood. But, in general, the decision was completely rendered, and, on reading more completely, every missionary, whether friendly or opposed, saw what was to be *observed* and what was to be *avoided*, what was to be *permitted* and what was to be *abolished*.

On the 15th of September, 1744, came to Rome the sad tidings of the martyrdom of Father Castañarez, a Spanish Jesuit, and missionary to Paraguay. He was put to death by a Cacique, who had invited him to the country to give instruction in the Christian religion. The Father is spoken of as one of the most intrepid preachers in that country. A pious Spaniard, named Francis Atocha, his companion, perished with him.

On the 22d of May, 1745, a decree was issued at Rome against Mandeville's "Fable of the Bees" (London, 1714). It was indeed a fable. The author imagined a beehive in which all the vices abounded, but those very vices tended to promote the general weal and public prosperity. The vices were extirpated, and the consequence was misery and grief. Thus Mandeville's romance was really an apology for vice. He excuses all the vices, and represents as a fool the man who preaches virtue and morality, and believes that society could not prosper without the aid of the great vices.

A system so destructive of order and religion appeared absurd and monstrous; and Mandeville made a very poor defence, in saying that his book was a mere *jeu d'esprit*. His publishers also affirmed that the book was ironical, and intended to turn vice into ridicule, an explanation which is neither natural nor plausible. And, accordingly, though Mandeville, in a second edition, in 1723, tried to give a less unfavorable turn to his system, sensible and truth-loving men readily perceived its pernicious consequences.

The grand jury of Middlesex denounced the book to the court of King's Bench, together with several other books, nearly like it as to both object and mischievousness, which had been published in England. We know of nothing that should prevent such a work from being condemned. It was translated into French about the year 1740, and it was in that translation, sent to Rome, that the serious evils were perceived of a theory which made virtue and vice mere conventionalities, mere matter of custom and fashion. Moreover, Mandeville sapped not morality alone, he annihilated religion, discovered in true Christians only enthusiasm and fanaticism, turned the constancy of the martyrs into ridicule, and gave false ideas of evangelical morality. We do not speak of his errors as to society and its foundations. The time at which his book appeared in France, was that when the infidel

spirit was thoroughly diffused there, penetrating and taking root in every direction.

Chubb, another English writer, at first an Arian and then a Deist, distinguished himself in both characters. He combated, in succession, Revelation, the inspiration of the holy books, and the eternity of punishments, and published several works, the boldest of which is his "Farewell to his Readers," in which he throws doubts upon the truth of a future life, and travesties the doctrine of Christ.

Another Englishman, named Morgan, who also was a physician, obtained notoriety by his book entitled "Moral Philosophy." In it he entirely rejected the Old Testament, and spoke of Catholics as "*Christian Jews*, having only a *Historical Faith*, and a *Mechanical and Political Religion*."

The great number of impious works shows that modern unbelief originated especially in England, whence it spread to the continent by the agency of Voltaire and others, who naturalized in France the mischievous English productions.

We need not be surprised, then, at the multitude of works which succeeded each other in France in favor of the new philosophy. It prepared, at the period of which we now speak, to make in that country conquests by which it was ere long distinguished among neighboring nations, and to that end added to the weapons of its modern votaries those of its ancient partisans,—a double means of success which has been only too serviceable to her, and which only fifty years later was to behead a generous king, whose heart really loved the people, and sought only its happiness and prosperity.

On the 6th of July, 1745, a report was made to the assembly of the clergy upon a book entitled, "The Legitimate Power of the First and of the Second Order of the Clergy," by Travers. It maintained that there should be the most entire equality between the clergy and the bishops,* and went so far as to claim the association of the former in all the functions of the Episcopacy, not excepting even that of ordination. He proposed to overturn the whole hierarchy, openly attacked the doctrine of the Council of Trent upon the necessity for the approbation of the confessors, and rudely inveighed against the bishops and their most legitimate authority. De Rastignac, archbishop of Tours, then president of the assembly of the clergy, laid the book before the assembly, and exposed its dangerous principles. His printed report was sent to all the bishops. In the following month of December, the Syndic of the faculty of theology of Paris also denounced the book. Deputies were appointed to examine it, and many sessions were devoted to it; but the business dragged along as though it would never

* Picot, ii., p. 195.

reach an end. The faculty of Nantes was more successful, and gave, in 1746, a detailed censure. Each article contained several propositions, to each of which were applied the fitting qualifications. Of the ninety-nine propositions censured, twenty-seven were condemned as heretical. Travers died in 1750.

France, rejoiced by her victory at Fontenoy, sustained the pretensions of the Stuarts to the throne of England.

Charles Edward, son of James III., made a courageous effort to regain his rights. In 1745, deeming that the war between France and Great Britain presented a favorable opportunity, he entered Scotland, and soon found himself at the head of a small army. The French auxiliaries, who accompanied Charles Edward, were not sufficiently numerous. The English government set a price of thirty thousand pounds sterling upon the head of the young prince. Charles, faithful to the Catholic doctrines, displayed more generosity, and by a manifesto prohibited any attempt upon the life of George. That eloquent language needed the support of at least apparent victory, for we cannot give life to the enemy who is not yet prostrate before us. Charles Edward, having defeated General Cope at Preston Pans, marched into England as far as Derby, only about a hundred and twenty miles from London, and every thing seemed to promise him complete success, when the Scotch chiefs suddenly lost heart, and determined to retreat.

The English forces, under the duke of Cumberland, pursued, and the war continued with fury. On the one hand, Charles Edward gained the battle of Falkirk; on the other, on the 27th of April, the English, under the command of the duke of Cumberland, won the victory of Culloden, and crushed the Jacobite party by a series of executions which obtained for him the surname of "the butcher." Charles Edward for a long time wandered from place to place. But nothing could shake the fidelity of the Highlanders to the unfortunate son of their king.*

At this period occurred a correspondence between Voltaire and Benedict XIV., which we insert more as a literary curiosity than for any general importance in the history of the popes. Among other works, Voltaire composed the tragedy of *Mahomet*, and sent a copy to the pope, with the following respectful letter:

"MOST HOLY FATHER:

"Your Holiness, I venture to believe, will pardon the liberty taken by one of the humblest, but also one of the warmest admirers of the virtues of

* We shall have to speak again about Charles Edward, who died at Florence in 1788; and we shall also have to speak of Charles Edward's brother, who, in 1747, was raised to the cardinalate by Benedict XIV.

Your Holiness, to consecrate to the head of the true religion a piece written against the founder of a false and barbarous sect. To whom can I more fittingly address a satire upon the cruelty and errors of a false prophet, than to the vicar and the imitator of a God of truth and mercy? Permit then, Your Holiness, that I lay both the book and its author at your feet, and to venture to ask your protection for the one and your benediction for the other. It is with those sentiments of a profound veneration that I prostrate myself, and that I kiss your sacred feet.

“ AROUET DE VOLTAIRE.

“Paris, 17th August, 1745.”

The pope replied as follows :

“ *Benedict XIV., pope, to his dear son, Arouet de Voltaire, health and apostolic benediction :*

“DEAR SIR—A few weeks since there was presented to us, from you, your very fine tragedy of Mahomet, which we have read with great pleasure. Cardinal Passionei subsequently presented to us, also in your name, your very excellent poem Fontenoy ; and still more recently, Monsignor Leprotti laid before us the distich composed by you, to be placed beneath our portrait.

“Yesterday morning, Cardinal Valenti presented us your letters of the 17th of August.

“Each of these acts deserves our thanks : we thank you for them together, and acknowledge your singular affection towards us. Doubt not of the esteem we feel for your much and deservedly applauded merits.

“Since your distich was published in Rome, we learn that a French scholar remarked, in a public conversation, that there was a fault in it—that you had made the word *hic* short instead of long. We replied that the scholar was himself in error, and that *hic* may be, at option, either long or short. Virgil makes it short in the verse,

“ ‘Solus hic reflexit sensus animumque labentem ;’

“And long in this one :

“ ‘Hæc finis Priami fatorum, hic exitus illum.’

“Our answer was, we think, apt enough for one who has not read Virgil for fifty years. Although you are the interested party in the dispute, we have so high an opinion of your frankness, that we do not hesitate to make you the arbiter between ourselves and the critic. It only remains for us, dear son, to send you our apostolic benediction.

“Given at Rome, at Saint Mary Major, this 19th of September, in the year 1745, and of our pontificate the sixth.

“BENEDICT XIV., PP.”

Voltaire replied in the following letter of thanks :

“MOST HOLY FATHER :

“The features of Your Holiness are not better expressed in the medals with which your great kindness has favored me, than those of your heart and mind in the letter with which you have deigned to honor me. I lay at Your Holiness’ feet my most fervent and humble thanks. I am truly obliged to confess your infallibility in the decisions of literature, as in other and far more important matters. Your Holiness is far superior in latinity to that critic whose error you have deigned to correct, and I confess my surprise that Your Holiness can so readily cite the verses of Virgil. Among the princely amateurs of letters, the sovereign pontiffs have always been distinguished ; but I believe that none of them has equalled Your Holiness in the union of the severest and the most elegant learning : *Agnosco rerum dominos, gentemque togatam.*

“If the French scholar, who so unjustly accused my *hic*, had known his Virgil as thoroughly as Your Holiness does, he would have quoted a verse in which *hic* is both long and short :

“‘*Hic vir hic est, tibi quem promitti sæpius audis.*’

Rome must have re-echoed a verse with which Benedict XIV. ascended the throne. With feelings of the most profound veneration and the most fervent gratitude, I kiss your sacred feet.

“AROUET DE VOLTAIRE.”

In this correspondence we must remark the reserve with which the pontiff acknowledges the receipt of the poet’s tragedy, and, then, how wittily and gracefully he glides into a charming and perfectly safe literary discussion. Voltaire, without losing either his airy spirit or his piquancy, yet subjects his accustomed liberty of speech to new forms ; and, above all, he shows a singular respect for the etiquette and the sacred usages peculiar to Rome. Had he always so felt and so written, the glory of the writer would not have been tarnished, and religion, perhaps, would not have received such cruel assaults.

The cardinals who had aided the pontiff and the poet thus to understand each other, must have been deeply afflicted when they saw that so much wit, delicacy, and charming openness on either side, had no effect in aiding the progress of Christian morality, and that the pupil of the Jesuits became one of their fiercest and most pitiless persecutors.

But we must no longer be drawn aside from our main business by the charm of these glances at the courteous part played by Benedict in literary correspondence.

At the commencement of the year 1746, by the constitution *Urbem Ro-*

nam, the Holy Father prescribed the order and the number of the noble Roman families to be entered upon the registers of the senate, at the capitol, and he established a method to be followed in future. Among these noble families he rightly included all those of Roman pontiffs.

From time to time disturbances broke out in Syria in regard to the cultus of Saint Maro. Cyril, the Greek patriarch, determined upon the suppression of this devotion, and proceeded to destroy the engravings of Saint Maro, published at Rome, forbidding him to be counted among the Saints, on the ground that he had both lived and died a heretic.

The ignorant patriarch was unaware that Theodoret, in the lives of the Fathers, and Saint John Chrysostom, in his thirty-sixth epistle, both of them contemporaries of Saint Maro, recognized him as a saint; that his cultus had continued for centuries, even at Rome; and in the church of the Maronites, that the missals of the same people, approved by Clement VIII., and the testimonies of innumerable writers, given before that learned pontiff, openly spoke of Maro under the title of saint. The inconsiderate patriarch confounded him with a second Maro, or Marone, a heretical abbot, who lived in the time of the Emperor Mauritius, in 602; whereas Saint Maro lived in the year 395, under the Emperor Arcadius. Due distinction must be made between the two, even as we distinguish between the two Raymonds Lulli—the one a heretic and the other venerated as a martyr; two John Canzis—the one a heretic and the other canonized by Clement XIII.; and two bishops of Ypres—Cornelius Jansen, bishop of Ypres, a heretic in his writings, and the other, bishop of Ghent, and deserving well of the Church for his piety and his virtues.

Leonard Chizzola, archdeacon of Brescia, a very aged man, having suddenly left that cathedral, went to Bologna, where he became a Jesuit, without announcing his intention to Cardinal Quirini, his bishop. The cardinal lost in that archdeacon a noble ornament of the Church, and a man very serviceable to the poor; and he solicited Benedict to decree that thenceforth no priest, without the knowledge and consent of his ordinary, could enter the regular orders. Benedict, with his usual erudition, replied, as Saint Gregory the Great had replied to Desiderius, bishop of Vienna, in France, when Pancratius, deacon of that diocese, had embraced the monastic life—namely, that the bishop should excite the zeal of Pancratius, that he might not cool in the fervor of his desire. Not content with this reply, Benedict urged yet other reasons to appease the cardinal. He endeavored to convince him that an apostolic constitution would be useless in such cases; and he concluded thus: "Out of any hundred archdeacons, scarcely one will abandon the high position he enjoys for the sake of entering an order, while scarcely one in a hundred religious would hesitate to abandon his order to become an archdeacon."

Benedict had ordered some benevolent works at Civita Vecchia, and determined to see, in person, how they were executed. First, he went to serve food and medicaments to the patients in the hospital of the *Bene fate Fratelli*; and then he gave a crown to each of the patients. He next ordered that he should be shown the hospital of the sick convicts, where he did the same. It does not appear that this last spectacle of a pontiff visiting and relieving the most depraved of offenders, had ever before been witnessed in Christendom.

The pope considered that a Corsican guard might be re-established to suppress smuggling; and he took precautions against any abuse ensuing from the return of that force, which usually did their duty with a zeal and courage the pope loved often to reward.

Benedict was much concerned at the situation of the Catholics of Prussia. Learning that the king had permitted them to erect a church in Berlin, and had laid the corner-stone, that he had funds for continuing the enterprise, and that he had solemnly promised that that temple should never be granted excepting to the faithful of the Roman Church, the pope, by an allocution of the 20th of November, called upon the cardinals to imitate so good a work, and himself appropriated a very considerable sum towards the completion of the church.

On the 17th of July, Benedict learned by communications from his nuncio, Monsignor Durini, archbishop of Rhodes, and from de la Rochefoucauld, archbishop of Bourges, ambassador from France to Rome, that the parliament of Paris, at that time attentive to the wishes of the Holy See, had prosecuted two impious works, "The Natural History of the Soul" and "Philosophical Thoughts."

At this period, the efforts of misnamed philosophy became more numerous and more violent against religion. By degrees unbelievers formed a party, which caused new grief and new combats to the Church. Till then, unbelievers in France had been few, isolated from each other, and, consequently, timid rather than dangerous; they railed sometimes against the pope, but they still held by a slight thread to the councils. Of the propositions of 1682, only the first article could be the subject of a reasonable discussion, such as decorum might tolerate, and then both pontiffs and kings would agree; *the declaration had gone where it would*, as Bossuet predicted; at least, there existed a kind of Rome that freethinkers and schismatics would bind, indeed, but to which they would occasionally grant some liberty of action even in its bonds.

But now came another delirium, very different from declarations, restrictions, and limited attributions. Materialism comes forward, and demands full liberty of speech, that it may belch out unrestrained its venom against religion and the Church, or that it may assume the coolness of courteous

folly, which outrages all reason without omitting any of the forms of good society.

Unbelief was not indigenous in France. Bayle, born in 1647, at Carlat, a small town in the county of Foix, had, at an early age, left his own country for Sedan, where he occupied the chair of philosophy. It was out of France that Bayle said to the abbé, afterwards the cardinal de Polignac: "I am not Lutheran, or Calvinist, or Anglican: I am a Protestant; and for this reason, because *I protest against all that is said and done.*" Bayle was almost, then, the only one who could be called an unbeliever. However, when he had explained his fatal doctrines at Rotterdam, his work met with numerous refutations, and Protestants vied with Catholics in defending Christianity against his objections.

Many works were published against Spinoza and the Socinians.

Cardinal de Polignac as powerfully as gracefully labored on the work in which he exploded the reveries of Lucretius.

The Abbé Houteville had established the truth of Christianity by facts; some authors demonstrated the authenticity of the sacred books, others the divinity of the prophecies, the Incarnation, or other points of faith. Logic, criticism, and learning had all, in solid productions, been summoned to the support of the faith. It was not, then, for want of enlightenment that new denials were made of truths which had over and over again been proved to demonstration. Men honestly desiring to clear up their doubts, would have found abundance of proofs capable of dispelling those doubts. But there was a weariness, a dislike, of a doctrine which offended the prejudiced by its lofty dogma, and terrified the corrupt by the strictness of its morality. New systems were sought after, that they might support a new and laxer moral code; authority was regarded as a yoke, and the faith as a manacle. In the style of thinking, an independence was affected, which was fancied to be a proof of strength of mind. Thus many writings against the Church and her decisions, many satires, intrigues, and disputes, had darkened men's minds, and while shaking the faith of the weak, had emboldened the evil-intentioned.

Disputes, unfortunately too long and too embittered, had served as a pretext for derision. Books were circulated, the objects of which could not be doubted; we have mentioned some of those which were condemned at Rome, and our readers cannot fail to remark that it was from the Apostolic See, and from the chair of him who is charged with the care of all the churches, that irreligion and its ignorant or evil apostles were opposed and rebuked.

The "Natural History of the Soul," which was also printed under the title of "A Treatise on the Soul," was written by la Mettrie, a physician, who professed the plainest and most unmitigated materialism; we might

suppose that his object was to surpass Epicurus and Lucretius. The author, availing himself of some of those medical indications which so often and so fatally mislead the *drawers of inferences*, thus concludes: "The soul essentially depends upon the organs of the body; *Ergo participem Lethi quoque convenit esse*. And the soul also with the body dies." We see that the writer does not seek to disguise the grossness of his doctrine. The sentence of the parliament caused the author to fly from France. He first went to Holland, where his book was burned as it had been in France, and then he went to Prussia.

He published, at Berlin, a complete edition of his irreligious works, which edition was condemned by Clement XIV., on the 1st of March, 1770. He died at Berlin, leaving, says Voltaire, an execrable memory.

The second work condemned to the flames was "*Pensées Philosophiques*," attributed, at the time, to Voltaire, but written by Diderot, who thus embarked in the career in which he was speedily to surpass the boldest advocates of evil. Ardent and impetuous, Diderot was the most active in the warfare carried on against Christianity.

We return to the wise labors of Benedict XIV. He made his second promotion on the 10th of April, 1747.

It included, among others—1. John Francis Albani, a nobleman of Urbino, born at Rome on the 26th of February, 1720; died at Rome, as the dean of the sacred college, on the 15th of September, 1803.

2. Charles Victor Amadeus delle Lanze, a Piedmontese, of the family of the counts of Sales. He was born at Turin on the 1st of September, 1712, was for six months a regular canon of Saint Genevieve at Paris, almoner to Emmanuel III., and created cardinal at the request of that prince. He died in 1784.

On the 3d of July, in the same year, Benedict made his third promotion. It consisted only of Henry Benedict Mary Clement, duke of York, second son of James III., king of England. He was born at Rome on the 6th of March, 1725, and died at Frascati, dean of the sacred college, on the 13th of July, 1807.

Previous to announcing to the English prince his elevation to the cardinalate, Benedict said to him: "Prince, your dignity, our right, and ancient custom, especially in regard to sovereign families, would have justified us two years since in making you a cardinal of the Roman Church. But we have always considered that after your father James III., and your brother who will be James IV., you will have undoubted right to the English throne, and that therefore it was not necessary, determined though you were to take holy orders, so publicly and so completely to cut yourself off from the world and the English throne. Take even yet a few days of reflection. We know that your family leaves you free to choose, and that you desire to

enter the sacred college only from a firmness peculiar to yourself. Nevertheless, consider well; we should not like that either ourself or you should hereafter be accused of a precipitation, which other ordinances of Heaven might place us both in an embarrassing position. Consider well, and if, on the 30th of June, you are still of the same mind, we, three days later, will announce your appointment."

The duke of York kissed the pope's hand, and replied: "There is nothing in this world that I so much desire as to enter the sacred college; and as such, I should never regret my lost chance of royalty." Benedict replied: "Well, we shall create you only cardinal-deacon, so that you will still have time to consider whether you absolutely will take holy orders. We will do nothing that may be contrary to the will of God, which is unknown to us. If hereafter, when you are cardinal-deacon, circumstances should make it advisable, you can resign the hat, marry, and thus avoid destroying the hopes of Ireland, that firm friend of the Stuarts, and of that portion of Scotland which has remained pious and faithful."

On the 8th of June, 1748, the pope confirmed the privileges of the military order of Saint Stephen in Tuscany, of which the Emperor Francis I., husband of Maria Teresa, had been made grand master. To those privileges Benedict added another, authorizing the knights to appear before the sovereign pontiff girt with their swords. It was the custom, that with the exception of princes, members of the diplomatic corps, and knights of the order of Charles III., all persons presented to the pope should leave their swords in the antechamber.

The college of the Sapienza was also to receive new favors from Benedict. He founded in that university two new chairs, one of mathematics and one of chemistry. Here we must revert to the constitution *Universa per orbem*, issued by Urban VIII., in 1642, and establishing as holidays of obligation, to be observed throughout the whole church, Christmas, the Circumcision of our Lord, Epiphany, Easter Sunday and the two following days, Ascension-day, the Invention of the Holy Cross, Candlemas, the Annunciation, Assumption and Nativity of the Blessed Virgin, the Dedication of Saint Michael, the Nativity of Saint John the Baptist, the Feast of the Glorious Saints Peter and Paul, Saint Andrew, Saint John the Evangelist, Saint Thomas the Apostle, Saint Philip and Saint James, Saint Bartholomew, Saint Matthew, Saint Simon, Saint Jude, Saint Mathias, the Holy Innocents, Saint Lawrence, Saint Sylvester, Saint Joseph, Saint Anne, All Saints, and one of the principal patron saints of kingdoms, provinces, cities, and castles. To those feasts Clement XI. added the Conception of the Blessed Virgin Mary.

The further reduction of holidays of obligation led to discussions which now excited the attention of Benedict. In a special dissertation, he exam-

ined methods of abolishing these various feasts of obligation. Their multiplicity did not excite less fervent Christians to the necessary sanctification of these holidays, as ordered by the cardinal, while they prevented the poor from working, and thus providing for their temporal needs.

The Fathers of the Council of Tarragona had pointed out those inconveniences to Benedict XIII., in 1727.* The king of the Two Sicilies had also expressed a desire for a reduction of holidays, which the bishop of Bamberg and other prelates also solicited. Benedict XIV. then obtained the written opinion of forty learned men. Of these, thirty-three declared the reduction of holidays useful, fifteen of the thirty-three advising His Holiness to publish a general bull for the whole Church; while eighteen were of opinion that the Holy Father should await petitions from the respective dioceses, and decide according to the necessity of the case, and the reasons adduced by the supplicants.

Benedict praised the piety of the seven opposing doctors, but approved the substance of the opinion of the thirty-three. As to the question of a general or a special bull, he agreed with the opinion of the eighteen approvers, who, however, considered that an indult, giving permission to work on certain holidays, should be granted only as asked for in the dioceses. The indult specified the days which were not included in the concession. In no case was the hearing of Mass to be dispensed with.

Thus, from the year 1742 to the year 1748, the Holy Father granted that indult for a very great number of cities in Spain, Poland, Germany, Sicily, in the Ecclesiastical State, in Tuscany, and in the county of Nice.

At that time a discussion arose between Cardinal Quirini and the historian Muratori, concerning the diminution or the preservation of holidays. Muratori, under the signature of Lamindo Pritanio, had published, at Lucca, a book in which he advocated the reduction of holidays, and which was answered by Cardinal Quirini.

The Holy Father, by a constitution of the 14th of November, forbade any one, under penalty of excommunication reserved to the sovereign pontiff, thereafter to print any thing for or against the holidays of obligation already prescribed by Urban VIII., and thus closed the controversy.

Saint Pius V., to reward the eminent services of Sebastian, king of Portugal, had allowed him to choose, at his own pleasure, any title that should be an indication of the glorious actions of that prince, assuring him that the Holy See would instantly ratify that title. The generous prince replied, that he prided himself solely upon constantly showing that he was the most obedient son of the sovereign pontiff. Benedict still further recognizing the honorable merits of the king of Portugal, without notice to King John,

* Novaes, xiv., p. 134.

or awaiting his consent, conferred upon him, by a bull dated on the 23d of December, 1748, the title of *Most Faithful*, which was to be inherited with the crown by his successors. Then, having assembled a consistory, the pope communicated to him his determination in an allocution replete with eloquence, in which he specified the great sacrifices that had been made by the kings of Portugal; and at the same time he sent to John a copy of the edition of the Roman Martyrology, which the pope had just, with prodigious research and erudition, issued to the world.

At the commencement of the year 1749, Benedict prepared notifications for the great Jubilee of 1750. The bull *Peregrinantes* (May 15, 1749) was sent to all the nuncios to be read before the sovereigns at whose courts they resided.* It was also dispatched to the patriarchs, the archbishops and bishops, with a circular composed by the pope himself, treating of the antiquity and the advantage of pilgrimages, the preparation for the Holy Year, the value of indulgences and of missions, the utility of general confessions and the due administration of penance.

On the 19th of February, the pope recommended to the bishops in his States a becoming care of their churches, and the duty of having them thoroughly cleansed; and he at the same time forbade such music as by its levity and elegance was fitted only for the theatre. Benedict authorized only grave harmonies, calculated to dispose to devotion.

Like his predecessors, Benedict reminded those whom he addressed that the churches by their order and purity should proclaim the Holy Year, and he urged the cardinals to repair and adorn their churches, and those under their protection. He set the example in restoring so many places of prayer, which made Rome the finest Catholic city in the world.

In the Basilica of Saint Paul without the walls, the pope caused the repair of the mosaics and the paintings. He continued the chronological series of the sovereign pontiffs down to his own time, and the series was exposed to the view of the public on the 9th of December in that year. To secure the fitting exactitude to the representation of that series of the popes, he intrusted it to the superintendence of two learned prelates, Furietti and Constanzo, under the general supervision of canon Marangoni, who published the series in a fine work, and of Capecci, abbot of that monastery. The execution of the painting was intrusted to the painter Minosili.

One hundred and forty-five thousand pilgrims were received at the Hospital of the Trinity, between December, 1749, and July, 1750.†

* There was some difficulty about its immediate reception in France, because, after the emperor, the king of France was confusedly named with other princes.

† Under each reign where this great Christian feast occurred, we have spoken of the Universal Jubilee. We will here complete our remarks on this crowning act of Catholic worship.

Shortly afterwards, Benedict had to deplore a cruel persecution against the Catholics of China. The aged bishop Moncastro, who for thirty years had been at the head of that mission, was condemned to be beheaded, and four Dominicans and two Jesuits were quartered. The most rigorous of the ancient Chinese edicts were renewed. The numerous missionaries who were at Peking, only escaped death owing to the earnest entreaties of some Jesuits whom the emperor's ministers had thus far regarded with

Boniface renewed but did not institute the Jubilee of the Holy Year. This name was given by the Jews to the fiftieth, being that of full remission. (Levit. xxv. 10.) Christianity borrowed the name from the old law. According to Petavius (*Rationarium Temp.*), two Jubilees were celebrated in 47 and 50 A. C. Ferrari (*Biblioth. Cathol. verbo Annus sanctus*) cites authors who ascribe the institution of the Jubilee to the time of the apostles. Boniface VIII., on restoring it, avowed that he had been excited to do so by the testimony of the aged of his time. They agreed in declaring that at the first year of every century prior to 1300, great numbers of Christians flocked to Rome to obtain remission of their sins. A Roman, one hundred and seven years old, deposed that his father had done so, and had counselled him, before death, not to lose so great a spiritual treasure if he survived. Accordingly, Boniface, at the request of the cardinals and people of Rome, issued a decree on the 21st of February, 1300 (Saint Peter's Chair at Antioch) restoring the celebration of the Universal Jubilee every hundred years. Clement VI. reduced it to fifty years, and celebrated it in 1350. Urban VI. restricted it to thirty-three years, in memory of the years passed by our Lord among men, and fixed it for the year 1390. This decree was confirmed and observed by Martin V., in 1433, and Nicholas V., in 1450. Paul II., that all ages might share in this benefit, by a decree of 1470, reduced the term to twenty-five years, and ordered it to be celebrated in 1475. He was not able to perform the ceremony himself, dying four years before. This custom has been preserved to our day. Sixtus IV. published the Jubilee for 1475; Alexander VI., for 1500; Clement VII., for 1525; Julius III., for 1550; Gregory XIII., for 1575; Clement VIII., for 1600; Urban VIII., for 1625; Innocent X., for 1650; Clement X., for 1675; Innocent XII., for 1700; Benedict XIII., for 1725; Benedict XIV., for 1750; Clement XIV., for 1775, although his successor, Pius VI., opened the Holy Door.

There was no Jubilee published for 1800, the Holy See being vacant in 1799. Leo XII. published it for 1825.

Thomas Zarola, in his treatise on the Jubilee, and his *Pratica Episcopale*, declares, that several prelates heard Gregory XIII. express his wish to reduce it to fifteen years, in view of the brief span of human life. To gain the Jubilee, the pontiff ordered, in publishing it, visits to some of the Basilicas of Rome. Boniface VIII. assigned those of Saint Peter and Saint Paul. Clement VI., added Saint John Lateran: Gregory XI., Saint Mary Major. This usage still prevails except when a change is made, as that of Saint Mary in *Trastevere* for Saint Paul *extra muros*, by Urban VIII., in consequence of the plague at Naples and Rome. Inhabitants of Rome must make thirty visits to the appointed churches; strangers need make only fifteen. The Jubilee is published and the bull read in the Vatican on Ascension Day, in the year preceding the Jubilee. The Holy Year begins at first Vespers of Christmas, and lasts till the last Vespers of Christmas in the ensuing year, the moment of closing the Holy Door after remaining open a whole year. On that day the pope proceeds in procession from the portico of Saint Peter's, which is closed, as are also the other basilicas; there, surrounded by cardinals and prelates, and also by the Swiss Guard, he approaches the Holy Door, which is walled up. He strikes it thrice with a silver hammer. Then the grand penitentiary strikes it twice. It is soon thrown down by the San Pietrini, and pilgrims from all parts seek with eager devotion to gather up the ruins. The threshold is then washed by twelve pilgrim priests. After the usual ceremonies the pope enters, as cardinals delegated for the purpose do the other basilicas, the cardinal-dean Saint Paul's, and the two archpriests Saint John Lateran and Saint Mary Major. The same cardinals close the door of those basilicas on Christmas eve the next year. During these ceremonies prayers are recited, having reference to the Jubilee proclaimed.

favor. Those ministers represented to their master that the Jesuits who implored mercy for their brethren were skilled in astronomy, painting, architecture, and even in the art of fortification. The emperor, reminded of so many services, which he knew and had received, allowed his anger to be appeased. Let us ever do full justice to those bold missionaries who braved death with so much courage. It was only by other orders that Christendom learned the services which they had rendered to their brethren and to Catholicity.

On the 6th of July, 1751, Benedict XIV. suppressed the patriarchate of Aquileia, and erected two new Sees. The patriarchate of Aquileia had long been a subject of dispute between Austria and Venice. It was agreed between those two courts and Rome, that Cardinal Delfini, patriarch of Aquileia, should retain for life the patriarchal title and prerogatives. Neither the bull nor the allocution mentioned the consent of the Cardinal Delfini to the extinction of his See. Benedict XIV. supported his action in his bull only upon "the plenitude of his apostolic power, in virtue whereof he can, when lawful causes require it, erect, transfer, suppress, and extinguish patriarchal, archiepiscopal, and episcopal churches, and separate and divide their dioceses, as he shall deem useful in the Lord."

On the 13th of November, 1751, Benedict pronounced the beatification of Blessed Jane Francis Fremyot de Chantal, who was canonized in 1767, by Clement XIII.

On the 11th of January, 1753, a concordat was signed at Rome between the pope and Ferdinand VI., king of Spain. It was the custom in that country that the king nominated to archbishoprics and bishoprics; that for the kingdom of Granada, he named to all benefices; and that as to the rest of the benefices, of his other States, excepting those of which the founders had reserved the right of patronage, the popes should name to them during eight months of the year, and the bishops and chapters during the other four months.

By the new treaty, Benedict abandoned that custom, and granted to the king—1. The right of nomination, during the eight months, to benefices situated in Europe; 2. The revenues of vacant bishoprics, and the property of deceased bishops. Only, it was specified, that such revenues should be used according to the canons. The pope reserved the nomination only to fifty-two benefices, which he specified in detail. To recompense Rome for the advantages which she surrendered, the king assured certain sums agreed upon, on condition that a part of the revenues thus abandoned by Rome should be assigned to the nuncio resident at Madrid; the king engaging to pay him, annually, ten thousand dollars.

Benedict on that occasion, as on so many others, manifested his love of peace, and his disinterestedness as to the merely pecuniary interests of the

Holy See. In the years immediately preceding the death of the pope, Paris was agitated by the useless and almost always exacting remonstrances of the parliament, and especially by the ill treatment of the noble archbishop of Paris, Christopher de Beaumont. In concert with Rome, that worthy prelate, a pattern to the well-instructed and uniformly courageous clergy of France, had raised his voice in defence of the rights of the Church, which were so persistently attacked by the Protean enemies who, in all forms and under all masks, not seldom sprang from the higher orders of society.

The prelate, while in exile at Conflans, published a pastoral on the teaching of the faith, the administration of the sacraments, and submission to the bull; and he forbade the reading of certain works of immoral tendency, which he designated. He established the rights of the first pastors, proved their independence, alike for the teaching of the faith and the administration of the sacraments; and he based those principles upon the *Scripture* itself, upon the uniform language of tradition, and upon the orders of the sovereigns. He showed that the contrary opinion was newfangled, dictated by party spirit, party need, and party greed, and he showed that it was rejected by the most famous appellants—Quesnel, Colbert, and by Van Espen; and he further showed that the last, in his earlier writings, had replied to the worn-out objections of the innovators. The prelate said, with Bossuet, to those who boasted of the piety of the appellants: "They talk only about living aright, as though believing aright were not the very foundation of their doing so."

He refuted those absurd accusations of schism which many of the stray sheep brought against the pastors when they deserted, and reminded them that just such accusations had been made by the Arians and other sectarians and schismatics. He confounded the new and groundless distinction recently invented between interior and exterior administration of the sacraments; a distinction intended to disguise the vice of the usurpations of the sect, as though the administration of a sensible sign could be any thing but exterior. He protested, in terms such as Benedict himself needed not to have disavowed, how much he loved peace; but, he added, it must be a real, solid peace, to be found by his diocesans where alone it could be found; and he showed how little those were really desirous of *such* peace, who, with the word peace ever upon their lips, were yet constantly defeating peace by their indocility or excess. He concluded by forbidding works tending to encroachment upon the authority of the Church, and especially nine sentences of the parliaments, and forbidding, also, the administration or reception of sacraments by order of secular judges.

The parliament of Paris, in prohibiting the publication of that instruction, consigned by the common hangman to the flames destined for the execution of malefactors a pastoral instruction in which their archbishop,

in unison with the sentiments of the entire Church, eloquently warned his flock what to reject and taught them what to believe.

It is some time since we made any mention of England; but the position of the Church in that kingdom had not for an instant ceased to interest the heart of Benedict. His brief *Apostolicum*, of 1753, organized missions in that country. As early as 1688, the Holy See had established four bishops in England. In 1695, Rome made the authority of these bishops in all things superior to that of the secular chapter and the religious. The latter resisted the decree, as contrary to their existing privileges. The Benedictines and the Jesuits were most zealous in maintaining their pretensions. The latter were very numerous in England, where as elsewhere they endeared themselves to the faithful. The English Benedictines, the remnant of a congregation that had formerly held a very brilliant place in the British islands, were exclusively devoted to the office of missionaries. They had a house at Paris, to train members for London and other places in England. Benedict appointed some Benedictines as bishops, and concord was insensibly established by the profound sagacity with which Benedict perceived the evil and applied to it the practical and possible remedy, which restored excited minds to obedience and true evangelical fraternity.

Other acts testified both the watchful and paternal spirit of Benedict over Catholicity in America.

We now proceed to give details upon the publication of the *Eucology* of the united Greeks.

The Greeks have their *Eucology*, a ritual or pontifical containing the ecclesiastical prayers and the benedictions of the Church.

The Greek schismatics, in 1631, printed one which contained errors. Philip IV. of Spain, informed of the fact by some Greek Catholics, referred the case to Urban VIII., who confided the examination to John Morin of the Oratory of France, and to the famous Jesuit, Denis Petavius, whose age prevented his visiting Paris. Eighty-two meetings took place in 1645, without arriving at a conclusion of the examination. It was continued under Innocent X., and slowly dragged on as far as the reign of Benedict XIV. That pontiff infused a new activity into the proceedings of the congregation; and at length the *Eucology* came from the presses of the Propaganda. Then the pope proposed it as the rule for all bishops and ecclesiastics of the Greek rite. The sacred erudition that was contained in that work, proved how worthy the pontiff who then wore the tiara was of that sovereign dignity.

Benedict XIV. made his fourth promotion of cardinals on the 26th of November, 1754. It included, among others—

1. Joseph Mary Ferroni, a noble Florentine, born on the 30th of April, 1693. He was secretary of the bishops and regulars, and died in 1767.

2. Fabricius Serbelloni, born at Milan on the 7th of November, 1695. He was nuncio to Florence, Cologne, Poland, and to Vienna. He died at Rome, on the 8th of December, 1775.

3. John Francis Stoppani, a noble Milanese, born on the 16th of September, 1695, nuncio to Florence, Venice, and Vienna. Died at Rome, on the 18th of November, 1774.

4. Charles Francis Durini, born at Milan on the 20th January, 1693; nuncio in Switzerland and in France. He died at Milan, on the 26th of June, 1769.

5. Vincent Malvezzi, count of Salva. He was born at Bologna on the 22d of February, 1715; master of the chamber to Benedict XIV. He died at Cento, on the 3d of December, 1775.

6. Louis Mary Torreggiani, a noble Florentine, was born on the 8th of October, 1688; secretary of the consulta. He died at Rome, on the 5th of January, 1777.

The fifth promotion of cardinals by Benedict XIV. was made on the 22d of April, 1755. It consisted only of Antonio Sersale, a Neapolitan, born at Sorrento on the 26th of June, 1702; bishop of Brindisi, where he restored the cathedral and seminary, ruined by an earthquake. Archbishop, first of Tarento, and then of Naples, he died on the 24th of June. In the famine and epidemic of 1764, he displayed an indefatigable charity.

In a sixth promotion, on the 18th of December, 1755, Benedict promoted Louis Portocarrero, archbishop of Toledo, who died March 26, 1771; and on the 5th of April, 1756, he promoted—

1. Nicholas de Saulx Tavannes, born at Paris on the 9th of September, 1690; bishop of Chalons, and subsequently archbishop of Rouen, and grand almoner. He died on the 10th of March, 1759.

2. Alberic Archinto, a noble Milanese, born on the 8th of November, 1698. He was governor of Rome.

3. John Baptist Rovero, a noble Piedmontese, archbishop of Turin.

4. Francis de Solis Folch de Cardona, a noble Spaniard, born at Madrid on the 17th of February, 1713. He was canon, and afterwards, in succession, dean of the cathedral of Malaga, administrator of the metropolitan church of Toledo, and bishop of Cordova. He was created cardinal at the request of Ferdinand VI.

5. John Joseph Trautsmansdorff, a noble German, born at Vienna on the 23d of July, 1704. He was archbishop of Vienna, in which city he died on the 10th of March, 1757.

6. Paul d'Albert de Luynes, of an illustrious French family, born at Versailles on the 5th of January, 1703. After entering the army, he became a priest, then vicar-general of Meaux, bishop of Bayeux, archbishop of Sens. He was created cardinal at the request of James III., king of England.

7. Stephen René de Potier, of the French family of the dukes of Gevres. He was bishop of Beauvais, and was named cardinal on the recommendation of the king of Poland.

8. Francis Conrad Casimir de Rodt, a noble German, born at Murispurg, in the diocese of Constance. He became bishop of that city, and was named cardinal at the request of the Empress Maria Teresa.

9. Francis de Saldanha, a noble Portuguese, principal of the patriarchal church of Lisbon, and then patriarch, named at the request of King Joseph I.

Meantime, frequent attacks of gout had weakened the health of the pope. At the beginning of the year 1758, they became more severe. His agonies were insupportable, but when they gave him some respite, his serenity of mind returned as completely as though he had never suffered and should never suffer again. But the disease speedily increased.

On the 3d of May, 1758, the pontiff died, at the age of eighty-three, and after governing the Church seventeen years, eight months, and six days. On the following day he was removed from the Quirinal to the Sistine chapel, and then to the Basilica, where his obsequies were performed.

Benedict XIV., a great prince and a very learned scholar, was a rare example of the studious and the monarchical intellect, combined with constant affability and purity of life. Such a character is necessarily appreciated and admired by all. The gentleness of his voice, whether in replying, or in instructing or commanding, and even when he reproved, or found himself obliged to punish, was by no means his least remarkable ornament; and he always manifested the same equanimity even under the most difficult circumstances. His conversation was very agreeable, and was occasionally enlivened by lively repartees, full of the attic salt of mingled wit, grace, and gayety. His magnanimous enterprises for the grandeur of the Church, place him in the ranks of the most glorious pontiffs. Forgetful of his family, his thoughts were ever solely upon the public weal, which he fostered with a rare ability and vigilance.

With respect to his embellishments of Rome, we must mention the restoration of the Hospital of the Holy Ghost; the improvement of the road leading from Saint John Lateran to Holy Cross of Jerusalem; the marvellous cupola of Saint Peter's, secured against the fears of ruin entertained by all acquainted with architecture; the port of Ancona enlarged, and the cathedral of Bologna perfected.

"Prosper Lambertini," says Walpole, "bishop of Rome under the name of Benedict XIV., although an absolute prince, always reigned inoffensively. He restored the lustre of the tiara. By what art did he achieve that glory? Solely by his virtues. Honored by the friends of the papacy, and esteemed by Protestants, he was an ecclesiastic free from interestedness and

insolence ; a prince without a favorite ; a pope without nepotism ; an author without vanity ; a man whom neither intellect nor power could corrupt. Such is the deserved homage that the favorite son of a minister who never courted any prince, or venerated any churchman, presents to the excellent Roman pontiff."

Nor is that all : John Pitt, a relative of the great English minister of that name, having procured the bust of Benedict XIV., engraved the following inscription upon the pedestal :

"John Pitt, who has never spoken well of any prince of the Roman Church, raises this monument in honor of Benedict XIV., sovereign pontiff."

And what praises were lavished upon this pope by those who announced his books ! Journalists at Leipsic, publicists in Holland, professors at Wirtemberg and at London, and a thousand other Protestants ! We are told that it is true praise which an enemy bestows. How much must we not think then of the praises lavished on Benedict by adversaries who so often were unjust !

The works of Benedict were printed at Venice in sixteen volumes, folio. The first five treat of the beatification and canonization of saints. The sixth contains the acts of the saints whom he canonized. The seventh and eighth contain supplements and remarks upon the preceding volumes. The ninth is a treatise on the sacrifice of the Mass. The tenth treats of the feasts instituted in honor of Jesus Christ and the Blessed Virgin Mary. The eleventh contains instructions that he had given before he arrived at the papacy. The twelfth is a treatise on synods ; it is the most widely circulated of all the works of this pope, and one of the best books extant on the discipline of the Church, and especially an excellent refutation of the novelties attempted in later times by restless or sycophantic prelates. The four volumes, from thirteen to sixteen, both included, contain a collection of his briefs and bulls.*

In all those writings there is evidence of vast learning and a profound acquaintance with both civil and canon law, and history, both sacred and profane. Benedict XIV. also gave the world an edition of the Martyrology of Benedict XIII. (Rome, 1748), and of some other pieces.

The moderation, equity, and spirit of peace, which were the very soul of his government, rendered his pontificate at once prosperous and respected. Nevertheless, his accommodating temper sometimes granted to temporary considerations, or to mere complaisance, something more than was either

* The most esteemed edition is that which was revised by Father Emanuel de Azevedo (12 vols., large 4to) between the years 1747 to 1751. There are some copies in folio, both on large and small paper. The edition of Bolsena (in 15 vols. folio), published in 1788, bears this title : OMNIBUS DOCTOR.

needful, or, strictly speaking, justifiable ; and the facility of his nature prevented him from being sufficiently stern in opposing growing systems of which his successors witnessed the bitter fruits.

Caraccioli published this pontiff's life (12mo, Paris, 1784) ; it is interesting, but contains some doubtful statements.

The Holy See was vacant two months and five days.*

* I commence by describing four medals in my own collection ; those that follow are from Venuti.

1. BENED. XIV. PONT. MAX. AN. XI. Head of Benedict XIV. *Rev.* : ET CLAVSIT. MDCCL. The pope, wearing the tiara, closes the Holy Gate.

2. Without inscription. Saint Luke painting the portrait of the Virgin Mary and the infant Jesus, who are before him on clouds. Behind is the ox.

3. TRICLINII LEONIANI PARIETINIS RESTITVTIS. Many authors have spoken of the *triclinium* of Saint Leo III., on the square of Saint John Lateran. In Manazzale (12mo, Rome, 1798), we read : " At the side of the *Scala Santa* there is a great niche made for the preservation of the celebrated *triclinium* of Saint Leo III., placed there by Benedict XIV., and arranged in the same form and with the same mosaics with which Saint Leo III. had decorated the great Cenacle which he erected in his Lateran palace." View of the absis of the triclinium. This medal is executed in great perfection.

4. PANTHEI DECORE RESTITVTO ET AVCTO. AN. MDCCLVII. Interior of the Pantheon, showing the four chapels. Fine and delicate in style.

5. IVDICABIT IN ÆQVITATE. A woman, with the scales in her right hand, and in her left the *hasta*, tramples on a hydra. In the exergue, MDCCXL.

6. UT MECVM SIT, ET MECVM LABORET. A woman, armed, points to the globe with her right hand, and with her left holds the rudder of a vessel ; above her head is an eye, from which proceed rays. Struck at the coronation.

7. BASIL. LIBER. PORTIC. REST. Façade of the portico of the Liberian Basilica—the church of Saint Mary Major. Those repairs were superintended by a celebrated architect, Ferdinand Fuga.

8. TV DŌMINVS ET MAGISTER. Christ washes the feet of Saint Peter.

9. VECTIGALIBVS REMISSIS. A woman, standing, her right hand on the prow of a vessel, and a cornucopia in her left hand. At her feet, bales of merchandise. In the distance, the sea and vessels. In the exergue, CENTVM CELL.

10. MEMORIÆ M. CLEM. M. BRIT. REGINÆ. Monument erected in the Vatican in honor of Mary Clementina Sobieski. She died January 18, 1735, and her obsequies were celebrated in the church of the Holy Apostles. The government then decided that she should be buried in the church of Saint Peter. Clement XII. defrayed the first expenses of the monument. Benedict XIV. finished it after the designs of Nicolas Barrigioni, and at the same time the medal was struck. The tomb is above the door from which the ascent to the great cupola is commenced. Between the columns opposite is the tomb of James III., and of their children, Charles Edward Stuart, and Henry Stuart, cardinal duke of York ; the last members of that family who have the one monument in common. It was executed by Canova, at the expense of George IV., king of England. Prince Charles Edward is there described as " James IV."



252. CLEMENT XIII.—A. D. 1758.



CLEMENT XIII. (Charles Rezzonico), was born at Venice, March 16, 1693, of noble patricians of that republic, John Baptist Rezzonico* and Victoria Barbadigo.

The Rezzonico family derives its origin from the city of Como, and was there from an early date admitted to the decurionship. There it also obtained the title of free barons of the Holy Empire, by virtue of a diploma of Leopold I., in 1665, granting them permission to use on their arms the imperial eagle of Austria. About the middle of the sixteenth century, a part of the family settled successively at Parma and Genoa. From this last city the pontiff's grandfather, Aurelius Rezzonico, the head of the house, removed to Venice in 1687, and was registered in the golden book.†

At the age of ten Charles went to Bologna to study rhetoric and philosophy in the Jesuit college of Saint Francis Xavier ; he then returned home and for two years pursued a theological and legal course. Having received the doctor's cap at Padua, he came to Rome at the age of twenty-two, and in 1714 was admitted into the noble ecclesiastical academy ; there, under the direction of learned men, among others James Lanfredini, then a celebrated advocate, and subsequently a distinguished cardinal, he thoroughly studied legal science. With such acquirements and solid virtues, Charles entered the prelacy on the 28th of March, 1716, and was appointed protonotary participant.

Clement XI. sent him as governor to Rieti, then to Fano. In 1725 Charles was recalled to Rome, to become one of the *ponenti di consulta*. In 1729 he was appointed auditor of the Rota, a post which he filled for eight years with zeal and ability. To reward these services Clement XII. created him cardinal, on the 20th of December, 1737. Benedict XIV. conferred on him the See of Padua, where he resided for sixteen years, bishop, pastor, and father ; and to this day the memory of his charity, of his mild and sagacious supervision is retained.

On the death of Benedict XIV., in 1758, his funeral was celebrated, though in consequence of the ninth day falling on Whitsunday, the period

* He died July 28, 1758, having lived to hear of his son's elevation.

† Simon Ballerini, notice on the Rezzonico family (Rome, 1768, 4to).

was restricted to eight days. On that day, as on Christmas, Easter, and other solemn feasts, bulls of Pius IV. and Gregory XV. prescribe that the funeral of a pope should be suspended, and the value of the tapers, which would have been used, be given to the poor.

On the 15th of May, Whitsunday, twenty-seven cardinals entered the conclave. Five, actually in Rome, were prevented by ill health from entering on that day,—among others Cardinal Mesmer, aged eighty-seven. Several cardinals from other parts of Europe subsequently arrived.

In the scrutiny, on the 19th of June, Cardinal Cavalchini obtained twenty-one votes, and two days later thirty-three cardinals resolved to name him pope, but the same evening the French cardinals, through cardinal de Luynes, notified the cardinal dean that their court excluded Cavalchini. Cardinal Guadagni said zealously but sincerely to the French members of the college: "*Vos autem Spiritui Sancto semper resistitis.*" The next day Cardinal Lanté informed Cavalchini of the action of France. He replied with the courage of conscious virtue: "It is a manifest proof that God deems me unworthy to fill the functions of his vicar upon earth."

Some of the electors, headed by cardinal de Roth, who entered the conclave on the 29th of May, with the instructions of the emperor, thought of elevating Rezzonico, and labored with remarkable promptitude to secure his election. In the scrutiny of the 4th of July, he had twenty-two out of forty-four votes, and on the 6th, after some discussion, he was chosen by thirty-one votes. He lacked twelve votes, and of course his own; these were given to Cardinal d'Elci, dean, and to various cardinals.

Rezzonico, invited to accept the election, shed copious tears; they urged him not to refuse the tiara, and he yielded to the entreaties of his friends. In memory of Clement XII., who had given him the purple, he took the name of Clement XIII. On the 16th of July, 1758, he was crowned, and on the 13th of November, he solemnly took possession of Saint John Lateran.*

In communicating his elevation to the Catholic courts, Clement manifested all the apostolic ardor of his soul. He exhorted them to a prompt peace.

The senate of Venice had published an edict forbidding any of its sub-

* The following elegy was then published (Novaes, vol. xiv., p. 7):

"In medio spectandus equo, venerabilis ore,
Regius aspectu; pectore magnanimus,
Cui bene conveniunt, et in una fronte morantur
Majestas et amor, jusque piumque sedet.
Scilicet Adriacæ splendor nitidissimus urbis,
Carolus ille suo nomine Rezzonicus.
Nunc pater et pastor, nunc rector et urbis et orbis,
Nomine nunc Clemens tertius et decimus;
Cui bene conveniens tradit clementia nomen,
Virtutumque cohors omnis in ore nitet."

jects to treat of any matter with the Roman court, without the permission of the republic, except matters relating to the penitentiary. This edict led to dissensions between Venice and Benedict XIV., who frequently solicited the repeal of the act.

Clement was a Venetian, and relying on the love which his fellow-citizens bore him, renewed the appeal. By a letter of August 5th, he thanked the senate for their expressions of joy at the election of one of their sons. The Rezzonico family had been signally honored on that occasion. The senate almost to a man proceeded to the Rezzonico palace to felicitate Aurelius, brother of the new pope.

The senate suspended the execution of the act for four months; and soon after announced to His Holiness its absolute revocation, asking him to accept the new testimony of their joy.

Clement wished to show the Empress Maria Teresa a striking proof of his esteem. He addressed her a brief, renewing to her and her successors the perpetual title of "Apostolic," already given to Saint Stephen, king, by Pope Sylvester II., so that they might be addressed as *Apostolic Majesty*.

On the 8th of September, the Nativity of the Blessed Virgin, the pope proceeded to the church of Saint Mary del Popolo, and received from constable Colonna the palfrey and tribute for the fief of the kingdom of Naples, the vacancy of the See having prevented its being offered on Saint Peter's day.

At Padua Clement nobly performed a bishop's duties. He wrote, in consequence, to all the bishops of Christendom to remind them of those duties. "Swear peace with each other. On the day of his Ascension, our Lord recommended to his apostles Peace alone. Be not eager to rule, show no pride, but be liberal to the poor. They have an undoubted right to the goods of the Church, which belong to the poor, while the bishop is only the administrator. Be assiduous in prayer, which is ever efficacious when accompanied by faith, humility, and perseverance. Do not neglect to offer the holy sacrifice; there you will obtain prudence to manage affairs. Instruct your flock on Christian duty. As bishops cannot do every thing in person, be circumspect in the choice of pastors to aid you. Do not admit to holy orders all who present themselves without vocation. If you cannot preach, if you deem yourselves unfitted to certain occupations, do what you can, administer the sacraments, frequent the canons in the choir, give conferences on moral theology, and especially never leave your churches without grave reasons."

So necessary did Clement deem residence, that by an edict of March 3d, 1759, he required strict residence of archbishops, bishops, and ecclesiastics of every grade, who had a benefice or a title, obliging them to stable and personal residence. Revoking all previously accorded permissions, he or-

dered all ecclesiastics not retained by official duty at Rome, to leave the city within twelve days, and proceed direct to their churches; or otherwise incur the penalties imposed by the Council of Trent and the Apostolic Constitutions, and additional penalties provided by the act.

The vocation of Cardinal York called him to the priesthood. Prince Charles Edward, his brother, was full of life: he had ventured to London in 1753, and came back with hopes which were never realized, but which he could never give up. The three courts of the house of Bourbon were consulting as to his marriage. The cardinal seemed free to follow his vocation. Accordingly, the pope, in a consistory held in October, made him bishop of Corinth *in partibus*, and consecrated him in the church of the Holy Apostles.

On his return from the ceremony, the pope invited the English cardinal to a grand public banquet, at which ten other cardinals who had been present at the consecration were also guests. As this is the first time that we have had occasion to speak of a great public dinner at which a pope was present, we shall give some idea of the banquet.

A throne was raised in the ducal hall, beneath which was a table for the pope alone: at some distance was another for the cardinals, who, after laying aside the *mozzetta* as the pope did, sat on benches in soutane, rochet, and mantelletta. They were served on silver dishes: those of the pope were silver gilt.

At the beginning of the dinner, some chapters were read from the works of Saint Gregory, till the moment when the pope drank for the first time. Then the first master of ceremonies notified the cardinals that the pope drank the health of James, king of England, father of the cardinal just consecrated.* The second and third times that the pope drank were to the health of the sacred colleges—first to the cardinals present, then to the absent. Then the cardinals present rose and took off the *biretta*. All present knelt. The masters of ceremonies introduced as many persons as the room would hold. All were eager to witness the spectacle, which had not been seen for many years.

The table of the cardinals was directed by the Marquis John Patrizi, first mayor of the palace. The pope sent from his table to that of the cardinals two dishes of sturgeon and pheasants.

When the reading resumed, after the health was ended, the pontifical chanters began to execute some sacred motets, with organ and counter-bass accompaniments. After dinner the cardinals, ranged in a semicircle on the benches, conversed for a time with the pope, then led him to his own apartments.

* Novaes, xv., p. 15.

This year Clement made two promotions of cardinals. In the first, on the 11th of September, he made his nephew, Charles Rezzonico, born in 1724, a cardinal. In the second, on the 2d of October, he created as cardinals, Monsignor Priuli, bishop of Vicenza, and Francis Joachim de Pierre de Bernis, born May 12, 1715, at first canon of the chapter of Brioude in Auvergne, then of Lyon, then French ambassador to Venice, then extraordinary ambassador to Spain, counsellor of the Ecclesiastical States, ambassador at Vienna, minister and secretary of state for foreign affairs.

Meanwhile Count d'Oeyras, marquis de Pombal, persecuted the Jesuits with a rage which Rome could neither conceive nor tolerate. Under pretexts of an impossible conspiracy, and accusations never proven, the minister had been banished from his master's States, and Clement had welcomed them with affable generosity. Pombal, not satisfied with sending innocent victims to the scaffold, endeavored to prevent the pope from receiving the Jesuits into his dominions, as though he could impose any such conditions. Clement proposed the only thing that could be asked in reason, a reform if needed; but the minister ordered the pope to decree the destruction of the order. Clement, however, would not yield to the violence of the cruel minister of Joseph II.

Pombal supported his demand by a malicious forgery, entitled, "Abridged Relation of the Republic which the Religious of the Society of Jesus of the Province of Portugal and Spain have established in the domains of the two monarchies, and of the war which they have declared and sustained against the Spanish and Portuguese armies." It was written by Pombal himself, and no such republic or armies existed in Paraguay. Absurd as such a charge may appear in these days of rapid communication, it found believers, and strict orders were given to prevent the publication of any refutation. Unfortunately, too, the court of Madrid, although no mention of such matters was to be found in the official dispatches from South America, at last was induced to give its support to the monstrous imposture. High officials spoke of losing pitched battles against the troops of the Society of Jesus.

While the courts in the Peninsula were thus carrying on a war of unscrupulous bitterness and malice against a devoted order in the Church, France swarmed with writers who openly assailed religion. Among other works, appeared *De l'Esprit*, by Helvetius, which was at once condemned by de Beaumont, archbishop of Paris.

In a third promotion, September 24th, 1759, Clement XIII. raised to the purple—1. Ferdinand Mary de Rossi, a Roman noble, born at Cortona, August 4, 1696; 2. Ignatius Crivelli, a noble Milanese, born on September 30, 1698, nuncio at Verona; 3. Louis Merlini, a noble of Forli, born at Forli, November 13, 1690; 4. Philip Acciaiuoli, a Florentine noble, born at Rome,

March 12, 1700, nuncio in Portugal; 5. Louis de Gualtieri, born at Orvieto, October 12, 1706, nuncio at Paris; 6. Jerome Spinola, a Genoese noble, born October 15, 1713, nuncio at Madrid; 7. Anthony Mary Erba Odescalchi, a noble Milanese, born January 21, 1712, *maestro di camera*; 8. Santo Veronese, a noble Venetian, born July 12, 1684, bishop of Padua; 9. Louis Valenti, an Umbrian noble, born at Trevi, April 27, 1695, bishop of Rimini, and assessor of the Holy Office; 10. Joseph Mary Castelli, a Milanese noble, October 14, 1705, commander of the Hospice of the Holy Ghost; 11. Peter Francis Bussi, a Roman noble, born July 28, 1684, dean of the Rota; 12. Cajetan Fantuzzi, a Ravenna noble, born August 1, 1708, auditor of the Rota for Ferrara; 13. Friar Anthony Augustine Orsi, a noble Florentine, born May 9, 1692, a Dominican, secretary of the Index in 1737, Master of the Sacred Palace in 1749; 14. Peter Jerome Guglielmi, born at Jesi, December 4, 1694, secretary of the Congregation of Bishops and Regulars; 15. Joseph Alexander Furietti, noble of Bergamo, born January 24, 1685, secretary of the Congregation of the Council and Residence of Bishops; 16. Peter Paul Conti, noble of Camerino, February 24, 1689, secretary of the *Buon Governo*; 17. Nicholas Antonelli, noble of Sinigaglia in the city of Pergola, July 8, 1698, secretary of the Propaganda; 18. Friar Lawrence Ganganelli of the order of Conventuals, born in Sant' Angelo in Nado, October 31, 1705, consultor of the Holy Office; 19. John Constantius Caracciolo, Neapolitan noble, born at Naples, December 19, 1715, Auditor General of the Chamber; 20. Nicholas Perelli, of the family of the dukes of Monte Staraccio, born at Naples, October 22, 1696, Treasurer-general of the Apostolic Chamber; 21. Mark Anthony Colonna, a Roman prince, born August 16, 1742, majordomo of the pope; 22. Andrew Corsini, a noble of Florentine origin, born at Rome, June 11, 1735, prothonotary apostolic.

While Portugal gave so much cause for grief, affecting scenes occurred in Corsica. At the instance of General Paoli and other Corsican notables, the pope had deputed with necessary faculties, but without prejudice to the jurisdiction of the respective bishops and the temporal authority of the Genoese, Monseigneur Cæsar Crescentius de Angelis, bishop of Segni, conferring on him the title of Apostolic Visitor for the island of Corsica. Civil war had given rise to increasing trouble and irreligion in many dioceses. The churches of Aleria, Mariana, Ajaccio, and Nebbio, were destitute of pastors. The Corsicans, where they were masters, expelled all who were deemed favorable to the Genoese. The apostolic visitor having landed, the republic of Genoa, by an edict in the name of the doge and governors, offered a reward of six thousand crowns to any one who should arrest the pontifical agent and deliver him to the republic. The Holy Father assembled a consistory, and showed how insulting this edict was to the Holy See, inasmuch as the sending of a visitor concerned only ecclesiastical matters,

without any reference to political questions. Was religion not to be revived in Corsica, vice banished, and abuses punished? Then of itself, respect for the lawful prince would be enkindled. The pope accordingly overruled, annulled, and condemned the edict. The Genoese maintained their order to seize Mgr. de Angelis; and the pope, who had in view only the interests of his sacred duty, could not abandon either his desires of religious concord or his minister, the bearer of the olive-branch to a Catholic country.

The king of Naples having offered to mediate, Clement replied that the Genoese must first recall their offensive edict, and then he would think of recalling the visitor. In this way, if the difference was not at once appeased, it assumed a peaceful aspect, and a settlement became an object of hope.

Meanwhile, Ferdinand, king of the Two Sicilies, wished to obtain the investiture of that kingdom. Cardinal Orsini, the king's minister, a man of honorable character, was sent with a proxy, authorizing him to offer homage and fealty.

In a consistory, Monsignor Emaldi, secretary of briefs to princes, read this proxy, and then the cardinal took the oath of fidelity. After signing and sealing it with his arms, he touched the Gospels, and handed the document to the master of ceremonies. Then the pope, taking the cardinal by the hand, granted the investiture solicited. The bull of concession was signed by the pope and by all the cardinals present.

By an autograph letter, the pope directed the conservators of Rome to print, at the expense of the Capitoline Chamber, the Roman inscriptions, collected throughout the city of Rome by the Benedictine Father Peter Louis Galetti, afterwards bishop of Cyrene. These were to illustrate the history of many Roman families. This work was published, and stands a proof of Clement's love for historical studies.

On the 14th of June, 1761, Clement XIII., by the constitution *Cum inter* condemned an "Exposition of Christian Doctrine" printed at Naples, in 1758, 1759, and 1760, and translated from the French of Mesenguy, in 1757. To restrain the faithful from the dangers incurred by the use of such books, Clement, by an encyclical addressed to the bishops of the Catholic world, exhorted them to use, in instructing their flocks, the Roman catechism drawn by up his predecessors, and especially by Pope Saint Pius V., after the Council of Trent. In fact, the pontiff, to condemn more absolutely the heresies of the time, had drawn up a catechism teaching what was to be believed and what was to be avoided in matters of faith. To meet the heresies contained in the work condemned, Clement ordered a new edition of the catechism prepared by himself, and it was accordingly issued from the press of the chamber.*

* The Roman catechism was compiled by three famous theologians. The Creed and Sacra-
VOL. II.—20

Mesenguy's work found favorers nevertheless. One Serrao, in a work "*De præclaris Catechistis*," gives it great praise.

All admired the mildness of Clement XIII., but it had well-nigh led to evils afflicting the Romans. The roads began to be unsafe. Brigands devastated the land. Complaints against the pontifical government arose on all sides.

Clement ordered Cardinal Torrigiani, secretary of state, to renew the edicts issued against any who waylaid the roads, and troubled isolated houses. A bull of Sixtus V. (July 1, 1585), republished by the pope, alarmed the bandits, and the very name of him who once restored public security, was enough to recall to their normal state the interrupted communications of commerce.

On the 20th of September, 1701, the pope beatified Gregory Barbadigo, archbishop of Padua, a relative of his own. The Roman senate were ordered to repair to the Vatican to venerate the newly beatified.

Clement was in general so loved, so applauded, so good, so beneficent, that this preference suddenly given to one of his mother's relatives, gave rise to no discontent; moreover, Cardinal Barbadigo had, by his eminent virtues, deserved the honor conferred on him by the Holy See.

At this time His Holiness in his private chapel gave the sacrament of Confirmation to Cæsar Lambertini, grand-nephew of Benedict XIV. Cardinal Orsini, as proxy of Charles III., king of Spain, was sponsor.

On the 23d of November, 1761, Clement made his fourth promotion of cardinals.

As the next conclaves were stormy, we give exactly the names of the new members of the sacred college. They will be recognized when we have occasion to cite them hereafter.

In this consistory, ten cardinals were appointed—two Italians of the Papal States, one Piedmontese, a Spaniard, two Germans, a Venetian, and three Frenchmen. They were promoted in the following order: 1. Bonaventure de Cordova Spinola de la Cerda, a Spaniard, born March 23, 1724, patriarch of the Indies; 2. Christopher de Migazzi de Valle à Solletturin, a German, born at Trent, October 20, 1714, archbishop of Vienna; 3. Anthony de Choiseul Beaupré, a French noble, born September 28, 1706, archbishop of Besançon; 4. John Francis Joseph de Rochechouart, a French noble, born January 27, 1708, bishop of Laon; 5. Francis Christo-

ments were assigned to Mutius Calini of Brescia, archbishop of Zara, and afterwards bishop of Terni, who also drew up the Index of prohibited books, and revised the Roman Breviary and Missal. Peter Calesini, a learned Milanese, revised the Decalogue. The Lord's Prayer was the work of Julius Poggiani, a celebrated man of Suna, in the diocese of Novara. Poggiani also rewrote the other parts, to render the style uniform. A congregation appointed by Saint Pius V., presided by Cardinal William Sirlet, revised the doctrine of the whole work. With such care and patience was the Roman catechism issued.

pher de Hutten in Stolzemberg, a noble German, born March 8, 1706, bishop of Spire ; 6. Henry Virginius Natta, a noble Piedmontese, born January 10, 1701, bishop of Alba ; 7. John Molino, a noble Venetian, born April 16, 1705, bishop of Brescia ; 8. Louis Constantine de Rohan, bishop of Strasburg ; 9. Balthazar Cenci, born November 1, 1710, secretary of the Consulta ; 10. Cornelius Monti Caprara, a noble of Bologna, born August 16, 1702, governor of Rome.

Like all the pontiffs, Clement was eager to complete the works of his predecessors. The fountain of Trevi, the great work of Salvi, lacked several indispensable ornaments. The bas-reliefs had been made merely of stucco ; they were now replaced by marble, and statues added.

By a bull published September 11th, Clement conceded to the patriarchs, primates, archbishops, and bishops, faculty to give to their flocks the papal benediction, with plenary indulgence twice a year, once at Easter and once at their option. Inferior prelates allowed to wear the mitre received permission to give this benediction a second time each year : this permission was, however, not to be exercised till a bull was obtained, which was, however, issued gratis.

The pope, mindful of the years which he had sat in the Rota, showed his affection for it. By two constitutions, *Et si justitia* and *Licet curandum*, the Holy Father secured decorum, and a speedier administration of justice.

The first of these constitutions confirmed the privileges granted by ten pontiffs, adding still more honorable distinctions. An ancient method of judgments was restored, faculties were extended, and a desirable expedition given to causes.

The second abolished the sale of offices of notary of the Rota, and reimbursed moneys actually paid. It instituted a new regulation, assembling in a college all the notaries attached to the tribunal, with the right to draw up any act, and to be recognized as such in the tribunals of Rome. Finally, more suitable halls were prepared for these magistrates in the Vatican.

Meanwhile, hostile dispositions full of persecution against the Jesuits increased in France. One of the pretexts used was the case of Father Lavalette, of that society. It will not be amiss here to give some details on a matter which assumed an important character in future events.

In 1761, Father Anthony Lavalette* was made Superior-general of all the missions in South America. He was soon accused of being engaged in trade. Mr. de Bompar, commandant at Martinique, and Mr. Husson, intendant, defended his conduct ; but he was a Jesuit, and this was sufficient

* He was born October 21, 1707, entered the society October 10, 1725. Two years after he was sent to Tournon to study. He was ordained in 1740, and sent to Martinique the next year. He took his last vows February 2, 1743.

to make him an object of persecution. Accusations were framed at Paris and laid before de Rouillé, minister of the marine. The league against the society, encouraged by Pombal, was sure of the parliament of Paris, but not as yet of the court and ministry. Madame de Pompadour, the favorite of the voluptuary Louis XV., was, however, soon gained. She assumed the air of a devotee in order to obtain influence with Queen Mary Leczinska, to whom she was lady of honor. But to cover all, she wished a confessor who would absolve her without insisting on her departure from the palace, satisfied with the mere statement that she had broken off all intercourse with the king. The Jesuit Father de Sacy, her confessor in her earlier days, refused her, and his refusal increased a bitterness aroused by Father de Neuville, who in a sermon preached before the king on Candlemas, 1757, after Damien's attempt on his life, called the monarch's attention to God's singular goodness towards him, and urged him to turn to his Maker with his whole heart, by a sincere and perfect conversion. Madame de Pompadour, therefore, threw herself heart and hand into the party which sought the ruin of the Jesuits. That order, in spite of all the efforts of its enemies, had still great influence over youth by their colleges, and over all ages by the sodalities of the Blessed Virgin Mary—as they are called in French. The sodalities were then what they have always been, pious associations of zealous persons united in prayers and good works. No one had ever dreamed that such associations could be dangerous; they had no secrecy, nothing but what tended to nourish faith, piety, the practice of works commanded or counselled by the Gospel; they were, moreover, under the supervision and protection of the first pastors. None of these considerations arrested the action of the parliament. Philosophy, as infidelity styled itself, and Jansenism, then ruled in that body, and it must needs gratify its enmity against the Jesuits; it had, too, to punish the society that had so often resisted parliamentary assaults on the rights of the Church. Now it beheld itself upheld by Madame de Pompadour, irritated by Father de Neuville's sermon and Father de Sacy's severity, upheld too by the ministry earnestly importuned by the cabinets of Lisbon and Madrid. The parliament denounced the sodalities as clandestine conventicles, suspicious assemblies, full of danger to the State. An act of April 28, 1760, suppressed them all; and it is to be remarked that at the very time when these asylums of piety were proscribed, masonic lodges, till then almost unknown in France, began to extend and multiply unchecked and uncensored. Encouraged by this first success, the hostile party sought an opportunity for a more decisive blow against the Jesuits. This, unfortunately, Father Lavalette furnished.

With almost all authority in his hands, he was led away by the hope of restoring the financial condition of the mission, long oppressed with debts

incurred by acts of charity, and now affording a bare sustenance to the missionaries. Father Lavalette, without the knowledge of Lawrence Ricci, the general of the society, purchased with borrowed money considerable estates in Dominica, a neighboring island, and employed two thousand slaves in cultivating them. While clearing the grounds a part of the negroes were swept off by an epidemic and the labor arrested. Meanwhile the day for repaying the million livres borrowed in Lyons and Marseilles approached, and Father Lavalette, to satisfy his creditors, borrowed again at ruinous rates, and without advice plunged into new speculations in hope of retrieving. Without confining himself to selling the products of his estates, he bought colonial produce to sell again, and sent several shiploads, not to France, but to Holland, hoping thus to elude discovery. War with England was threatening, and the latter country with her usual policy began, before declaring war, to sweep French vessels from the seas. Most of the ships of Father Lavalette fell into the hands of the English. Undismayed he rushed into new operations, every one more disastrous than the last. The general informed at last of this disorder, could scarcely credit the fact, but direct information from Martinique, in 1757, dissipated all doubts. He at once dispatched a visitor, who broke his leg on the way; a second died; a third was captured by the English; and the fourth, Father Francis de la Marche, reached Martinique only to find it in the hands of the English. He at once cited Father Lavalette before him, and after examination deprived him of all administration, spiritual and temporal, and suspended him *a sacris*, till absolved by the general. Father Lavalette signed a full statement, acknowledging his guilt, and admitting that he had acted without the knowledge or consent of his superiors.

While his failure was thus made known, the chief creditors, in concert with the Jesuits of France, aided by many bishops, sought means quietly to settle the whole affair, and out of a total of two million four hundred thousand francs admitted by Father Lavalette, had succeeded in raising eight hundred thousand, when the party in the pay of Pombal saw the danger. They urged some of the creditors to sue, not the mission of Martinique, but the society as responsible. The case came off in the parliament of Paris; and led by the advocate-general, le Pelletier de Saint Fargeau, father of one of the regicides of Louis XVI., the parliament condemned the society in France. But no sooner did they attempt to meet this decision, than an act passed confiscating all their property; and at the same time forged claims poured in, swelling the original indebtedness to five million of francs.

The French episcopate did not abandon the society. Of fifty-one archbishops and bishops then in Paris, forty-four showed themselves favorable to the society and signed a declaration in their favor; and of the remaining

seven, Monseigneur de Grasse, bishop of Angers, added his signature : two others belonged to the family of Choiseul, the prime minister.

On the 6th of August, 1761, the Procurator-general appealed from all the briefs or bulls concerning the Society of Jesus. This was followed by an act prohibiting the Jesuits from maintaining colleges, and forbidding any of the king's subjects to study there. Louis XV. suspended the act for a year, and promised the pope that it should not be put in force, but the magistrates decreed that the suspension should not extend beyond April 1, 1762.

The weakness of the court encouraged the audacity of the enemies of the society, and parliament went so far as to accuse the Jesuits of idolatry !*

Rome was not insensible to these terrible proceedings. Clement XIII. addressed a brief, *Tuum rex*, to Louis XIV. in regard to the Jesuits, on the 9th of June, 1762. "We beg your majesty," said the vicar of Christ, "with the most ardent expression of desire, not to banish the Jesuits. Their cause is essentially connected with that of the Catholic religion. The most sacred rights of religion are at stake. If lay magistrates violate them, religion itself will perish. The rules of a holy institute approved and confirmed by the Holy See are concerned : they cannot, in any manner, be abandoned to the decision of magistrates. The pontiff, after addressing fervent prayers to God, recurs now with confidence to the royal authority. He conjures the king to remedy such imminent evils, to avoid scandal, which must arise, to extend his protecting arm to a tottering society, and at the same time to religion itself."

The pope also addressed the French bishops : "You cannot, without being sensibly affected, see such brave defenders, such learned masters, such useful laborers tore from you."

"We lament," he wrote again, "that in France religion finds more enemies than defenders ; we mourn that a society ever vigilant to defend the Catholic faith should be oppressed and dispersed by a perverse faction. The institute approved by the Council of Trent, confirmed by the pontiffs, loaded with favors by kings of France, is assailed with opprobrium, which reaches the very height of absurdity. Laymen take on themselves to declare null, vows whose validity is a question for the Church alone to decide."

The pope concludes by exhorting the bishops to patience, constancy, and prayer, which gives strength to support these accumulated evils.

At that time the bishop of Valence having communicated to the pope the atrocious insults offered to the Jesuits, the pope replied : "What, will not

* The farce is complete when we see the party that brought a king to the block in 1793, denounce, in 1762, the Jesuits as regicides ; that abolished Christianity for the worship of Reason in 1793, denounce the Jesuits as idolaters in 1762. The explanation is simple, they accused those whom they hated of what was uppermost in their own hearts.

they refrain from persecuting the members of a society which has so well deserved of Catholicity and Christendom. These very religious who were received two centuries before in France, and protected by the goodwill of the kings, are suddenly assailed by those who should be the guardians of justice. They are condemned without trial or investigation. They have committed no crime: the hatred and envy of factions bring forward only vague charges. Against all justice, they are expelled to the prejudice of the public weal and the great injury of the Catholic Church."

By a brief addressed to the cardinals de Rohan, de Rochechouart, de Choiseul, and de Bernis, the Holy Father announced to them that the parliaments having decreed the exile of the Jesuits, and declared their institute impious and irreligious, an institute approved as pious by the Catholic Church assembled in the Council of Trent, the Holy See, which had till then tolerated these excesses, could no longer do so without being unfaithful to its ministry. Accordingly, in a consistory, the pontiff had revoked and declared null the act of the parliaments. The pope besought the cardinals, whose dignity united them so closely to Rome, to defend the honor of the Holy See with courage and constancy.

The Church of France groaned, said the pope, because men had shaken off the authority of the sovereign pontiff, and of the universal Church. Every one published his opinions, no matter how contrary to the faith and subversive of religion. The pope sought in vain a remedy for these evils; he wished at least to save the portion of the flock still uncontaminated.

Lorraine, which belonged to King Stanislaus, was exempt from these miseries. Clement wrote entreating this prince not to permit the Jesuits to be expelled from his States. His Holiness portrayed the grief of the bishops of France, on being deprived of the aid of these religious. He conjured him to imitate Josue, who, in his advanced age, said to the magistrates whom he summoned around him: "If you will embrace the errors of these nations . . . they shall be a pit and a snare in your way." (Josue, xxiii.)

The pope added, in his letter to the king: "Reflect that the schools at Pont-à-Mousson, long since confided to the Jesuits, have been the barrier preventing the introduction of the doctrines of Luther, Calvin, Baius, Jansen, and Quesnel. These doctrines will soon enter, if these religious are expelled, and the direction of that university imprudently given to other professors."

On the 18th of July, 1763, Clement, by a new promotion, added to the sacred college—1. Simon Bonacorsi, a noble of Macerata, born November 17, 1708, secretary of the congregation of bishops and regulars; 2. Andrew Negroni, a noble Roman, born November 2, 1710, auditor of the pope.

Early in 1764, a scarcity attracted the pope's attention. The people of

the neighborhood came to Rome for bread. No one was repulsed, and the public treasury met the wants of all.

Meanwhile, in France, they began to ask for the suppression of the Jesuits, whom they now wished destroyed in all other countries. The archbishop of Paris, that prelate in whom all recognized another Saint Athanasius, saw that it was the duty of his ministry to defend and justify them. He issued a pastoral to his flock, in which he unmasked the calumnies of the oppressors, and showed the innocence of the persecuted. The words of a prelate of such learning and virtue were rejected, and the archbishop was banished.

The king loved him, but he dared not follow his inclinations and resist the parliament; all that the monarch could do, all that he believed it in his power to do, was to choose the place of his exile.

Clement no sooner heard of this, than he sent to the prelate a consoling brief, to revive his courage amid so much affliction. The pope praised the archbishop's firmness, his priestly fortitude, which revived the ancient Christian heroes, rushing forward to face every combat for the faith. The Holy Father regarded the archbishop as the model of ancient discipline and episcopal constancy.

In the summer, the pope was informed that an almost unexampled scarcity menaced Rome. He imported grain from Sicily, the Marches, and Leghorn; he sent to Marseilles, where, during the plague forty-four years before, the poor had wanted bread. The grateful city showed itself worthy of the benefit conferred by Clement XI. Even strangers from other parts came to Rome for aid. The pope sent them away with provisions, and even gave them money to take them home, telling them that he thanked them for coming thus to ask relief from the Father of all.

At this time the bishop of Nola, who had just left the See of Chieti, wrote to the pope to declare to him, that in his former diocese he had always employed to the advantage of his flock the zeal and care of Jesuits, and that he intended to do the same at Nola, because he saw in them brave and courageous laborers.

The pope replied, by the brief *Jucundius nobis* (July 27, 1764), that in translating him, his object was to place that prelate in a more salubrious district, and to give new blessings to the See of Nola, by confiding it to a pastor filled with true and sincere spiritual solicitude.

His Holiness praised the bishop's intention, of calling on the Jesuits to aid him, who would be as devoted at Nola as at Chieti. The pope added: "We know ourselves, by long experience at Padua, the probity, activity, and prudence of these Fathers. Now, in the pontificate, we receive from all sides proofs of their vigilance. During the last scarcity, they were intrusted with the men's *Recluserio*, where they had gathered the poor of the

city, and those religious fulfilled their duties with the exactness to be expected of them."

Clement sighed to behold these Fathers, deserving so well of religion and humanity, incessantly persecuted by their enemies.

Aware that the cause of the Church was really struck at through the members of the society,* His Holiness felt obliged to defend them; and so he would defend them to the end with all his power. He daily commended them to God, to good Catholics, and to the bishop of Nola himself, exhorting him to employ the zeal of the Fathers for the greater glory of their holy institute.

While the Jesuits received these testimonies of gratitude from Rome, the parliament of Paris extracted from works of various Fathers of the society some propositions which, of its own authority, it declared pernicious; and it sent the last, entitled *Assertions*, to the bishops of the kingdom, that they might warn their diocesans not to admit these maxims. The bishop of Angers was the first to approve this act, and he published a pastoral on the subject. Clement was no sooner aware of it than he addressed to that bishop a brief, *Lecta Pastoralis*, dated September 19, 1764. The pope sharply rebuked the prelate for assailing the society in that sanguinary pastoral. His Holiness declared that the parliament which had published the work, was avowedly composed of persons, for the most part, enemies of the Church. This parliament, by undertaking to address books to the bishops, insulted the first pastors, to whom alone it belongs to judge books that concern religion; that right is conferred on no lay power, and still less on a tribunal where truth is oppressed and trampled upon. Thus the bishop of Angers erred in approving the aggression of a lay power and bestowing praise upon it.†

In this brief we meet also these words: "The bishop of Angers was aware of the complaint of his colleagues, that this book condemned as false many opinions defended by a host of theologians and jurisconsults." And what is worse, many doctrines are there stigmatized as false, which sound theologians hold true.

The pope wrote to the same effect to the bishops of Aleth and Soissons, who had also approved the act of the parliament, and exhorted their people to reject the propositions denounced without good grounds by the parliament.

The bishop of Sarlat wrote three letters to the pope. In the first, he spoke in general of the wretched state of the Church in France. In the second, he gave an account of what had been done for religion from 1755 to 1764. He disclosed the causes of the troubles which agitated sacred things, to the point of exposing them to the most imminent danger. Speak-

* Novaes, xv., p. 86.

† Ibid., p. 87.

ing of the Encyclical of Benedict XIV., on Jansenism, the bishop said that, considered in itself, and in spite of the enemies of the faith and the friends of toleration, it was the rampart of the bull *Unigenitus*, the triumph of the strong, the ignominy of the weak, and the condemnation of the refractory. In the third letter, the bishop cited the criminal dogmas of the Jansenists, the errors which they disseminated to the prejudice of religion. His Holiness must have learned that these impious and absurd doctrines were daily spread. The letter closed by saying that the Church in France had received from its enemies a mortal wound in the suppression of the society. They had required exile to facilitate the destruction of the Catholic Church, a destruction which could not take place as long as the most impregnable bulwark was opposed to their arms.

Clement replied by a single brief, *De Misero*, dated November 14th. He confines himself mainly to the facts stated in the second letter.

The bishop had praised the encyclical of Benedict XIV.; the Holy Father had confirmed it, and to show what were the true sentiments of his heart, he had condemned solemnly the work of Mesenguy. That censure had terrified the Jansenists: they saw that the Holy See redoubled its blows on Quesnel, and revived all the vigor of the bull *Unigenitus*. The bishop was informed that the pope had, as counselled by the bishop of Sarlat, written to several bishops in France—1. That the constitution *Unigenitus* was a dogmatic writing, entitled to entire respect; 2. That the most holy Sacrament of the Eucharist should be refused to public recusants who opposed that constitution; 3. That those who affirmed that Jansenism was a mere phantom, and a pretended fiction, were guilty of an insult against the Church of God, and against the apostolic decrees of the popes his predecessors: did those who offered this opposition believe then that preceding pontiffs had proscribed mere imaginary errors? 4. That the constitution condemning the errors of Baius, Jansen, and Quesnel, require the entire and absolute obedience of the faithful.

The pope then, in regard to what the bishop said on the Jesuits, explained the fury of their enemies by several passages of Scripture, and consoled him in his grief, which the pope shared, by the words of Psalm xxxv. 7: "Thy judgments are a great deep."

In 1765, Clement took other measures in regard to the Jesuits, deeming it a duty to renew his protection to that part of the family of regular orders. He recognized, as the Holy See had already so often said, that the institute of the Society of Jesus was to be regarded as founded by a canonized saint, approved after diligent examination by the pontiffs Paul III., Julius III., Paul IV., Gregory XIII., and Paul V., repeatedly confirmed by others, encouraged and adorned by new favors, singularly recommended by bishops of all times, especially protected by the most powerful princes, declared a

pious institute by the Council of Trent, and illustrious as having given nine saints to the Church.

Then the pope thought it his duty to publish a bull to remedy the evils inflicted on the Church by the wrong done the society. This bull, issued *motu proprio*, was the constitution *Apostolicum pascendi munus*, dated at Saint Mary Major, January 7, 1765. It approved the order, with high praise; and to meet the wishes of the bishops from all parts of the world desiring it, he declared the institute, as well as the ministers dependent on it, pious, useful to the Church, worthy of the constitutions by which nineteen popes had approved, honored, and recommended it.

The bull had no sooner appeared than libellous works issued in various countries assailing it. Three of these—"Instruction Concerning the Holy See," Bouillon, Naples, 1765; "Briefs of His Holiness Clement XIII., in favor of the Jesuits, with Observations on those Briefs," Venice, 1766; "Three Letters," issued at Naples—were condemned at Rome.

On the 26th of January, 1765, the Congregation of Rites approved the worship of the Sacred Heart of Jesus. This symbolical devotion had been extending for many years, and pious souls were the more deeply attached to it as they saw the love of the Son of God disappearing from among men. It had been authorized by several briefs, among others, by one of Benedict XIV., March 28, 1757.*

On the 6th of February, 1765, Clement XIII. approved the decree of the congregation; and the bishops of France soon after decided, in a deliberation on the subject, to celebrate the feast in their dioceses, and to induce their colleagues to follow that example. Pastorals were also issued explaining this devotion to the faithful and meeting objections to it. The true faithful are well aware that the worship of the Sacred Heart is only one way of exciting in us love to the Son of God, and the approbation of the Church is sufficient for those who only seek light.

Like all his predecessors, Clement omitted no opportunity to show his love for art. He acquired from individuals a number of statues, which he presented to the museum in the capitol.

The Church had other troubles. The revolt already mentioned still subsisted at Utrecht. To make this affair more intelligible, a brief summary will here be given.

The Church of Utrecht,† the first bishop of which was Saint Willibrord, ordained by Pope Saint Sergius I., at the end of the seventh century, became in time one of the most extensive and flourishing in the north of Europe, its bishops for a long time being invested with both spiritual and temporal power.

* Picot, ii., p. 462.

† Novaes, xv.

The butler of the bishop of Utrecht was the duke of Brabant; his grand-marshal the count of Holland; his grand-chamberlain the count of Cleves; his grand-huntsman the count of Gueldres; his door-guard the count of Bentheim; but in 1527 Bishop Henry of Bavaria ceded the lordship of Utrecht to the Emperor Charles V., and Clement VII. granted to the monarch the right of nominating to the See.

About 1559, Paul VI. erected the Church into a Metropolitan See, assigning it, as suffragans, the bishops of Harlaem, Leuwarde, Deventer, Middelburg, and Groningen. Calvinism having invaded those provinces, they revolted against their lawful prince and against the Church. The secular and regular clergy were driven from the United Provinces: the Archiepiscopal See of Utrecht and the suffragan dioceses were annihilated, and the Catholics dispersed or condemned to exile.

The first fury of persecution ceased; then Frederic Schenck of Tautenberg, the sixtieth and last bishop of the See, died April 25, 1580. In 1589 Sixtus V. committed the spiritual direction of the diocese to the priest Sasbold Wosmer, whom Gregory XIV. created vicar-apostolic, in 1593. That prelate became chief of the missions in Holland, Rome considering the archbishopric of Utrecht as extinct. Wosmer was then created bishop of Philippi *in partibus*. The United Provinces soon banished him. He then fixed his residence at Cologne, to direct, at least from a distance, his unfortunate flock, and he died there May 3, 1614.

Under Paul V., Philip Roven de Ardensal was appointed vicar-apostolic. In 1620, Urban VIII. declared him archbishop of Philippi. Roven died in exile, October 1, 1651, aged seventy-eight. The same Pope Urban, in 1647, gave him as coadjutor James Torre, a native of the Hague, and archbishop of Ephesus. Torre then became vicar-apostolic instead of Roven. The new vicar in turn solicited a coadjutor. In 1656, Alexander VII. granted him one in the person of Zachary Mez. The vicar-apostolic and his coadjutor dying the same year, the next vicar was Baldwin Cotz, of Gorcum, with John Neercassel as coadjutor. They were consecrated at Cologne, on the 9th of September, the former as archbishop of Philippi, the latter as bishop of Castoria. Cotz died in 1663, and Neercassel discharged the functions of archbishop till 1680. He it was who welcomed to Holland the first defenders of Jansenism.

In 1688, Innocent XI. appointed in place of Neercassel, Peter Codde, of the congregation of the Oratory. This priest affected austere but orthodox opinions; the archbishop of Mechlin consecrated him at Brussels archbishop of Sebaste.

Under Peter Codde, Jansenism suddenly triumphed in Holland. Codde, accused of expressing twenty-six blamable propositions, was summoned to Rome in 1699, because he would not subscribe the formula of Alexander

VII. The pope calmly heard his defence. Explanations were demanded, but his answers were not satisfactory, and he persisted in his errors. All know how slowly and circumspectly Rome proceeds, especially where it seems probable that it must condemn. The congregation of the Propaganda passed a decree, May 7th, 1702, suspending Codde from his functions as vicar-apostolic, and a decree of Clement XI., April 7, 1703, made the suspension absolute.

Theodore Cock was appointed pro-vicar. They wished to examine his conduct before giving him complete faculties. Moreover, Codde was only suspended, and still retained his title. On the 3d of April, 1704, the congregation of the Holy Office proscribed and condemned two apologies of Codde, and positively withdrew from him the title of vicar.

Thirty-one apologetic works of Codde and some other refractory clergy at Utrecht were rejected by a brief of October 4, 1707, addressed to the Catholics of Holland. Codde left Rome and died impenitent at Brussels. A brief of January 14, 1711, declared that he died excommunicated, but his adherents, to insult Rome, circulated an engraving representing him as entering heaven in triumph.

Theodore Cock, pro-vicar, acted with discernment respecting his powers, and showing unwavering devotion to the Holy See. Codde's partisans denounced Theodore to several members of the States-General. Led away by passion, that body exiled him. Clement XI. then summoned him to Rome, and made him canon of Saint Lawrence in *Damaso*.*

Rome was to have other afflictions in this matter. It was deceived in its next choice. Gerard Potkam, of Transylvania, having been appointed vicar-apostolic, he secretly joined the refractory, and died a month after.

During these discussions, the two pretended chapters of Harlaem and Utrecht had, without right, usurped the jurisdiction, and even had the hardihood to confer the administration of that Church upon three pro-vicars.

Clement XI. ordered Cardinal Paolucci to interdict every kind of intrusive jurisdiction. In 1707 the pope confided the vicariate to Adam Caeman, canon of the cathedral of Cologne; the pontiff believed that it would be agreeable to the authority of the republic, because he was born of an illustrious family at Amsterdam. Adam was consecrated, and received the title of archbishop of Andrinople. The pseudo canons at once assembled, refused to receive him, and induced the States-General to banish him and all who recognized him. The archbishop retired to Cologne, and died there in 1717.

* A work appeared at Rome in 1715, 4to., treating fully of Codde. It is entitled, *De Petro Coddæo, archiep. Sebast. in Hollandia ac Fœderatis Provinciis Vicarii Apostolici potestate potito, functo ac defuncto, libri tres, ubi ab apostolica sede lati in eum judicii æquitas demonstratur*.

His successor, John Beylevelt, parish priest of the Hague, met with no greater success. The refractory had him also banished, and he died at Brussels, January 20, 1727, lamented by all Catholics. The factious continued their invectives against the Roman court, and the Holy See returned this violence only by mildness and remonstrances full of paternal love.

Seven clerics, as Benedict XIII. states in his Constitution *Qui sollicitudine*, issued February 20, 1725,* assuming the rule of canons of the Metropolitan Chapter of Utrecht, which had been extinct for more than a century, assembled on the 27th of April, 1723, and elected as their chimerical archbishop Cornelius Steenoven, a pupil of the Propaganda, and doctor of the Sapienza at Rome. He was sacrilegiously consecrated on the 15th of October, 1724, by Dominic Mary Varlet,† a Frenchman, and bishop of Babylon, without any authority from the Holy See. As two assistant bishops could not be found, two false canons took their place, thus outraging all ecclesiastical law. Thus was the pretended new Church of Utrecht established and administered from thenceforward by the pseudo archbishop.

Benedict XIII. included in the excommunication pronounced against Steenoven, all who took any part in this uncanonical election.‡

On the death of Steenoven, which occurred April 3, 1725, the refractory, on the 16th, elected as their new pseudo archbishop, Cornelius Barchmans Wuytiers, who was also consecrated sacrilegiously by Varlet, the excommunicated bishop of Babylon. Barchmans, by briefs of August 23, and December 6,§ was, like his predecessor, suspended, interdicted, and excommunicated.

On the death of Barchmans the schismatical canons elected Van der Croon, who, on being excommunicated, appealed to a future council.

Benedict XIV. issued a bull against the successor of Barchmans, John Peter Meindaarts, excommunicating him as a seducer, an insidious wolf, and a son of iniquity.|| Meindaarts persisting in his revolt, restored the ancient bishopric of Harlaem. Several were named to it, but Benedict XIV. overthrew their projects. The bulls of this pope, especially that of March 28, 1745, will stand in ecclesiastical history as a perpetual monument of the obstinacy of the sectarians, and the patience, enlightened vigilance, and, finally, the just severity of the pontiffs.

Meanwhile the sectaries pretended to desire to recover the favor of Benedict XIV. He named a congregation of eight cardinals; who proposed to

* *Bullarium Romanum*, tom. xi., part ii., p. 375.

† Varlet had been a priest of the Foreign Missions, and was for a time missionary at Tamarois, in Illinois.

‡ Van Espen, a canonist of Louvain, wrote a treatise to defend Steenoven's consecration, but he had to resign his professorship and leave Louvain.

§ *Bullarium Romanum*, xii., p. 25.

|| *Ib.*, xvi., p. 48.

readmit to communion the ecclesiastics of Utrecht, on condition that they signed purely and simply the formula of Alexander VII., and submitted to the constitutions published against the errors of Jansenius and Quesnel. This decree was conformed in 1749, but the innovators persisted in their refusal to sign the formula, and Rome was reluctantly compelled to reject their application. Negotiations were renewed in 1752, and though Benedict XIV. required simply that they should sign the formula and accept the Constitution *Unigenitus*, they refused.

In 1757, Meindaarts, of his own authority, erected a new Episcopal See at Deventer; and being thus at the head of his false bishops, he, in 1763, assumed the title of Metropolitan, and on the 13th of September held a provincial synod in the sacristy of the parish church of Saint Gertrude, at Utrecht. He there convoked the false bishops of Harlaem and Deventer, six canons, and nine parish priests, all as judges,* and other ecclesiastics from France as theologians. The schismatics here passed canons on faith, morals, discipline, as though they possessed the power without being convoked by the pope. They, however, printed the acts of the council and sent them to Clement XIII. for confirmation. But the pope by a decree of May 15, 1765, declared the assembly null, illegitimate, and detestable, abolished all the acts, and prohibited their circulation.

On the death of Meindaarts, new but ineffectual attempts at reconciliation were made by his successor, Michael Walter Van Neuwenhuilen, under Clement XIV. They were renewed in the reign of Pius VI. The schismatics wished to obtain a dissimulation in the pontiff, such as has been laid to the charge of Liberius; and on the other side, they obstinately resisted the clearly expressed wishes of Rome. These negotiations also failed, notwithstanding the mildness, courtesy, constancy, and concessions made in a friendly spirit, and to the utmost limit, by the two nuncios who managed the affair—Zondadari and Busca.

In 1777, the false bishop of Harlaem was Van Stiphout; others were elected to the other pretended Sees. Nicholas Velleman was appointed bishop of Deventer, but the sect was dwindling away, and this election remained clandestine.

Such is the history of the episcopal See of Utrecht.†

We now return to the labors of Clement XIII. By a constitution of June 18, 1765, Clement exempted from all jurisdiction the monastery of Monte Oliveto Maggiore, mother-house of the congregation of the Olivetans in the diocese of Pienza in Tuscany.

* Ricci, bishop of Pistoia, here learned a lesson which he put in practice, to be condemned in a dogmatic bull by Pius VI.

† See the work on this subject by Louis Mezzi, S. J., Ferrara, 1785. This Jansenist church of Utrecht, never very numerous, now numbers in all about four thousand adherents.

On the 21st of July, 1766, Clement, in a sixth promotion, raised to the cardinalate John Octavius Bufalini, born at Castello, January 15, 1709, nuncio in Switzerland, and major-domo of the sacred palace, and John Charles Boschi, born April 9, 1715, a noble of Faenza. On the 26th of September, he promoted thirteen more, none of them French or Spaniards. They were—

1. Louis Calini, born at a fief of his family near Brescia, January 18, 1696, Commander of the Hospice of the Holy Ghost; 2. Nicholas Serra, born at Genoa, November 17, 1706, Auditor-general of the Chamber; 3. Nicholas Oddi, a noble of Perugia, born September 27, 1715, archbishop of Ravenna; 4. Anthony Colonna Branciforte, a Sicilian noble, born at Palermo, January 28, 1711, extraordinary nuncio at Paris, in 1752; 4. Lazarus Opizio Pallavicino, born at Genoa, October 30, 1719, nuncio at Madrid; 6. Nitalian Borromei, a noble Milanese, born March 3, 1720, nuncio at Vienna; 7. Peter Pamphili Colonna, born at Paliano, December 7, 1725, nuncio at Paris; 8. Joseph Simonetti, born at Rome, September 23, 1709, secretary of the Congregation of Bishops and Regulars; 9. Urban Paraciano, born at Rome, February 8, 1715, archbishop of Fermo; 10. Philip Mary Pirelli, a Neapolitan noble, born at Napa, April 29, 1708, archbishop of Damascus, and secretary of the Congregation of the Council; 11. Æneas Sylvius Piccolomini Rustichini, born at Sienna, August 22, 1709, governor of Rome; 12. Xavier Canali, born at Terni, February 15, 1695, Treasurer-general of the Apostolic Chamber; 13. Benedict Veterani, born at Urbino, October 18, 1703, assessor of the Holy Office.

In 1767 the pope learned with affliction that the Catholic religion was oppressed in Poland. In the native land of Sobieski, foreign powers granted a public protection to Protestants and schismatics. The bishops of Cracow and Kiow had even been violently arrested and conveyed to their diocese. Zalucky, bishop of Kiow, proceeded to Rome, and at the very moment when the Jesuits were banished from many kingdoms, and their suppression furiously demanded, he took the habit in that persecuted order.

Monsignor Visconti was nuncio in Poland. Clement ordered him to use every effort to mitigate the misery of the Catholics, and to obtain for them freedom to practise the holy religion in which they were born. The remonstrances of the pope led to the union of most of the magistrates of the kingdom in a confederation. There they resolved to uphold the liberty of their nation and the dominant Catholic religion, without admitting the novelties which Protestants sought to introduce.

Meanwhile, Charles III., king of Spain, by a decree of February 17, 1767, ordered all the Jesuits in his kingdom to be banished. This command was executed with cruel rigor; sickness, infirmity, sudden indisposition, formed no excuse. It was an act of savage barbarity unworthy of civilized nations;

and armed force obeyed, as though ordered to rush with fury on foreigners condemned to exile for crimes.

By a letter of March 31st, the king informed the pontiff, declaring that he had been compelled to act thus for the good of religion, the advantage of his people, the preservation of his life, and the peace of his realms.* He added, that to save the apostolic chamber from expense in supporting these individuals whom he sent to the Father and minister of all the faithful, a suitable pension should be given for life to each of these individuals.

At this announcement, Clement was seized with shudders that he could not control, and he expressed his grief in a letter to the king, *Inter acerbissima*.† Among other things, he said that during the nine years of his pontificate he had suffered no anguish more bitter than that which now overwhelmed him. This expulsion of the Jesuits plunged him into despair, and he could not refrain from crying out as Cæsar did, when struck by Brutus, whom he had regarded as his son: "Thou, too, my son!" The pope added: "A Catholic king will then by so bitter a chalice, bring down to the grave an aged pontiff, his tender Father! The arm which should annihilate the enemies of the Holy See, will aid them in their project, and take arms with them to destroy a society useful to the Church, to God; a society instituted by Spanish saints to propagate his glory throughout the world. A Catholic king will deprive his people of all the advantages resulting from the sermons, missions, catechisms, spiritual exercises, administration of sacraments, and the best instruction of youth! A king who will not permit the meanest of his subjects to suffer punishment without being brought to trial, is about to exile a great number of ecclesiastics consecrated to God and the commonwealth, without citing them, without hearing them, without allowing them to defend themselves. Is it not trampling under foot their right to maintain their reputation, preserve their property, live freely in their native land?"

"The assemblage of priests is surely innocent, as well as their whole institute, and he swears it before God and before man. The king must reflect then on the loss of his soul, his soul which he loves above all, reflect on the miseries which this expulsion will entail on the souls of his subjects, deprived of such courageous workmen.

"The pontiff presents to the king, not the entreaties of his queen, for from heaven where he believes her reigning, that princess,‡ from her affection to the Jesuits, must address her spouse ardent prayers, but the prayers of Christ himself and the Church, his spouse, which will never behold without bitter grief the abolition of the institute of Saint Ignatius." By his whitened head, he besought the king to revoke the edict, since as long as virtue shall

* Novaes, xv., p. 113.

† Guerra, iii., p. 362.

‡ Maria Amelia of Saxony.

be honored, all men will praise and exalt Assuerus, who revoked, at the entreaty of Queen Esther, the edict published against the Jews.

"The pope exhorts the king to prove his equity, his love of truth, that the shades of so much misery may be scattered. Let the king hear his bishops, good men, his own conscience: he will find that the punishment inflicted on the society is utterly unjust."

Thus did the afflicted pontiff address the Catholic king. That prince had upright intentions; but he was misled by some of his ministers, who were in the cabal formed in France. The revolution which subsequently broke out there, would not have come, had not the innovators first abolished the Jesuits, whom the authors of the revolution regarded as an obstacle to their designs.

King Charles III., plunged in his error, replied to the pope's letter on the 2d of May. He was affected by the affliction the pope felt at the expulsion of the Jesuits; but he complained still more that His Holiness would not believe that Spain had just motives for acting so. At the same time, the king explained none of these motives, nor did he subsequently give any valid reason to justify this action.

After this expulsion from Spain, the king ordered his son, the king of Naples, to expel those religious from the Two Sicilies also. This was done on the 3d of November. They were all escorted by troops to the frontiers of the Ecclesiastical States.

Clement was deeply moved by this new affront, and wrote to the king, complaining that he violated the rights of the pontifical principality by this violent aggression. In fact, the pope deemed it a duty not to receive these religious; but they were introduced by force, and his rights were thus invaded.

These protests and others of the good pope were unheeded; the more the Holy See sought to support the Jesuits, the more their destruction was sought.

The conduct of the king of Naples, who acted at the instigation of his father, seemed to Clement a manifest insult. Monsignor San Severino was ordered to leave Naples and retire to his diocese: but that prelate was retained on the pretext that he had been appointed confessor to the king. Moreover, the king sent a force against Benevento, and conveyed to the mint the church plate and precious metals belonging to the suppressed houses of the society.

Meanwhile, Clement applied on all sides to the most powerful intercessors, and awaited the success of his constant prayers and supplications.

Proceedings for a canonization had been begun: it was proposed to the pope to interrupt them. He replied that the Holy See could not postpone any of its duties. Then six saints were solemnly canonized.

1. John Cantius, a Polish priest, born of a very noble family at Kentz, in the diocese of Cracow, on the 24th of June, 1406, professor of theology in the academy of Cracow. He died December 24, 1473. Ever since, each new dean of philosophy, when he takes the oath in that university, is invested with his red robe, known as the *reverenda*; and each professor, in imitation of the saint, daily receives a poor man at his table.

The process for his canonization was sent to Urban VIII., who submitted it for examination to the Congregation of Rites. It was not spoken of again till 1666. Then Alexander VII. ordered it to be resumed. Clement X. approved, in 1675, the immemorial *cultus* of the saint, and beatified him without ceremonies (equipollent). In 1680, Innocent XI. permitted the memory of Blessed John to be celebrated every year with office and Mass *double*. In 1767, Clement XIII. approved five miracles of the Blessed John, and on the 2d of February, in the same year, decreed that they might proceed to his canonization, and actually proceeded. Clement XIV. subsequently, by decree of September 8th, 1770, granted the office and Mass to the whole Church, with the rite *semi-double*. Then Pope Pius VI., by decree of February 25th, 1784, made it a double.*

The second saint canonized by Clement XIII. was Saint Joseph Calasancius, a noble Aragonese of Peralta, in the diocese of Urgel, born September 11th, 1556, founder of the Pious Schools, of which he took the habit March 15th, 1616.†

The third saint canonized was Saint Joseph of Copertino, a fief in the diocese of Nardo, near Otranto, born in a low condition, June 17th, 1603; a lay brother among the Capuchins, in 1620,—dismissed by them after eight months trial; then a lay tertiary among the Conventual Franciscans; admitted at last to the priesthood, June 19th, 1625, among the Professed Clerks. Clement XI., by a decree of July 10th, 1711, permitted Saint Joseph to be beatified, although he had not been dead fifty years, as prescribed by Urban VIII. Clement XII. approved the virtues in the heroic degree on the 15th of August, 1705. Benedict XIV. approved the miracles on the 19th of September, 1752, and beatified him on the 24th of February, 1753. The office of the Blessed Joseph was then allowed to the Convent-

* Many of the religious of the Pious Schools have written the life of Saint Joseph Calasancius. A Latin life, by Father Francis Mary Bonada, appeared at Rome in 1764. Father Alexis of the Conception, seventh general of the order, published an Italian life, in 1710. There are also lives by Father Innocent of Saint Joseph (Rome, 1748, 4to), Father Vincent Talenti (Rome, 1748), Father Stephen Terzoli (Florence, 1784), Father Bartolotte (Venice, 1749), Father Urban Tosetti (Rome, 1767).

† There is a life of Saint Joseph Copertino by Dominic Bernini (Rome, 1724; Venice, 1739): that by Father Pastrovich, a conventual, afterwards bishop of Viterbo and Toscanella, is better (Rome, 1753), and adopted by the Bollandists. A life by Father Dominic Andrew Rossi appeared at Rome (1753 8vo; 1767, 4to); Agelli's life in 1771.

tuals, the Capuchins, whose habit he had borne for a time, the Observantines, and other branches.

Clement XIV., by a decree of August 8th, 1769, approved the proper office, and prescribed the Mass on the double rite for the whole Church.

The fourth saint was Jerome Miani, a Venetian senator, born in 1481. He founded the order of Regular Clerks of Somascho, in which, from humility, he would not receive the dignity of the priesthood. He died February 8th, 1537, aged fifty-six.*

The Congregation of Rites, by a decree of August 15th, 1736, approved the virtues of the saint in the heroic degree. Benedict XIV. approved two miracles by a decree of April 23d, 1747, and on the 29th of September solemnly beatified him. Clement XIII., by a decree of May 25th, 1766, approved two other miracles, wrought after the beatification. The feast was celebrated July 20.

The fifth saint in this canonization was Saint Seraphin of Ascoli, so called from his long residence in that city, born of very poor parents at Montegranaro, in the diocese of Fermo. He was a Capuchin lay brother, having taken the habit at Jesi in 1564, and died October 12, 1604. Paul V. verbally (*vivæ vocis oraculo*) permitted, in 1610, a lighted lamp to be placed before the body of the servant of God. Urban VIII., in 1625, confirmed the usage at the request of Donato, bishop of Ascoli. Clement XI. beatified Seraphin *equipollenter*, and confirmed a decree of the Congregation of Rites, granting immemorial cultus. Benedict XIII., by a decree of July 18th, 1729, permitted the whole Franciscan order to celebrate the office and Mass *double*, on the 12th of October, the anniversary of the saint's death; moreover, Clement XIII., by a decree of September 24th, 1763, approved new miracles proven by an investigation of the ordinary. On his canonization, the guild of master masons took this saint as their protector, because he had worked at their trade before he took the religious habit.

The sixth canonization was that of Saint Jane Fremyot, baroness de Chantal, born at Dijon, January 23d, 1572, married in 1593 to Christopher de Rabutin, baron de Chantal, widow in 1602, and in 1610 foundress, under the direction of Saint Francis de Sales, of the Nuns of the Visitation.†

* The life of Saint Jerome Miani in very elegant and often Ciceronian Latin, by Father Augustine Tortora, general of the order of Somascho (Milan, 1620, 4to), was reprinted in 1657, and used by the Bollandists. There is a life in Latin verse, by John Hoher (Venice, 1752, 8vo): another by Father Andrew Stella, general of the order (Vicenza, 1605). Father Constantine Rossi, of the same order, afterwards bishop of Veglia, published one at Milan in 1630. There are others by Paul Gregorio (Venice, 1676, 4to), Ferdinand Caccia (Rome, 1768), and an anonymous life (Venice, 1767, 8vo).

† The letters of Saint Jane were published in 1660. Her life has been written by Father Fichet, S. J.; by Maupas de la Tour (1647, 4to); by Marsollier (1717, 8vo); by Father Beaufile; by Saccharelli (Rome, 1732, 1741, 4to—1751, 1767, 8vo).

This order soon had sixty-seven monasteries, which increased so rapidly that by the end of the century they numbered one hundred and fifty, with six thousand six hundred religious. Saint Jane Francis died at Moulins, December 13, 1641. Benedict XIV. beatified her November 21, 1751 (Constitution *Cum sexto decimo*),* and permitted the Office and Mass to be celebrated throughout the Visitation order, at Dijon, her birthplace, and at Annecy, where her body is preserved. Clement XIII., by a decree of March 9, 1766, approved two miracles; and Clement XIV. assigned the Office and Mass of this saint to the 21st of August, for the whole Church.

While treating of this subject,† we will mention the various solemn beatifications that took place during the reign of Clement XIII.

On the 21st of September, 1761, by the Constitution *Inter assidua*, of September 11th,‡ he beatified Gregory Barbadigo, as already related. On the 19th of March, 1766, took place the solemn beatification of Simon Boxas, born at Toledo, in Spain, religious of the order of the Most Holy Trinity for the Redemption of Captives. The celebration of the Office and Mass was permitted in all the Trinitarian convents, as well as at Valladolid and at Madrid, whither Philip III. had summoned Blessed Simon to have the aid of his counsels and prayers.

On the 15th of May, 1768, the pope beatified Bernard, a Sicilian and Capuchin lay-brother, permitting his Office and Mass in his order, on the 24th of January, as a double; and also at Carleone, where he was born, and at Palermo, where his body reposes.

From the solemn benefactions we pass to the equipollent beatifications. Clement, by a decree of July 11, 1759, approved the immemorial cultus of Blessed Augustus Novello, Andrew Turriani, and Anthony della Mandola, hermits of the order of Saint Augustine.

By a decree of April 15, 1760, Clement XIII. approved the immemorial cultus of Sebastian Maggi, of the order of Saint Dominic.

In 1761 the cultus of James Philip Bertoni, a Servite, was approved; this was followed at various dates by the beatifications of Augustus Mezzinghi, Carmelite of the ancient observance; Andrew de Montereale, hermit of Saint Augustine; John Marignoni, a Venetian, one of the companions of Saint Cajetan in founding the Theatines; the Blessed Benvenuta Bajani, of Udine, of the third order of Saint Dominic.

Novaes mentions also equipollent beatifications of Mattia de Nazariis, abbess of the Poor Clares of Saint Magdalen of Matelica; Elizabeth Achin, called the Good, Franciscan tertiary at Revohe, in the diocese of Constance and of Angela Merici, of Desenzano.

* *Bullarium Romanum*, xviii., p. 243.

† *Guerra, Epit. Bull.*, i., p. 68.

‡ Novaes, xv., p. 125.

At that time, Mary Josephine, archduchess of Austria,* was about to cross the Pontifical States, to become the queen of Ferdinand IV., king of Naples. To felicitate and receive her as queen at the frontier of the Roman States, Clement dispatched Monsignor Bartholomew Millo, domestic prelate, who on this occasion received the title of nuncio-apostolic. This princess, who was only seventeen, was continuing her journey pleasantly, when she fell sick, and after a few days' illness expired. The two courts agreed that another archduchess should set out to espouse the king, and Mary Caroline came to Rome, May 8, 1768, to proceed to her new capital.

This same year the Infante Ferdinand, duke of Parma, having after the example of Portugal, France, and Spain, ordered the expulsion of the Jesuits, he added to this measure, so painful to the heart of Clement, orders to execute rigorously a restrictive edict of his father, the late duke. These infringed ecclesiastical immunities and episcopal authority; and men deplored these threatening edicts, especially in a country which the Holy See claimed by legitimate right.

Clement annulled the edict, published, he said, in his duchy of Parma, by an illegal secular authority; and by virtue of the sacred canons, the decrees of the general councils, and the apostolic constitutions, especially the Bull *In cœna Domini*, he declared that the authors of the edict, and all who took part in their execution, should incur censures, if they did not retract it. The bishops of Parma, Placentia, and Borgo San Donnino were urged not to permit the execution of the censured acts. The duke of Parma appealed for support to the courts of his family. They declared the Bull *Alias apostolatus* null, because it had not been received by the crowns of France and Spain. They maintained that the brief invaded the rights of sovereigns, and to prevent the pope from issuing further bulls against Parma, they renewed their demands for the abolition of the Jesuits. At Paris, and especially at Naples, no effort was spared to create new troubles for the Holy Father.

Ere long a corps of French troops, with a president of parliament from Provence, and eight counsellors, advanced to take possession of Avignon and Carpentras, in the county Venaissin, where the Jesuits were still in possession of their property and houses.

The Holy See had possessed Avignon for four centuries. Clement VI. had purchased it for eighty thousand gold florins from Jane I., of Anjou, queen of Naples and countess of Provence. The sale was ratified by the king her husband, and by the Emperor Charles IV. The latter exempted the State from all subjection to the empire, on which Provence depended, because it formed part of the ancient kingdom of Arles. The monarchs of

* Sister of the unfortunate Marie Antoinette, queen of France.

France had always recognized the independence of the popes in this territory, although Louis XIV., at the time of his quarrels with the Holy See, seized Avignon in 1682, and did not restore it till 1690.

While France was pursuing this high-handed course, the Neapolitan troops seized Ponte Corvo, a pontifical fief on the frontiers of the Roman State, and the duchy of Benevento, which was encircled by the kingdom of Naples,—both possessions which had been enjoyed by the Holy See from 1052, under the reign of Saint Leo IX.

Still, all these insults failed to force Clement to decree the suppression of the Society of Jesus.

The reply of Clement was based in part on the authority of the Bull *In cœna Domini*. The count de Firman, governor of Milan, whom the discussion did not concern, interfered throughout; and in the emperor's name he notified all the bishops of the duchy, on the 19th of October, not in future to regard the bull, and to take down copies wherever they were set up. It was thus almost absolutely suppressed in the Milanese as it had been in Portugal by Pombal, and as it was soon to be suppressed in the Venetian States.

Cardinal Pozzobonelli, archbishop of Milan, and Cardinal Durini, bishop of Pavia, presented to Firman respectful remonstrances for the emperor; and declared that the imperial minister must treat with Rome, as they could satisfy him as far as they were concerned. The bull *In cœna Domini* had been renewed by a successor of Saint Peter, venerated on the altars, by the great Saint Pius V. In this very duchy it had been repeatedly published by Saint Charles Borromeo, another canonized saint. Since that time it had been executed in the dioceses where it was received; it was not in the power of the present prelates, said the two cardinals, to suppress and abolish a bull, in view of the veneration which all the faithful owe to the successor of Peter, the visible head of the Church. These replies arrested at the time the action of Firman: but notwithstanding this success, the efforts might be resumed at Milan. Clement addressed a letter full of affectionate entreaty* to the Empress Maria Teresa, beseeching her intervention with the house of Bourbon to terminate a difference so cruel and afflictive in its results. She replied on the 2d of August, expressing her readiness to employ her good offices in maintaining peace, if religion was threatened; but the cabinet of Vienna saw no danger to religion, as it was a mere contest for the principality, on which each is his own judge. Other princes could not pass upon such questions: the court of Vienna did not see, therefore, how it could in this assist and serve the Holy Father.

At this time, Mr. d'Aubeterre, the French ambassador at Rome, urged

* Constitution *Si pietas*, June 27, 1768. *Guerra*, vol. iii., p. 425.

his government to send troops from Corsica and occupy the banks of the Tiber ; but Choiseul, with all his hatred of religion, hesitated to attempt the abolition of the Jesuits in this way. "I doubt," he writes, "whether the king would be disposed to take such extreme measures."

On the 7th of September, in the same year, the Venetian senate passed a law prescribing, among other things, that bishops in the States of the republic should have right of visitation over the churches and houses of regulars ; that notwithstanding contrary usage, no religious orders from other countries should be admitted ; superiors of religious houses could no longer sue or condemn their subjects without recurring to secular tribunals. No one was to be permitted to take the religious habit before the age of twenty, or make profession before twenty-five, and all who made profession must be subjects of the republic.

On the promulgation of this law, the bishops were ordered to proceed to visit every religious house in their dioceses. Some prelates obeyed ; but Cardinal Molino, bishop of Brescia, declared that he could not execute this command without the permission of the Holy See. His eminence frankly declared, that without prejudice to the duty he owed his own prince, the republic, he believed that in such matters the supreme authority belonged to the Holy See. The senate merely renewed its order, and the cardinal persisted, but on being summoned to the capital he repaired to Ferrara, and his revenues were sequestrated.

Clement addressed a letter, the Constitution *Ad plurimas*, to all the bishops, explaining his intentions on this ground. The law of the senate tended to destroy the authority which the Holy See exercises over regulars. If the edict sought to restore discipline, it was notorious how much mischief had been done by lay intrusion in the administration of regular establishments. The constitution explained the authority of bishops, and detailed the exemptions granted by the Fifth General Council of Lateran, in the time of Leo X. Bishops, therefore, could not avail themselves of the authority offered by the republic, but must confine themselves to that given by the Council of Trent, to which all owed veneration and obedience.

We now reach the close of the pontificate of Clement XIII. He was more than ever pursued by the three courts. Cardinal Orsini, ambassador from Naples, Count d'Aubeterre, ambassador from France, and Azpura, chargé d'affaires for Spain, most importunately urged the abolition of the Society of Jesus. Having received orders to employ the most earnest means to obtain their request, they solicited a collective audience to present themselves to the pope at once, to solicit the abolition which they were to obtain at any price.* A master of ceremonies saved the pope from an

* [The society no longer existed in France, Spain, Portugal, or Naples. Its enemies had tri-

audience dangerous to his actual condition, his malady, a pulmonary disease, requiring him to refrain from all violent conversation. He laid before His Holiness a memoir giving precedents for such an audience, but explaining that, according to usage, once in presence of the Holy See, Prince Orsini, cardinal, would be led to a seat, Count d'Aubeterre remain standing, and the Spanish chargé remain kneeling, during the whole audience. The envoys did not press for such an audience.

With the beginning of 1769 Clement experienced spasms and a violent cough ; he was compelled to keep his bed, and gave up all affairs. On the 2d of February suffocation became so frequent, that, during the night between that and the 3d, he expired, aged seventy-five years, ten months, and twenty-six days.

Good, pious, mild, and facile, Clement attacked none, and was obstinately assailed by almost the whole of Europe. He resisted courageously. He repeated the noble words of Osius, bishop of Cordova, to the Emperor Constans II. : "God has confided the empire to you ; to us, ecclesiastical things. Whoever of us should wrest the empire from you, would disobey God who rules : fear then to commit a great crime by usurping ecclesiastical things."

A strong element of religion and goodness, a beneficent disposition, an unalterable meekness, love for the poor, entitled Clement to the regret of his subjects, and the veneration of even the enemies of the Holy See. "Good citizens," said Count d'Albon, "cannot utter the name of Clement XIII. without emotion. He was truly a father to his people : their happiness was above all things dear to his heart, and he labored earnestly for it. His most touching grief, affecting him even to tears, was the sight of misery that he could not relieve."

De Lalande cites an instance showing how little vanity or any desire for human applause entered into his projects. "The pope," says he, "speaking of the drying of the Pontine marshes, personally desired it : when I explained this part of my journey to His Holiness, he manifested a marked interest, and eagerly asked me what I thought of its possibility and advantages. I exposed my views at length, but having taken the liberty to add, that it would be a glory to his reign, the pious pontiff interrupted me, and raising his hands towards heaven, said almost with tears in his eyes : 'We seek not our own glory, but the good of our people.'"

Those who infer that Clement must have been necessarily wrong because

umphed there. Why were they still so eager, why such toil, and labor, and intrigue, to obtain an act of the pope dissolving what was left ? What gain was to accrue to these countries ? It was not so much the Jesuits as the Church. That was to be humbled, abased ; and kings made themselves the tools of the conspiracy that would laugh at respect for the throne, when they had discarded all respect for the altar.]

he could not agree with the powers of this world, take a strange view of religion, and do not reflect on the duties of a vicar of Jesus Christ, or the spirit of the religion of which he is the supreme pontiff.

A tomb by Canova was erected to this pope by his nephew, Senator Rezzonico. It is in the transverse nave to the right of the great cross in Saint Peter's, and is highly esteemed. It represents the pope kneeling at prayer. On the left, Religion, more than life size, holds a cross of gilt metal. On the right, a genius, seated, leaning on an urn, holds a torch in the right hand. Charity and Fortitude, life size, are seated near the urn; and then two lions couchant, one sleeping, on pedestals. Canova told me that he wished by these to typify the character of Clement XIII. The sleeping lion, the symbol of meekness, roused by no insult that it can bear without detriment to duty; the lion fully awake, is the symbol of the pope's courage when assailed on all sides by those who would extort from him the abolition of the Jesuits, he resisted their violence, though enfeebled by disease and in constant pain.

The Holy See was vacant three months and sixteen days.*

* I possess three medals of Clement XIII.; I take the rest from the medallic catalogue of the Imperial Library:

1. CLEMENT XIII. PONT. MAX. A. II. Head of the pope with calotte. *Rev.*: VT COMEDANT PAVPERES POPVLI. The hospice in which the poor are received, near the Carthusian church, at the Baths of Dioclesian.

2. ADVENTVS PONTIFICIS CENTVM CELL. A large vessel which the pope blesses; the rest of the papal fleet in the distance.

3. CENTVM CELLIS AMPLIATA CIVITAS. A. VI. A fine medal, showing the city walls, a horseman riding along in front.

4. ORIETVR IN DIEBV EIVS. Prudence with the scales and cornucopia.

5. No inscription. Saint Luke painting the Blessed Virgin.

6. DECOR EIVS GLORIA EORVM. Five saints kneeling, one standing.

7. REPENTE DE COELO SALVS. Religion, standing, holding the cross. In the exergue, EX PROBATA MONETA.

8. DEDIT PAVPERIBVS. A woman emptying a cornucopia, with the Holy Ghost above.

9. MERCIVM IMPORTANDARVM COMMODITATI. The port of Ancona, with two vessels, Trajan's arch above.

10. SCOLA PICTORVM CAPITOLINA. A studio, with young painters studying.

11. CVRA PRINCIPIS AVCTO MVSEO CAPITOLINO. The two centaurs which Clement gave the museum. In the exergue, CELEBERRIMIS VILLÆ ADRIANÆ ORNAMENTIS. The centaurs are in a villa erected on the ruin of Adrian's.

12. GREGORIO BARBADIGO S. R. E. CARDINALI EPISCOPO PATAVINO IN ALBO BEATOR. RELATO. The inscription occupies the field.

13. NAVIGATIONE TIBERIS RESTITVTA. Tiber, reclining, with rudder and cornucopia. The wolf, with Romulus and Remus on the left.

14. PATIENS EST, BENIGNA EST. A woman, seated, giving fruit to children. She holds one on her knees.

15. TV DOMINVS ET MAGISTER. In the exergue, EXEMPLVM DEDI VOBIS. Struck for distribution on Maundy Thursday.

16. LIBERALITAS REDVX. Woman with cornucopia, and another cornucopia standing.

17. PALATIVM QUIRINALE NOVO LATERE AMPLIFICAT. The Quirinal, as seen from the Consulta, and the two figures holding horses.

253. CLEMENT XIV.—A. D. 1769.



WE come now to a reign which has excited and will long continue to excite widely different judgments. We have seen the great conspiracy against religion begin by its attacks on the Society of Jesus. That order, instituted at the very period of the Reformation, as a body of clergy, to defend the Church against the progress of heresy and error, was necessarily an object of hatred to the enemies of the Church. They caused its expulsion from France, Spain, Portugal, and Naples; and not satisfied with that, had endeavored to force the Holy See to suppress the order entirely, to disband the most faithful and, at the moment, most necessary order in the Church. Clement XIII. had, as we have seen, resisted these attempts. But the Holy See was now vacant, and a few courts, blind tools of the irreligious party, sought to use the iniquitous power over papal elections that had been usurped by them in evil times, to secure the election of one who would yield compliance to their wishes. They determined that no cardinal should be chosen as pope, unless known to be a man of docile temper, one who would readily yield to the harsh and haughty demands of despotic courts, soon themselves to vanish in a whirlwind of destruction. The very day when the sacred electors entered into conclave was to witness stormy scenes. The most extraordinary language was uttered, and the most insulting proposals were carried from cell to cell. But the lightning was not to flash until the arrival of the two electors who were supposed to be the most interested in that assault. The business in hand seemed to occupy that sacred college more than it would have been disturbed by a Mussulman invasion, without a Sobieski to repel it; a schism furious as that of Luther, or, finally, the apparition of one of those absolute kings or ministers who have not ended their task when they have subjected the earth.

These so-called Catholic princes, would terrify before their slightest caprice that assembly of venerable men, who obey only their own conscience, and listen to the voice of religion alone; who disdain to yield to clamors, violence, to threats of departure or descents of hostile troops to dictate terms to the conclave, without allowing them to be discussed, much less refuted by reason, by patience, or even by the offer of salutary reforms.

The perils which menaced the independence of Rome at that moment are well known. We must depict scenes that the reader will scarcely expect; but throughout this work, from the evil centuries downward, every thing has been grave, decorous, and worthy of admiration, and where this has not been the case, we have witnessed the accomplishment of a great duty with dignity, disinterestedness, and a desire to reconcile the interests of the Holy See with those of the dynasties and countries under the protection and wise counsels of the Roman court.

Clement XIV., whose baptismal name was John Vincent Anthony, in religion Lawrence, was born on the 31st of October, 1705, at Sant' Angelo in Vado, son of Lorenzo Ganganelli, a physician, and Angela Serafina de Maziis of Pesaro. Ruin, caused by the loss of a lawsuit, brought Ganganelli to the grave, leaving his son destitute; and John Vincent Anthony was indebted to Count Barnaldi for his earlier education. At eighteen he took the habit as a conventual Franciscan, in the convent of Mondaino. Friends had advised him to become a Jesuit, but he replied that God called upon him to wear the habit of Saint Francis. From Urbino he went to Pesaro, Recanati, Fano, and Rome, to study philosophy and theology. At Rome his director was Father Angelo Sandreani, and his master of novices, Father Anthony Lucci.

Cardinal Albani, protector of the college of Saint Bonaventure at Rome, on the recommendation of a Jesuit, gave the office of tutor in that college to Ganganelli, after he had taught at Ascoli, Milan, and Bologna. The pope included him in the promotion of the 14th of September, 1759. The new cardinal continued to reside in the convent of this order, known as the convent of the Holy Apostles.

After the obsequies of Clement XIII., preparations were made for the impending conclave, to which, on the 15th of February, 1769, twenty-seven cardinals repaired. On the 30th of April, forty-six members were in conclave. The sacred college at that time consisted of fifty-seven cardinals; but, from various causes, eleven were unable to be present.

Soon after, Rome was visited by Peter Leopold, grand duke of Tuscany, who lodged in the Medici villa. Nine days later, a simple postchaise conveyed into the eternal city the Emperor Joseph II., without any suite, and travelling under the title of count of Falkenstein.

It is related that as the door of the conclave was opened, the emperor stepped further in than was allowed by etiquette, and Cardinal Albani, laughingly, said: "As your imperial majesty has broken the cloister thus far, pray deign to enter," and the cardinal introduced both the emperor and Leopold. The emperor, surprised as well as gratified by so unexpected an invitation, said: "In that case I will lay aside my sword." "No," replied Cardinal Serbelloni; "your majesty must keep it for our protection." The



FLAN OF THE ARLENTUM

two princes then inquired minutely into the customs of conclaves, and appeared to be much interested in all that they witnessed. But they did not enter the chapel of the votes.

At first a considerable party was in favor of Cardinal Chigi, great-nephew of Alexander VII. He barely wanted two of the thirty-one votes which would have elected him, but suddenly the aspect of affairs was changed, and the Chigi party was much weakened. Ganganelli was the only member of any religious order present in the conclave. At that time religious of every order were harassed in almost all kingdoms, and persecuted in not a few. Hence it was not anticipated that the preference could possibly fall upon one of them. Yet so it was to be.

The conclave opened on the 15th of February, and the Catholic world is scandalized at the exposure that has been made of the intrigues of the representatives of the courts of the house of Bourbon. The emperor of Germany and grand duke of Tuscany had, as we have seen, been for a time actually present in Rome, and in the very hall of the conclave: but the emperor having no object in view, seems to have been no party to the intrigues. The house of Bourbon arrayed itself against the good of the Church, and sought to control the action of the papacy; and where is it now?

Cardinal Cavalchini was the next one proposed in the conclave, but he was excluded by France.

The Bourbon courts even sought to bind the cardinals by a promise that, if elected, they would suppress the Society of Jesus. After Cardinal Cavalchini, Cardinals Fantuzzi, Colonna, Stoppani, Pozzobonelli were successively proposed. Fantuzzi and Colonna, who had the greatest number of votes, were absolutely rejected by the Bourbonists. Pozzobonelli was favored by the emperor of Germany; but, though he had many votes, they contrived to defeat him. Indeed, the number of candidates excluded by the Bourbon influence was so great, that there was an actual danger of seeing the conclave break up without an election, and the cardinals protest against the violence used to control their action.

At last, Cardinal Ganganelli was proposed. The Bourbons made no objection; he was highly esteemed by many of his fellow cardinals, and all were anxious to bring the tedious conclave to a close, many having actually fallen ill during its protracted sessions. At last, on the 19th of May, Cardinal Ganganelli was elected, and on the scrutiny received all the votes.

The new pope at last named, the guns of the castle of Sant' Angelo announce the new pontificate. The election being completed, Cavalchini, the dean of the sacred college, asked Ganganelli if he would accept the pontifical dignity. The cardinal replied: "It should be neither desired nor refused." He was then asked what name he would take. He had thought

of taking the name of Sixtus VI., in memory of Sixtus V., who, like himself, was a Conventual; but in memory of his benefactor, Clement XIII., he took that name. Subsequently, after the adoration, he was asked if he was fatigued; and he replied that he had never witnessed that ceremony so conveniently, having been driven away by the Swiss guard, when, as a simple friar, he endeavored to witness the installation of his predecessor.

Clement was urged to send a courier with the news of his elevation to his three sisters, one of whom was married at Pesaro to a gentleman of the Tebaldi family, another to Fabio de Verucchio, and the third a nun at Fossombrone. But the pope confined himself to writing to them by post, and said that as they "were not accustomed to receiving ambassadors, the arrival of a courier would only disturb them." In the funeral oration over this pontiff, his reply is somewhat differently given. In this latter account, he is represented as saying: "We have no other family than the poor, and they will know the news without the aid of couriers."

On the 28th of May, the pope was consecrated bishop in the Vatican Basilica, by Cardinal Lante, sub-dean of the sacred college; the dean, Cardinal Cavalchini, not venturing on so fatiguing a ceremony, on account of his great age. Such a ceremony had not been witnessed since November 30th, 1700, Clement's predecessors, Innocent XIII., Benedict XIII., Clement XII., Benedict XIV., and Clement XIII., having been bishops when elected pontiffs. On the 4th of June, Clement was crowned by Cardinal Alexander Albani, first deacon. It is said that on coming to the ceremony of the tow, it was slow to light, being somewhat damp, and that the pope saw it with pleasure, apparently accepting the fact as a good omen that his pontificate would be long.

On the 26th of November, the Holy Father took possession of Saint John Lateran. He was accompanied by fifteen cardinals on horseback. On descending from the capitol towards the Campo Vaccino, the horse on which Clement was mounted, being mismanaged by those who held the bridle, and frightened by the acclamations of the populace, threw the pope to the ground. Clement, however, was not hurt, the road being covered with sand, and he exclaimed: "There is no *contusion*, only a little *confusion*."

Subsequently, speaking of that occurrence, he said: "Going up to the capitol, we appeared like Saint Peter; being thrown from our horse, pray Heaven we become not like Saint Paul." Clement sent a letter, in his own handwriting, to all the sovereigns, to announce his exaltation. In his letter to the king of Naples, dated May 30th, he said: "We could not earlier write to your majesty, because not having been consecrated, as we had to make a retreat of nine days, to prepare for so sublime an office. We were not forgetful of your majesty, however; we said a Mass to obtain from God that you may obtain an heir to the throne. We implore for the govern-

ment of the Church the aid of your majesty, and we hope to obtain it from your royal piety, as Cardinal Orsini, your minister to the Holy See, can assure you. In return, we promise, as far as in us lies, to give your majesty proofs of our paternal love."

On the 12th of June, the consistory was assembled in which the pope was to return thanks to the cardinals. He then *proposed* various episcopal churches, and he took the oath to observe some apostolical constitutions.

On the 18th of the same month, the pope gave the last audience to Count Ernest de Kaunitz-Rittberg, ambassador extraordinary from the Emperor Joseph II., to the conclave that elected Clement XIV. The pope then presented to his excellency the body of Saint Clement the martyr, and also a picture in tapestry work of Saint Peter, and two trays full of *Agnus Dei*.

On the 21st of June he had another audience as ambassador of the queen of Hungary, mother of Joseph II., and received the body of Saint Candida, virgin, with other presents, as before.

On the 22d of July, 1769, the ministers of Spain, France, and Naples, presented to the pope a memorial in which they solicited the entire abolition of the Society of Jesus; and every exertion was made to force him to that step, which seemed the highest earthly good to these courts.

By a brief of the 12th of July, the Holy Father granted some indulgences to the Jesuit missionaries, in parts where there were no missionaries of the Propaganda. That brief was denounced by the treasury of Spain as *obreptive* and *subreptive*, because it could be executed neither in Spain nor in any other country whence the Jesuits had been exiled, and because a brief could not be recognized in which powers were attributed to them. It is *subreptive*, said those brave jurisconsults, because the Jesuits can exercise no function in any country that is subject to the house of Bourbon. So, they appeared to fancy that there were no States in the world but Spain, France, Naples, and the duchy of Parma.* For that reason the brief did not obtain the royal *exequatur* at Madrid, where it was subsequently ordered that all copies of it should be confiscated and carried to the council.

Persons acquainted with the history of that period, are aware that Clement XIV. was elected pope in one of the stormiest of stormy times.

Portugal was greatly irritated against the Roman court; indeed, at open rupture with it, because Clement XIII. had not granted the satisfaction

* The so-called Catholic powers of our day seem to entertain a similar idea. The soi-disant king of Italy and the emperor of France assume to decide. Yet the queen of England is the sovereign of nearly twenty millions of Catholics; the rulers of Russia, Prussia, Bavaria, Belgium, Brazil, Portugal, and the presidents of the American republics, are all entitled, in a congress of nations, to raise their voice as to what concerns the free action of the Roman pontiff.

that Portugal had demanded. After the expulsion of the Jesuits, Portugal thought of substituting the authority of the patriarch for that of the sovereign pontiff, and to hold no further communication with the Holy See. Father Pereira, of the Oratory, was a theologian of a peculiar nature, and he stimulated the Portuguese to that schismatic course.

Spain, desiring the abolition of the Jesuits at any cost, continually urged the Roman court, and Monino allowed it to be seen that some severe blow to the Roman court was contemplated; the most mortifying affronts being constantly offered.

France, for some time in possession of Avignon, and embittered by the rigor shown to the duke of Parma, united with Spain in taking every opportunity to show at least the appearance of a keen resentment.

Naples, supported by the crowns of Spain and France, retained possession of Benevento and Ponte Corvo, and threatened to extend its usurpations beyond the pontifical frontier.

Parma, the cause of so many troubles, required a retractation from the pope himself, as a justice absolutely due.

Venice pretended to reform, on its own authority, the religious communities, without reference to or consultation with Rome.

Poland thought only of resisting the privileges of the nunciature, and thus diminishing the pontifical authority; not anticipating that she was speedily to be stripped of her own authority, and to see her territory divided among three neighboring monarchies!

Every one can judge how much courage and constancy were requisite for a pope who ascended the throne in so troublous a time. How the pope acquitted himself under such difficult circumstances will appear.

In the midst of these tempests the pope wrote to the king of France. Knowing that the Bourbons would press him to comply with their urgent requests, he resolved to anticipate them.

In the first place, and as related to the duke of Parma, he sent him the matrimonial dispensation he had solicited, and at the request of the king suspended the effect of the brief of Clement XIII. With respect to the Jesuits, the pope said that he could neither blame nor abolish their society, which had been praised and confirmed by nineteen of his predecessors, whose names he could readily and proudly quote; and, finally, he gave as the supreme reason for his refusal, that *the Jesuits* had been confirmed by the Council of Trent.*

* *Finito tempore novitiatus, superiores novitios, quos habiles invenerint, ad profitendum admittant aut e monasterio eos ejicient. Post hæc tamen sancta synodus non intendit aliquid innovare, aut prohibere, quin religio clericorum Societatus Jesu, juxta pium eorum institutum a Sancta Sede Apostolica approbatum, Domino et ejus ecclesiæ inservire possit. Sess., xxv., ch. 16.*

While the pope spoke thus, he also resolved to assemble a council in which every thing should be justly examined, and the Jesuits have an opportunity of hearing and replying to the accusations made against them. The pope was required to act thus, his duty binding him to protect all the regular orders alike.

The pope added, that the emperor, the king of Sardinia, and the king of Prussia had written to him in favor of the Jesuits ; and thus if he were to abolish that order he would offend some princes as much as he would oblige others. In the third place, the pope declared that he was purely the administrator, and not the lord and owner of the possessions of the Church ; and that, consequently, he could neither sell nor grant the States of Avignon and Benevento, because, whatever he might do in that respect would quite justly be revoked by his successors. Thus he would only yield to force, to which, even if he had the power, he would not oppose force. Finally, the king of France was the Eldest Son of the Church, and the pope well knew the equity of that prince. Thus, both the pope and the king alone, without nuncios and without arbiters, ought to treat that business in which he, Clement, would do what was the most fitting.

At that time the duke of Gloucester, brother of the king of England, visited Rome. Scarcely had he entered the Ecclesiastical State when he was met by persons of rank sent by the pope to welcome him to the capital ; and, on his entering the city, the pope sent him presents and ordered that the church of Saint Peter's should be illumined in his honor ;—a spectacle of which a just idea can only be formed by those who have witnessed it, for it is beyond all powers of description. The duke of Cumberland, another brother of the king, had received no less honor when he travelled in Italy. These acts of courtesy made the English panegyrists of Ganganelli. George III. wrote to the pope to thank him for the magnificent reception of his brothers ; he begged the pope's acceptance of some presents, and even consented to receive His Holiness as mediator in some family differences that had sprung up between the king and the duke of Cumberland.

Spain obstinately cherished its hatred of the Jesuits. They had ceased to exist in Spain or her States, but the cabinet of Madrid were unwilling that they should exist in other countries. That cabinet solicited the beatification of the venerable John Palafox, bishop of Osma, considering that at the beatification of a prelate who had depicted the Jesuits in such fearful colors, the fathers would be horrified, and feel that as the most terrible blow that could fall upon them. But the pope did not pronounce in that case, and this Spain appeared to regard as a new offence.

We have now to speak of the promotions of cardinals made by Clement XIV.

In a consistory of the 18th of December, 1769, he created as cardinal,

in petto, Paul de Carvaglio Mendoza, prelate of the patriarchate of Lisbon, president of the councils of the queen and of the senate, and brother of the famous prime minister of Portugal.

On the 2d of January, 1770, Clement, desiring to please France, and more especially to please the king's daughters, who were distinguished for so eminent a piety, gave a brief changing the patronal feast of the confraternity of Saint John Nepomucenes from the 16th of May to the 16th of September.

That brief was for the use only of the confraternity founded at Versailles by Queen Maria Leckzinska, wife of Louis XV.

Remembering the firmness of that courageous confessor to Queen Jane of Bohemia, we may readily conceive the attachment and veneration which all queens feel for Saint John Nepomucenes.

On the 1st of March, Clement condemned some irreligious books that were published in France.

One of those decrees was directed against "The Abridgment of Fleury's Ecclesiastical History," which was attributed to the Abbé de Prades; another against the works of La Mettrie; and a third against those of Voltaire, who now occupied a very different place in the estimation of Clement XIV. from that which he had held in the esteem of Benedict XIV. In this last decree seven works were named, written by that indefatigable and prolific apostle of infidelity.*

Works proceeded from his pen with a rapidity which none other could equal; and he varied their forms at will, as he thought tale, essay or poem more piquant for his immediate purpose. His correspondence with men as animated as himself in desire to destroy religion, increased that bile which was shed all over Europe, and which the princes of that time allowed to flow freely in their States; and he sent forth a host of pamphlets under all the names and titles that he thought most calculated to stimulate curiosity. The uninitiated can form no idea of the numbers of the libels that Voltaire in a few years wrote against religion. Most of them are buffooneries, or at least spiced with buffooneries, after the manner of the author, who sought to excite laughter, and was not particular about the means of doing so; his jokes very often degenerating into poor jargon, farcical incidents, and coarse expressions.

Our task would be endless, if we were to revert in detail to all the declamations, the violence, the derision, the false inventions, and the invectives that this enemy of Catholicity ceaselessly heaped up. Hatred is shown by them on all occasions and in every form; and nowhere do they allow the truth to make its appearance.

* Picot, ii., p. 552.

At this time Clement was alarmed about the Catholic interests, which were violently compromised in the States of the grand seignor.

Among the patriarchs of the East, in the olden time, was distinguished the patriarch of the Nestorians, or Chaldeans, whose See was at Babylon, and afterwards at Ninive, now called Mossoul. His jurisdiction included not only Mesopotamia, Assyria, and Persia, but extended into the Indies, chiefly on the coast of Malabar, where those who were called the Saint Thomas Christians were settled. Under the pontificate of Julius III., a great number of Nestorians or Chaldeans were united to the Church of Rome, and that pontiff gave them, as Catholic patriarch, Simon Sulacha, a monk of Saint Pachomus, who was proclaimed in the consistory of the 9th of April, 1553. Simon fixed his abode in the city of Caramit or Diarbekir, situated upon the river Tigris, in Mesopotamia. There, he ordained archbishops, bishops, and priests, to render the requisite assistance to the native converts, and to celebrate the mysteries according to the national ritual. In consequence, the patriarchate of Babylon was divided into two parts, the one consisting of the Catholic Chaldees, and the other of Chaldee heretics, under the government of their old patriarch, residing in the environs of Mossoul.

The successors of Sulacha continued to reside at Diarbekir until the year 1581. Then Simon Denha, expelled by the heretic patriarch, retired to Acaria, a country included in Kurdistan, between the Turkish and the Persian frontiers. There the patriarchs of the orthodox have continued to reside to the present time. They remained in unity with the Roman Church until 1653. At Rome, there are letters of obedience written to Innocent X. by Mar Simon III. Subsequent to that date, there are no documents to prove such a union; which leads to the belief that the patriarchs who were subsequently elected, fell back into heresy, which is the more probable, because, in 1681, Innocent XI. created a third Chaldean patriarch to govern the clergy and people, who remained faithful to the Holy See. The new patriarch resided at Diarbekir, as his successors do to this day.

Nothing was said about the patriarch of Kurdistan until 1770, when he abjured the errors of Nestorianism, and earnestly solicited Clement XIV. for permission to return to the bosom of the Church, a fact which gave the most lively satisfaction to the sacred college.

Here we shall give some particulars upon the tribunal of the sacred Rota.* That tribunal was already in existence previous to the reign of John XXII., who reformed it, but did not institute it, as some have supposed. He called it the *Rota* (wheel), because each of the officers performed duty in his turn.

* There is a work entitled the *Tribunal of the Roman Rota*, described by Domenico Bernino, the Roman edition was published in 1771, under the reign of Clement XIV.

At first the tribunal consisted of fourteen members, but Sixtus V. reduced the number to twelve.

The Rotal decisions are not, as many authors think, a settled judgment pronounced by the tribunal, but, as is observed by the judicious cardinal de Luca, a collection of the motives upon which the prelates have given affirmative or negative votes; and those motives are taken from the various writings of the advocates, and from the *curialia* of the apparently gaining party, motives to which the prelates have adhered in their votes, and to which they sometimes add their own individual reflections.

This is commonly called a *decision*. It does not contain the sentence of the judges; on the contrary, it is so conceived that the litigants who have in some sort lost, see only the reasons by which the prelates have been induced to vote against them, and then can furnish such a reply as may lead the prelates to revoke and reverse their decision.

In fact, it often happens that the prelates give in one Rota a favorable vote for one of the parties on account of the motives alleged in a *decision*, and that in another Rota, owing to new writings of the apparent losers, the same prelates declare for the opposite party, who, in that case, gains instead of losing. But even then nothing is yet finished.

When, in the trial of a cause, one party has in its favor several uniform decisions that have emanated from the judges, then the final sentence is arrived at, and that is the *Rotal judgment*.

This being settled in the first place, a distinction is to be made in the decisions between the *substance* and the *accident*. By the substance, is understood the *entirety*, or bulk of the motives by which the prelates have been convinced; and by the accident, are understood the various incidental propositions which are added. Certainly it may happen that the officer who draws up the solicited decision may place in it, as ornament or as mere surplusage, things which are less exact and which should not influence the tribunal.

In the second place, it follows, from what has been said, that even what may be called the *substance of the decision* is not a fixed, firm, settled sentiment, definitively pronounced by the tribunal, but an opinion that is proposed to the seeming losers that they may seek for any defect that it contains, if such there be; and that, if they discover such, they expose it to the court, and so reach the position technically termed *recedendo a decisis*.

The *decisions* are printed for distribution among the various *curials*, who know beforehand that many things are said in the decisions without regard to the customary limitations, for it would not be fitting to insert those limitations in the decisions. Undoubtedly, great praise is due to this very prudent method, employed by that tribunal that truth may be discovered, and that exact justice may be done.

The Abate Zaccaria thus expresses himself in his *Anti-Febronius*, vol. i., Introduction, chap. 2, page 22: "He exerts himself in the defence of that august tribunal against the derision heaped upon it by the book of Febronius. That book turns the decisions into ridicule, which is misplaced and unjust."

The judge, in all countries, listens attentively, holds his judgment in suspense, and only favors a litigant in proportion as he produces valid and weighty arguments. Each party, after disposing of the arguments put forward by its opponent, develops its own, and often brings the judge, who, however, says nothing, to an opinion contrary to that which he had at first formed.

But, aside from the impropriety of the word, which might better be called *first resolution*—that is to say, *an opinion formed on the first examination*—we cannot, as Zaccaria says, too warmly applaud that kind of friendly conversation which takes place between the judge and the client or his counsel.

"On such a day," says the judge, "you have both put forward your arguments; those of A. or of B. were the more convincing. Examine your documents again, and on another day, either bring forward other and stronger arguments, or successfully oppose, if you can, those to which we now give, according to our customs, the title of *decision*."

"The first pleading was futile. He who has urged the most reasonable arguments was commended; you who lose, if we may call that losing, will not appear again unless with more powerful arguments."

Such is the tribunal of the Rota. He who enters that tribunal as a judge, contracts an *esprit de corps* which immediately converts even a naturally inattentive man into a reflecting judge.

Each auditor or judge has a secretary, entitled *segreto*—*secret*, or *confidential*. The very name indicates the strictness of the morals and habits of the incorruptible counsellor. He gives, in writing, to the auditor or judge to whom he is attached, an opinion; and that opinion is for the most part so well founded, that the judge almost always adopts it.

Therefore it is that the tribunal of the Rota enjoys so great a reputation. In Roman society, the auditors are called *the twelve Solomons*. That system has still another very advantageous result. A litigant is not instantly stricken down, as by a thunderbolt, by an unforeseen sentence. The possibility of losing the cause is perceived beforehand. Good advisers intervene, the opposing parties confer, and the compromises thus effected are better than those judgments in other countries where, to obtain all, many and precious advantages are lost,—and sometimes more useful than those complete legal triumphs which often ruin an honest family, without greatly benefiting that which obtains the favorable judgment.

I have known in Rome great families who were engaged in law-suits.

The decisions of the Rota did not embitter the feelings of the litigants ; and, at the moment when such a result was least expected, the parties came to an agreement, which was at once a good example for others, and for both the parties a sufficient advantage.

To return to Pope Clement XIV.

All hope of preserving the Jesuits had vanished. The crowns had solicited from the Catholic courts, which had taken no part in intimidating the conclave, a consent which sooner or later would be granted.

On the 29th of January, 1771, the pope created as cardinal, *in petto*, Marius Mare-Foschi, a noble of Macerata, born on the 10th of September, 1714, secretary of the Propaganda. His nomination was published in the consistory of the 10th of September, in the same year. In the second promotion, which took place on the 6th of August, the pope created John Cosmas da Cunha, born on the 27th of September, 1715, canon regular of Coimbra and archbishop of Evora.

In the third promotion, the pope created Scipio Borghese, of the family of the princes of Sulmona, born on the 1st of April, 1734, bishop of Theodosia, *in partibus*. Then John Baptist Rezzonico, born at Venice on the first of June, 1743, nephew of Pope Clement XIII.

Subsequently, the pope raised to the cardinalate Anthony Casali, a Roman, born on the 25th of May, 1714, governor of Rome ; and Pascal Aquaviva di Aragon, a noble Neapolitan, born at Naples in 1719, president of Urbino. We perceive that the pope's creations included Portuguese, Spaniards, and Neapolitans. It cannot be doubted, then, that the harshness of the proceedings of all the cabinets had yielded to hopes which filled all the friends of the Jesuits with gloomy forebodings.

Bernis, in a letter of the 7th of March, discloses some of the machinations against the Jesuits : " There are still some obstacles to be removed, as to the Jesuits, with respect to the courts of Vienna, Turin, and Poland, as well as Venice and Genoa. When all these difficulties present themselves in a body to the mind of the pope, he becomes discouraged. We must, therefore, endeavor to draw out one by one the thorns that are strewed along his path, flatter him, assist him, and never disgust him."

I know that I here give up another victim to those who defend the Jesuits ; but, writing history, I may not depart from strict truth, and I am compelled to say that Clement did not brave obstacles, and had not yet become insensible to grief at the thought of the measures that were extorted from him, and that the other princes would at that moment suffer, notwithstanding recent promises.

On the 24th of December, Choiseul gave in his resignation as secretary of state in France ; and the duke de la Vrillière was appointed to sign until a successor to Choiseul should be appointed.

Was the disappearance of one of the agents of evil, who so sharply tormented the Holy See, to alleviate the situation of the pope? No; the remaining enemies would redouble their efforts, and mark the accession of the new French minister by acts of contempt and suspicion; and those acts would soon produce an accomplice more dangerous, by weakness, than Choiseul had been in his paroxysm of fury. Madrid, on the contrary, was incessant in evil.

In 1771, the king of Spain founded the order of the *Immaculate Conception*, also called the order of Charles III., to thank the Blessed Virgin for the happy birth of the prince of Asturias. Clement, in two briefs, confirmed the order, and approved its statutes. The Holy Father baptized the royal child, and there was distributed at Saint Peter's, in the following year, a medal representing, on the one side, Pope Clement, and on the other, a female in royal garb presenting a child to the pope; on the reverse, the following words: *Deus nova federa sancit*. On the occasion of this birth of a grandchild of Charles III., Clement pronounced, on the 11th of November, 1771, the following allocution:

“VENERABLE BRETHREN:

“We have always deemed that it would be useful to the public weal and advantageous to the Church, that the most ample families of the kings long since founded and established, in view of the most holy institutions of religion, should transmit to the most distant posterity, by a long propagation of their race, a glory of real and solid piety.

“But the greatness of that advantage still more occupied our mind, when we reflected upon the children and the successors of our son in Jesus Christ, the Catholic king of Spain, and the innumerable praises earned by this prince and his ancestors.

“To those general reasons were added especial comparisons of our affection towards him, of the reciprocal relations daily confirmed by habit, in such wise that it seemed that whatever belongs to him must needs also concern us. Wherefore we have both the same anxiety and great desire to see the birth of the grandson destined to so great a hope of the kingdoms. You have been aware of our sentiment upon the subject, and you must appreciate the great joy that we have experienced on seeing the object of our wishes and our prayers so completely fulfilled.

“This pleasing intelligence reached us in a letter from the king himself; the strength of the joy that he shed into our bosom, called us to share it. He told us that he was blessed with a grandchild, and that already, at the sacred font of regeneration, he had given his own name and ours to the infant. We accordingly judge that that child is born for the kingdom, for us, for the Church, and for God himself, and we recognized that

in that respect the happiest auspices had descended from heaven. Our joy was increased, because, almost on the same day, we learned that our very dear daughter in Christ, Louisa Mary, princess of France, abandoning the splendor of the paternal and royal court, has embraced, in an order of Carmelite virgins, the poverty and humility of Jesus Christ, giving her word that she bound herself to the laws of religious life, and devoted herself to God.

“We have especially reflected upon that elevated and almost divine virtue, dictated by God himself; and could almost imagine ourselves present at that solemnity, memorable in all ages, and personally receiving between our hands her vows and promises.

“While we were absorbed in this joyful thought, and felicitating ourselves upon our power to attribute that new and illustrious eulogy to the Bourbon name, and especially to our very dear son Louis, the Most Christian king of France, the other news came to us from Spain, to make us aware of the felicity of another Bourbon family, and to redouble our already abounding joy.

“Here we render great and immortal thanks to God, the King of kings, the giver and preserver of kingdoms, because, after our prayers and our common desires, he has sent us such causes of satisfaction.

“How often they have been repeated, those assiduous prayers which we and the Most Catholic King have so often addressed to God! How many prayers and vows have been uttered in the temples of Spain, and in those of this Christian capital!

“We also, on the feast day of Saint Joseph of Copertino, visited our Basilica of the Twelve Apostles; we did so on the day after the birth of the infant, and we fervently implored the seraphic Fathers, Saint Francis and Saint Joseph, whose protection we have always sought, to vouchsafe to assist us on so great an occasion. Then, grateful for the support of those saints, we, on the day of Saint Francis, publicly testified, amidst a great multitude of the faithful, our sincere gratitude in the seraphic Basilica of his name and order.

“We hope that he whom God has granted to us, our most dear son in Jesus Christ, the grandson of the king, the delight of Spain, and the hope of an enduring felicity,* will be preserved, and that God will renew in him the examples of piety given by his ancestors, and of his father, those models of equity, clemency, and other royal virtues.

“Guided by our attachment, and by pontifical charity, we offer up our prayers that that crowning elevation may be added to the divine favors. We accordingly commend to God this young Charles Clement, presented at

* The child lived but a short time; and what became of the enduring felicity?

the baptismal font by ourself and by the king, and who, therefore, should become between us a new and illustrious pledge of our affectionate friendship.

"We intrust that child to the most blessed Peter, whose apostolic dignity, notwithstanding our weakness, we possess. We know that our zeal will be well pleasing to him; it is for him to guard and defend the royal child.

"We deemed, venerable brethren, that these things ought to be communicated to you, so that, according to your position in the Church, you may unite your wishes and your prayers with ours; and that, by public testimonies of joy, you should declare your sympathy in this increase in the family of the Catholic king. You well know that they form the greatest supports of Christianity, and the ornaments of the Apostolic See."

On the 17th of June, 1771, the pope made his sixth promotion of cardinals; and created, *in petto*, Anthony Eugene Visconti, born at Milan on the 28th of December, 1713, nuncio at Vienna, and Bernardine Giraud, a noble Roman, born at Rome on the 14th of July, 1727, nuncio at Paris, from the year 1767. His elevation to the purple was not published until 1773. This nomination was no favor to France. As nuncio at Paris, he was entitled to the hat after three years' nunciature, and had long been entitled to the high Roman reward. Clement had full confidence in Giraud, who was a man of great politeness, polished in manner, little given to contradiction; and, moreover, a true model of discretion, reserve, and prudent conduct.

In his seventh promotion, Clement named, *in petto*, Innocent Conti, Roman, eldest son of the duke of Poli and Guadagnolo, born at Rome on the 1st of February, 1731, nuncio at Lisbon.

In the eighth promotion, France obtained the hat for Charles Anthony of La Roche Aymon, born in the diocese of Limoges, of an illustrious family, on the 17th of February, 1697, archbishop of Rheims and grand almoner. He died at Paris in 1777, aged eighty-one years, after having long honored the episcopacy by his wisdom, uprightness, the purity of his morals, and all the information and accomplishments befitting his condition.*

In 1772, there arrived at Rome, travelling under the incognito of the countess of Brehna, the Princess Mary Walzbourg, of Bavaria, widow of the elector of Saxony. Clement sent to meet her, at Civita Castellana, the Marquis Massimi, director-general of the post. When she entered Rome, on the 15th of April, she was complimented by the chamber-master of His Holiness, who admitted her to an audience, and made her some rich presents.

To give that princess an idea of the pleasures of Rome, the pope ordered a horserace. But the cares and attentions of the pope were not confined

* Novaes, xv., p. 186.

to such distinctions. He gave the princess the body of a saint, as richly ornamented as those which are given to the ambassadors of the great powers when they leave Rome.

The prince de Monaco had solicited the dispensation of some holidays of obligation, though with the obligation to hear Mass. That favor was obtained for the dominions of Austria, of the empire, of Spain, of Sardinia, and of Tuscany.

The pope granted to the church of Saint Stephen del Cacco, at Rome, the faculty of erecting baptismal fonts.

The Holy Father delighted in protecting and patronizing the arts. At the Vatican, he ordered the construction of the gallery of the great hall of Clement VIII., for the reception of the famous museum, which still remains there. When this sumptuous work was terminated, in 1772, this inscription was placed there: "Clement XIV., sovereign pontiff, a native of Vado, desiring to find fitting place for the monuments and other relics of the ancients which he purchased for the perfecting of the arts, restored the chambers of Innocent, which were falling into ruin, and extended them, in the year of grace 1772, and of his pontificate the second."

This museum was at first called the Clementine Museum, and then the *Pio Clementine*; at present it is generally, but improperly, called the *Pio Museum*. The name of the first founder is forgotten or ignored. It is true that the continuator or revivor added so much, that the museum seems to be rather his work than that of his predecessor.

On the 14th of December, 1772, Clement made his ninth promotion of cardinals. He gave the purple to Leopold Ernest de Firmian, born at Trent on the 22d of September, 1708, bishop of Passaw.

Meantime, Pombal had not ceased from his annoyances. The mines of Portugal furnished all the gold that was required to defray the expenses of seduction and corruption. Equal sacrifices were made in a neighboring court. But it seems to be well established, according to Novaes (xv., 191), that Pombal, forgetting that he owed his first elevation to the Jesuits, expended, in their destruction, nearly half a million of dollars; or, according to some historians, a much larger sum.

Monino, count of Florida Blanca, having arrived in Rome, incessantly harassed Clement. The ill-fated pontiff had now no refuge from the insulting letters and words of Florida Blanca. That minister was rather a vulture seeking its prey than a man acting like any other man. And, according to the satires of that time, his very features had assumed the cast of a wild beast.

"On one solitary occasion the unfortunate pontiff recovered, in the great indignation of his soul, a remnant of energy. On that occasion the Spanish plenipotentiary proposed that, in exchange for the bull suppressing the

Jesuits, France and Naples were willing to restore to the Apostolic See the cities of Avignon and Benevento, which they had seized. Ganganelli remembered that he was the priest of that Saviour who drove the traders from the temple, and he exclaimed: '*Learn that a pope governs souls, and does not make merchandise of them.*'"

That instant of courage was remarked, but Florida Blanca soon renewed his insolence.

The system of attacks, of provocations, of arrogance, of contempt even for the Swiss, who were advised not to protect a bad master, became so public, that there no longer existed any authority at Rome. It is true that Florida Blanca was not king in that city of sublime memories, but it is no less true that Clement was fast losing all appearance of pontifical authority.

We now approach the period when the measure, demanded almost sword in hand, could no longer be eluded.

Various negotiations with the countries in which Roman Jesuits resided, announced the fatal blow; and, even more than by those negotiations, it was announced by the silence of the agents who had renewed the attacks of Pombal. Like that avenging minister of the laws who impatiently awaits the convict who is to be delivered to him that he may bind and slay him, that silence spoke more loudly; and the secretaries, in the Vatican, were busily dictating the brief which was about to appear.

Meantime, it is important to make known what was done in another order of ideas by those powers who, after having appeared not to concern themselves in the quarrel about the Jesuits, had either consented to their expulsion or ceased to offer them any support.

We have now reached the moment when the Holy Father is about to suppress the Society of Jesus. This extraordinary step was not unexpected. The Jesuits had already received orders to leave the Roman college, where they had so long educated the first nobility in Europe, as well as the clergy intended for the service of Saint John Lateran. Members of the same order had been discharged from the cathedral of Frascati, and from the Scotch college of Rome. Moreover, orders had been given that the apostolic chamber should no longer furnish to the expelled Portuguese Jesuits the eight thousand crowns that Clement XIII. had granted for their support. The duke d'Aiguillon was delighted that he was minister of foreign affairs. At first he endeavored to protect the Jesuits, with a view to please the king; afterwards he blindly travelled on the road traced out for him. The following is the brief *Dominus ac Redemptor*, issued for their extinction as a religious order; it will be found at page 607, vol. iii., of the *Roman Bullarium*.*

* The date at the head in the Bullarium, June 21, 1773, is wrong. That in the brief itself, July 21, 1773, corrects it.

“Our Lord and Redeemer, Jesus Christ, the prince of peace, predicted by the prophet, and, on coming into the world, announced by the angels to the shepherds, and which he himself testified before he ascended to heaven; addressing his disciples, to whom he left the means of reconciling all with God the Father; Jesus Christ, reconciling by the blood of his Cross all that is on earth and in heaven, has vouchsafed to grant to the apostles the ministry of reconciliation, and has given unto them the words of that clemency. They have been charged with that duty by Christ, who is not the God of dissension, but the God of peace and love; they, therefore, should announce peace to all the universe; they should especially devote their care and their labors to the object of leading those that are born in Christ carefully to preserve the unity of the spirit in the bond of peace. They are only one body and one spirit, because they have been called in a single hope of vocation, which they never attain, says Saint Gregory the Great, unless they hasten thither united in intention with their neighbor.

“This word of reconciliation, which had been divinely intrusted to us by a powerful action; and this ministry, which has been delivered to us, without our being endowed with the fitting merit, we remembered when we were raised to the chair of Saint Peter; we have kept it before our eyes day and night; we carry those duties deeply graven in our hearts; we employ all our strength in assiduously imploring the divine aid, that God may vouchsafe to send to us and to all the flock of the Lord, thoughts and counsels conducive to peace, and strengthen us with sure and powerful means to obtain it.

“We well know that the divine will has placed us above nations and kingdoms; that cultivating the vineyard of Sabaoth, and preserving the edifice of the Christian religion, of which Christ is the corner-stone, we root up and destroy, pull down and scatter, and then build up and plant in that sacred vineyard. We have constantly lived in the sentiments we are about to express. In like manner, having in view the tranquillity of the Christian republic, we have felt that we ought to neglect nothing to reconcile things in building and planting, and be ever ready and disposed, when the chain of mutual charity requires it, to tear up and destroy even what is most pleasing and most dear to us, and what we can least spare, without experiencing great grief and pain.

“It must be explicitly admitted that, among the institutions which secure the welfare and happiness of the Catholic commonwealth, the first place belongs to the religious orders. In all ages it has been these that have furnished the most aid to the universal Church of Christ, the most varied advantages, and who have shed most lustre on it. For this reason the apostolic See has approved them, and has not only maintained them by its protection, but still further strengthened them by favors, exemptions, privi-

leges, and faculties. With these concessions, the Holy See intended to excite their zeal, and influence them with strong desire to cultivate piety and religion, and, by both preaching and example, confirm in the right path the morals of the people, and never to lose sight of an opportunity to labor for the preservation of the unity of the faith.

“But when it has occurred that in some regular order there is not found, to the advantage of the Christian people, the abundant fruits and profits that are so ardently desired, and for obtaining which the orders were instituted, but that, far from that, they appear to have become a cause of prejudice and of disturbance to the tranquillity of the nations rather than a foundation fitted to establish that tranquillity; then that same Apostolic See which had consecrated its cares to plant them, and to that end had exerted its power, has not hesitated to impose new laws upon them, and to recall them to their original strictness of life, or to disperse them and uproot them from the land.

“For such cause it was that Pope Innocent III., our predecessor, perceiving that the excessive variety of the regular orders caused great confusion in the Church, ordered, when he presided over the fourth general Council of Lateran, that no new religious orders should be founded. Whoever wished to become a regular must enter one of the approved orders. Subsequently, it was decreed that whoso desired to found a new order, must adopt the rule of some institute already approved. Under this decree, it was no longer allowable for any one to found a new order without the special authority of the Roman pontiff, which was just. In fact, when other congregations are instituted, with a view to greater perfection, the Holy Apostolic See should preliminarily examine into the proposed form of life, and define it most strictly, lest, under pretext of a great good and a more holy life, the Church of God should be afflicted by many inconveniences, and perhaps even evils.

“Although Innocent III., our predecessor, had published those farsighted constitutions, yet the importunity of petitioners not only extorted the approbation of some regular orders, but further, the presumptuous rashness of some persons, especially if those bore a name of some mendicant order not yet approved, gave rise to an unbridled multitude. Such consequences being known, Pope Gregory X., also our predecessor, renewed, in the general Council of Lyons, the constitution of the said Pope Innocent III., and also strictly forbade that any one should found a new order, or take the habit of one; and, finally, he prohibited in perpetuity, generally, all the religious orders of mendicants, founded after the decree of the fourth general Council of Lateran, but not as yet confirmed by the Holy See. He directed confirmed orders to subsist in this way—namely, that the professed members should be permitted to remain in those orders if they chose, but

not to admit new members to profession, acquire houses or other property, or alienate houses or other property, without the special permission of the said Holy See.

"The same pontiff declared that those various properties were at the disposal of the Holy See for the assistance of the Holy Sepulchre, or of the poor, or for the expenses of any other pious places of the bishops or those to whom the Holy See might commit the administration.

"He prohibited the members of such orders, as far as regarded strangers, from preaching, hearing confessions, or burying. He declared, nevertheless, that the Dominican and Franciscan orders were not included, because the evident benefits which they conferred on the Church rendered it necessary that they should be approved.

"He further decreed that the order of the Hermits of Saint Augustine and of the Carmelites, should firmly retain their position, having been instituted prior to the general Council of Lateran.

"Finally, he granted to all members of orders which that constitution concerned, permission to pass into other approved orders; in such wise, nevertheless, that no order or convent should transmit or take to another's convent the entirety of its possessions, without the permission of the Holy See previously obtained.

"The holy Roman pontiffs, our predecessors, followed in the same track, and in accordance with the circumstances of the times. It would be too tedious to cite all their decrees here.

"But, among the pontiffs, Clement V., one of our predecessors, by his letters of the 2d of May, in the year of our Lord 1312, suppressed and totally extinguished the military order known as the Knights Templars, on account of its universal ill-report (*ob universalem diffamationem*); although that order had beforetime been legitimately confirmed, and had so well merited of the Christian republic that the Holy Apostolical See had loaded it with distinguished favors, privileges, faculties, exemptions, and authorizations; and notwithstanding that the General Council of Vienne, to which that pope had committed the task of examining into the charges against that order, had declared that it abstained from pronouncing a formal and definitive sentence.

"Pius V., of holy memory, equally our predecessor, whose distinguished sanctity the Catholic Church piously honors and venerates, extinguished and finally abolished the regular order of the *Humiliati*, founded before the Council of Lateran, and approved by the pontiffs of happy memory, our predecessors, Innocent III., Honorius III., Gregory IX., and Nicholas V., because those orders had disobeyed the apostolic decrees, were given up to discords, both domestic and external, because they gave no visible sign of future virtue, and because many of them had wickedly compassed the

death of Saint Charles Borromeo, cardinal of the Holy Roman Church, and apostolic visitor of the same order.

“Urban VIII., our predecessor, of pious memory, by letters in form of brief, on the 6th of February, 1626, perpetually suppressed and abolished the congregation of the Reformed Conventual Friars, who had been solemnly approved by our predecessor, Sixtus V., of happy memory, and enriched with favors and benefits, because no spiritual fruit, profitable to the Church of God, was born by these religious. Moreover, differences had arisen between the reformed and the unreformed conventuals. The same pope granted and assigned the goods, lands, convents, shares, rights, etc., of the said congregation, to the order of the Friars Minor Conventual of Saint Francis, exempting from such transfer the house of Naples, and the house of Saint Anthony of Padua, called *de Urbe*; which latter he gave and assigned to the Apostolic Chamber for the use of himself and his successors. Subsequently, he permitted the members of the suppressed congregation to pass to the convents of the Capuchin Friars of Saint Francis, called of the Observance.

“The same Pope Urban, by other letters, also in the form of a brief, on the 2d of December, 1643, perpetually suppressed and extinguished the regular order of Saints Ambrose and Barnabas *ad nemus*. He subjected the suppressed brethren to the jurisdiction and correction of the ordinaries, at the same time that he granted to the said suppressed permission to enter other regular orders approved by the Apostolic See.

“Innocent X., our predecessor, confirmed that extinction by his letters under the leaden seal,* and dated on the 1st of April, in the year of our Lord 1645. Subsequently, he secularized the benefices, houses, and monasteries of the said order, which previously was regular, and declared that thenceforth they should be secular.

“The same Innocent, by letters in form of brief, dated 16th of March, 1645, considering the serious disturbances existing among the regulars of the Poor of the Mother of God, of the Pious Schools, although that order had been solemnly approved by Pope Gregory XV., ordered, after mature examination, that the said regular order should become a simple congregation without the taking of any vow, like the institute of the congregation of the secular priests of the oratory, founded in the Church of Saint Mary in *Vallivella de Urbe*, called Saint Philip Neri; he then granted to the regulars of the said order thus reduced, the right of passing into any other approved order. He forbade the further admission of novices, and the profession of those already admitted. Subsequently, he transferred entirely to the ordin-

* The leaden seal has the heads of Saints Peter and Paul on one side, and the name of the reigning pope on the other.

aries of the localities the jurisdiction which belonged to the minister-general, visitors, and other superiors.

“ These decrees were enforced for some years, until the Holy See, recognizing the usefulness of the said order, recalled it to its pristine form of solemn vows, and reconstituted it as a perfect regular order.

“ The same Innocent X., by his letters in form of brief of the 29th of October, 1650, to obviate discords and dissensions, totally suppressed the order of Saint Basil, of the Armenians. He subjected the regulars of the said order to the jurisdiction and obedience of the ordinaries, and commanded them to wear the habit of secular clerks. From the revenues of the extinct convents a fitting allowance was assigned to each regular who was thus suppressed, giving them also power to pass to any other approved order.

“ In like manner, Innocent X., by his other letters in the form of brief of the 22d of June, 1651, observing that no benefit to the Church was to be expected from the regular congregation of priests of the Good Jesus, extinguished the said congregation in perpetuity ; subjected the said regulars to the jurisdiction of the ordinaries, assigned them from their former revenues a fitting pension, with the faculty of passing into any other approved order, reserving the application of the property of the said congregation for the service of other pious works.

“ Subsequently, Pope Clement IX., our predecessor, of happy memory, considering that three other regular orders, that of Saint George in Alga, that of the Hieronymites in Fiesole, and finally that of the Jesuats, founded by Saint John Columbini, were of little or no advantage to the needs of the Christian people, and that there seemed no hope of such advantages proceeding from those orders in the future, formed the project of suppressing and extinguishing them ; and he executed that project by publishing his letters in the form of brief, dated 6th of December, 1668. Their property, then, which was very considerable, was claimed by the republic of Venice, and the pope ordered it to be employed in maintaining the war for the island of Crete, a war absolutely necessary to maintain against the Turks.

“ In those decrees and suppressions, our predecessors acted with a view to finding sure means of taking away all fuel from contentions of spirit, and of destroying all difference and party spirit.

“ Not being fettered by the restraint and the form of action followed in discussions at the bar previous to judgment, attending solely to the prudence of the laws, and in virtue of the plenary power with which they were invested as vicars of Christ upon earth, and supreme regulators of the Christian republic, they so disposed affairs that the regular orders destined to be suppressed had full power to defend their rights. They were per-

mitted to answer serious accusations, and to explain, extenuate, or excuse the facts which the form of procedure permitted to bring forward.

“After the example of those cases, and of others that have great weight and authority with all upon whom we cast our glance, and fervently desiring, as we shall hereafter declare, to proceed confidently and with firm footstep in our deliberation, we have omitted nothing and forgotten nothing that could enable us thoroughly to understand every thing that concerns the regular order that is called the Society of Jesus. We have attentively observed its progress and its present condition. It has been proven to us that that order was instituted by its holy founder for the salvation of souls, the conversion of heretics, and especially of infidels, and for the greater increase of piety and religion. It was in order to obtain that greatly desired end that the order was consecrated to God by the strictest vow of evangelical poverty, both in general and in particular, except in what concerned colleges for study and literature. As to them, power and facility was given to possess, yet so that no portion of the income could be converted into an advantage, a utility, or any kind of convenience to the said society.

“That society was approved, with these laws and other very holy regulations, by our predecessor, Paul III., of happy memory. On that subject he published his letters *sub plumbo*, of the 27th of September, in the year of our Lord 1540.

“The same pontiff granted to the society the right to draw up rules and statutes calculated firmly to secure the existence and the government of the society; and although the same Paul, our predecessor, had at first strictly limited the number of religious to sixty, yet by other letters, under the leaden seal, dated on the 28th of February, in the year of our Lord 1543, he authorized the society to receive into its bosom all those whom its superiors might deem it fitting and necessary to receive.

“Then, in the year 1549, by letters of the 5th of November, the same Paul, our predecessor, granted many and very ample privileges to the same society, among others an indult empowering the generals of said society to admit twenty priests as spiritual coadjutors, who received the same faculties, favors, and authorities, as were enjoyed by the professed. With respect to still others whom the generals should deem fit, the pope willed and ordered that their number might be extended without limit and without count. He, at the same time, enfranchised, and exempted the entire society, all its members, their persons and their property, from all superiority, jurisdiction, and correction of all and any ordinary whatever, and commanded that all should remain under his protection and under that of the Holy See.

“Moreover, the liberality and the munificence of our other predecessors were not less generous with respect to the same society.

"It is an established truth, that our predecessors of blessed memory, Julius III., Paul IV., Pius IV., Pius V., Gregory XIII., Sixtus V., Gregory XIV., Clement VIII., Paul V., Leo XI., Gregory XV., Urban VIII., and other pontiffs, confirmed all those privileges, and increased them by new concessions; and some of them openly declared, on this subject, their sentiments of approbation.

"However, the tenor of those constitutions, and the expressions employed in them, prove that almost from its birth the society saw dissension arise; and that the seeds of jealousy sprang up between members of the society, and even with other regular orders—the secular clergy, academies, universities, public literary gymnasia—and at length with the princes into whose States the society had been received. Differences also sprang up on the subject of the nature and character of the vows, of the times necessary to admit members to the vows, of the power to dismiss members or to raise them to holy orders without patrimony or without solemn vows, which is contrary to the decree of the Council of Trent, and the holy memory of our predecessor, Pius V. Men spoke also of the absolute power which the general of the order arrogated to himself, and of other things concerning the government of the society, and also of divers points of doctrine, the schools, exemptions, and the privileges that the ordinaries and others in ecclesiastical or secular dignity deemed offensive to their jurisdiction and rights. Finally, serious charges were made to the not trifling disturbances of the peace and tranquillity of the Christian republic.

"Hence arose complaints against the society, which, supported by the authority of some sovereigns, were addressed to our predecessors, Paul IV., Pius V., and Sixtus V. Among the princes who supported such complaints was Philip II., of illustrious memory, Catholic king of Spain. He explained the serious reasons which led him to communicate to Sixtus V. the complaints made by the Spanish Inquisitors against the privileges of the society, and even heads of accusation that were approved by members of the society distinguished for their learning and piety. Philip then requested that commissaries be appointed for an apostolic visitation of the society.

"Sixtus V., attending to the action and request of Philip, chose for the duties of apostolic visitor a bishop commendable for his prudence, virtue, and learning, and instituted a congregation of cardinals of the Roman Church, who were directed to pursue the affair actively. But our predecessor, Sixtus V., having been suddenly stricken with death, the salutary project vanished and had no result.

"Pope Gregory XIV., of happy memory, being raised to the pontificate, published, under the leaden seal, his letters of the 28th of June, 1591, by which he very fully approved anew the institute of the society. He de-

clared firm and solid the privileges granted to it by his predecessors, and especially that of dismissing and excluding the members without any judicial form, without the slightest inquiry, without the maintenance of any judicial order, without even the admission of any substantial terms. It sufficed to consider the truth of the fact, taking into consideration only the fault or other reasonable cause of exclusion, without examining persons or attendant circumstances.

“He enjoined complete silence on this question, and forbade all, on pain of excommunication, to venture to attack, either directly or indirectly, the institute, rules, or decrees of said society, or propose any alteration in its constitutions. However, he left to each the right to add to, or to diminish the rules, provided that all who thought such addition or diminution necessary should address themselves to him alone, or his successor, *pro tempore*, either directly or through the medium of the nuncios or legates of the Apostolic See, to apply for his observations or propositions.

“But all these arrangements could not silence the cries that were raised against the society, nor still the charges that were made against it. Then, louder and louder, throughout the world were heard clamors against the society’s doctrines, which many believed to be contrary alike to the orthodox faith and to good morals. There were also, in the bosom of the order itself, domestic and external quarrels, which became more and more frequent. It was accused of excessive cupidity in the acquisition of lands. Thence arose disturbances, sufficiently known to all, which caused great grief and embarrassment to the Apostolic See, followed by the projects conceived by the princes against the society.

“Hence it happened that the same society, wishing to obtain the confirmation of its institute and its privileges from our predecessor, Paul V., of happy memory, was forced to solicit him to ratify, by his authority, some decrees passed in the fifth general congregation, and textually inserted in his letters given under the leaden seal on the eve of the 4th of September, in the year of our Lord 1606. In those decrees it was expressly said that, on account of the internal dissensions of the society, and of complaints made by strangers against it, the society, assembled in general congregation, felt obliged to issue the following decree :

““As our society, which has been raised up by God for the propagation of the faith and the salvation of souls, can, by the proper ministry of the institute—that is, by the arms of the spirit—happily attain its end under the standard of the cross, for the advantage of the Church and the edification of our labors, it would itself oppose obstacles to all that is good, and expose itself to the greatest dangers should it concern itself with secular things, which belong to politics and State government. Therefore, seeing that our warfare is in the cause of God, it was wisely decided by the fathers of our

society, that we should not intermeddle in other interests that are foreign to our profession.

“In these perilous times, it has happened in several places, and with divers princes whose love and benevolence our Father Ignatius, of holy memory, recommended us to preserve, as rendering us agreeable to God, that, perhaps by the fault of some, their ambition or their indiscreet zeal, our order hears complaints raised against it, while the good odor of Christ is ever necessary to us. The congregation has considered that, in order to bear fruit, it behoves us to abstain from every kind of ill, meeting the complaints that are excited against us, although they originate in false suspicions. Therefore it is, that by the present decree it is seriously and severely forbidden to all to interfere in any such things, even if called upon to do so; to fear all immixtion, and any departure from the rules of the institute. It commands, on this point, resistance to all entreaty and to all advice; and, in addition, it imposes on the fathers definitors the duty of applying exactly, where need is, the remedy for this evil.’

“We have remarked, with great grief, that the above-named remedies, and others subsequently applied, had no power to dissipate and destroy the many troubles, accusations, and complaints against the above-mentioned society; and that our predecessors, Urban VIII., Clements IX., X., XI., and XII., Alexanders VII. and VIII., Innocents X., XI., and XII., and Benedict XIV., in vain labored to that end. These pontiffs endeavored to restore to the Church her desired tranquillity by their several salutary constitutions, relative as well to so many secular interests which should not occupy the society in its missions, on account of those same missions, as to very serious dissensions, complaints occasioned by the members of the society with the ordinaries of various places, with the other regular orders, with various communities in Europe, Asia, and Africa, not without causing great loss of souls and causing great scandal to the nations.

“Then, with reference to the interpretation and use of many pagan rites, established by degrees in some countries, omitting those which are justly approved in the universal Church, or with reference to the interpretation and use that the Apostolic See has declared scandalous and manifestly prejudicial to good morals; finally, with reference to things of great importance, necessary to the preservation and the maintenance of the essence and purity of the Christian dogmas, things originating not only in our own but also in previous ages; prejudices, embarrassments, disturbances, tumults in some Catholic countries, persecutions of the Church in provinces of Asia and Europe, there has been reason to deplore immense sorrows caused to our predecessors, and especially to Pope Innocent XII.

“That pontiff was obliged to forbid the members of the Society of Jesus

to receive novices, and to give them the habit of the order. Still further, Innocent XIII. was compelled to threaten the order with the same penalty; and, finally, Benedict XIV., of happy memory, ordered a visitation of the houses and colleges existing in the States of our dear son in Jesus Christ, the king of Portugal and of the Algarves.

“Still, the Holy See obtained from all its cares no consolation for itself, no help for the society, no benefit to the Christian republic, from the last apostolical letters given by Clement XIII., of happy memory; letters which, to use the words of our predecessor, Gregory X., pronounced in the above-mentioned Œcumenical Council of Lyons, ‘were *extorted* rather than *obtained*.’ After so many violent and cruel storms and tempests, the good and faithful hoped for the dawn of the desired day of tranquillity and peace. But under the reign of the same Clement, seated in the chair of Saint Peter, times still more difficult and turbulent surrounded the same society; cries, complaints, and dangerous dissensions increased; and the Holy See had to deplore tumults, seditions, oppositions, and scandals. Those disturbances, amidst the dissolution and entire annihilation of the bonds of charity, gave birth to discords, parties, hatreds, and violent enmities.

“The danger spread to such an extent, that even those who loved the society with hereditary tenderness, and who had received from their ancestors a love which they unitedly confessed, even our dear sons in Jesus Christ, the kings of France, Spain, Portugal, and the Two Sicilies, were obliged to expel the society from their possessions, provinces, and kingdoms. They believed that there was but that one remedy for so many evils, desiring thus to prevent the Christian peoples from being reduced to attack, provoke, and tear each other.

“Our above-mentioned sons in Jesus Christ, being persuaded that that remedy would not be lasting and effectual in reconciling the Christian world, if the society itself were not entirely extinguished and totally suppressed, made our predecessor, Clement XIII., acquainted with their wishes and their will, and solicited it, adding to their request such authority as they might possess, that due forethought and efficacious action should thus provide for the safety of their subjects and the weal of the universal Church.

“The death of that pontiff, which occurred contrary to the expectation of all, prevented the course and issue of that project.

“When, by the protection of the divine mercy, we were placed in the chair of Saint Peter, the same wishes, the same requests, the same demands were presented to us, and certain measures were added thereto. Several bishops, and other personages distinguished for their dignity, their knowledge, and their religion, manifested their opinion in the same sense.

“That we might act upon safe counsel in an affair so grave and of such lofty interest, we judged that much time would be requisite, not only for

exact inquiry, mature examination, and prudent deliberation, but also to ask aid from the Father of Light, with many sighs and with continual prayer. To that end we determined to have the aid of more frequent works of piety. We determined that there should be a close scrutiny into the state of the case, as to the foundation supporting the generally diffused opinion that the order of the Society of Jesus had been solemnly approved and confirmed by the Council of Trent. We found that that society was only mentioned in the Council of Trent in relation to the general decree affecting the other religious orders, and providing that at the end of the novitiate, the novices, if they were deemed fit, should be admitted to profession, or otherwise sent from the monastery. Hence it was, that that holy synod (session 25, chapter 16, *de Regul.*) declared that it would make no innovation, and that it would not prevent the religious of the said Society of Jesus from serving God and his Church according to their pious institute, approved by the Holy Apostolic See.

“After so many moderate measures, aided by the presence and inspiration of the Divine Spirit in which we confidently trust, and impelled by the necessity of our charge, we shall employ our strength as actively as we can to conciliate, smooth, and fortify the rest and tranquillity of the Christian republic, and to remove from it whatever tends to prejudice it. Now, we have perceived that the said Society of Jesus could no longer produce the abundant fruits and advantages for which it was instituted and was approved by so many of our predecessors, who bestowed upon it so many privileges, but, on the contrary, that if it existed it was almost impossible that the Church could have true and permanent peace. Led by such considerations, and urged by still other reasons supplied to us by the laws of prudence and the excellent rule of the Universal Church, which are deeply graven in our heart; walking in the footsteps of our predecessors, and remembering the words of Gregory X., in the General Council of Lateran, as it at present concerns an order included in the number of the mendicant orders, its institution, and its privileges, we, after mature examination, of our own certain knowledge, and in the plenitude of the apostolic power, suppress and extinguish the said society. We take from it and abrogate each and all of its offices, ministries, administrations, houses, schools, and habitations, in all provinces, kingdoms, and states whatsoever, and under whatsoever title to them belonging; we suppress all its statutes, customs, decrees, and constitutions, even when fortified by oath, apostolic confirmation, or otherwise; each and all of its privileges, general or special indults, of which we will that the tenor be held fully expressed in these presents, as if they were here inserted word for word, notwithstanding all and every formulas and clauses which should be contrary thereto, and whatsoever the ties that bind them, and the decrees upon which they are supported. We

declare, therefore, that it is perpetually broken up and dissolved, and absolutely extinguished alike as to the spiritual and as to the temporal, and as to all authority whatsoever of the minister-general, of the provincials, of the visitors, and of the other superiors of the society. And we wholly transfer that same jurisdiction and authority to the local ordinaries, according to the form, the case, and the persons.

“ Under the conditions hereinafter explained, we prohibit henceforth the reception into the society, or the wearing of its habit, or entering into its novitiate, any person or persons whomsoever ; nor shall any be admitted who have been designated to pronounce either the simple or solemn vows, under penalty of the nullity of such admission and such profession, and of such other pains and penalties as we may deem fit to inflict. We further will and command and prescribe, that those who are at present in their novitiate be immediately and effectually dismissed. We forbid that those who hitherto have pronounced only the simple vows, and are not yet initiated in any of the holy orders, be raised to superior grades under the pretext of a profession in the society, and of privileges granted to the society against the decrees of the Council of Trent.

“ The end we aim at is, in the first place, to secure the advantage of the Church and the tranquillity of the nations ; then to bring aid and consolation to each of the members of the Society of Jesus, whose persons we paternally love in the Lord, in order that henceforth, being delivered from all the pains which have tormented them, and from so many discords and contentions, they may the most fruitfully cultivate the vineyard of the Lord, and more abundantly work for the salvation of souls. In consequence, we decree and enjoin that the members who have been admitted only to simple vows, and are not yet initiated to the holy orders, be released from those vows on quitting the houses and colleges, to embrace such condition as each may choose as most befitting his vocation, his strength, and his conscience, within the time fixed by the local ordinaries to find a fitting place or office, or some generous man who will benevolently receive them. This time, however, must not exceed a year from the date of these presents ; moreover, according to the privileges of the society itself, those members or novices could be thus dismissed without other reason than such as the superiors might deem sufficient ; without other rule than prudence and the existing circumstances ; without any citation, or the drawing up or preservation of any judicial document.

“ As regards the members who have been promoted to sacred grades, we permit and empower them to quit the houses and colleges of the Society of Jesus, and enter into another regular order approved by the Holy See, in which to complete the period of probation prescribed by the Council of Trent, if they have already made in the society the profession of the simple

vows. If, on the contrary, they have taken the solemn vows, their probation shall last only six months, according to the dispensation hereby granted, or they may remain in the world as priests and secular clerks, under the total and absolute obedience and authority of the ordinaries in the diocese in which they take up their abode. We further decree, that to those who shall thus remain, there shall be granted a fitting pension, to be paid from the revenues of the house or college to which they have belonged, until they can be otherwise provided for, due regard being had to the amount of the said revenues and of the charges upon them.

“As to the professed who are already admitted to holy orders, and who, whether from fear of not having sufficient resources, or from the failure or scantiness of their pensions, or from the impossibility of finding a place in which to fix their home, or on account of great age, feeble health, or any other true and serious cause, do not believe themselves able to leave the houses or colleges of the society, we permit them to remain there, on condition that they have no administration of the said house or college, and that they wear only the habit of regular clerks, and that they be entirely subject to the ordinary of the place.

“In the terms of the Council of Lyons, we forbid them to substitute any one instead of those wanting, newly to acquire any house or place whatever, or to alienate the houses and places which they actually possess. Nevertheless, they may inhabit a house or houses, according to the number of those who shall be present, in such wise that the vacant houses can be devoted to pious uses, according to the sacred canons, to the will of the founders, to the increase of divine worship, to the salvation of souls, and to the public utility. However, a person of the secular clergy, known for his prudence and morals, shall be chosen, who will take the administration of the said houses; in which, moreover, the name “Society of Jesus” shall be altogether extinguished and suppressed.

“We declare that the individuals of the said society of all the provinces from which they are already expelled, are included in this general suppression of the society, and it is our will and command that those expelled members, even when they shall have been promoted to the major orders, unless they pass into another regular order, shall be deemed to have no other position than that of clerks and secular priests, totally subject to the local ordinaries.

“If the local ordinaries find the requisite virtue, knowledge, and morality, in those who, from the Society of Jesus, have passed to the state of secular priests, those same ordinaries, by virtue of these presents, may, at their pleasure, grant to them the faculty of receiving the sacramental confessions of Christians, or preaching to them. But without such authorization, in writing, let none of them dare to exercise those functions.

“Nevertheless, the bishop and the local ordinaries shall never grant that faculty to the members who shall remain in the colleges and houses which formerly belonged to the Society of Jesus. We, in perpetuity, forbid them to administer the sacrament of penance to strangers or to preach, the same as our predecessor, Gregory X., forbade in the council above mentioned.

“On this subject we charge the conscience of the bishops themselves; and we desire them to bear in mind this strict prohibition. They will have to give an account to God of the care they shall have taken of their flocks, and they should reflect upon the stern judgment with which they are threatened by the Supreme Ruler.

“Further, if among the members of the society there shall be found some who have instructed youth in letters, or have exercised a ministry in some college or school, it is our will, that, apart from any power of governing or administering, opportunity should be given to them to persevere in teaching, especially those who give hopes of making their labors successful, provided that they keep themselves aloof from those disputes and points of doctrine which have a tendency, whether from relaxation or from futility, to produce very serious dissensions and inconveniences; and in no wise shall that faculty be allowed to those, even if at present charged with the duty of teaching, who will not, as far as in them lies, preserve the peace of the schools and public tranquillity.

“As relates to the sacred missions, which we entirely include in the suppression of the society, we reserve it to ourself to take such measures as may most effectually bring about the conversion of the faithful and the appeasing of dissensions.

“Having, as aforesaid, broken up and entirely abrogated all the privileges of the said society, we declare that the members of the society, when they shall have left the colleges of the society, and shall have become secular clerks, shall become able and fit to obtain, according to the decrees of the sacred canons and of the apostolic constitutions, any benefices whatever, whether with or without the cure of souls, or offices, dignities, personats, etc., and others analogous, and any elevations forbidden to them, while they were in the Society of Jesus, by Pope Gregory XIII., of happy memory, in his letters in form of brief of the 10th of September, 1584, commencing with the words, *Satis superque*.

“We permit to the other members of the Society of Jesus the receipt of alms for the celebration of Mass, previously forbidden to them. We permit them to enjoy all the graces and favors of which they were deprived in perpetuity as long as they remained members of the Society of Jesus.

“We, in like manner, revoke all and every the faculties given by the

general and other superiors, by virtue of privileges granted by the sovereign pontiffs, to read heretical works and others proscribed and condemned by the Apostolic See. As to the faculties of not observing fast-days, or using abstinence food on those days, anticipating or deferring the time prescribed for reciting the canonical hours, and others of that nature, we severely forbid their use in future, because it is our will that they in future, as secular priests, adapt their mode of life to the rules prescribed by the common law.

“ We forbid that, after the promulgation and publication of these present letters, any one dare to suspend their execution, under any color, title, or pretext whatever, of appeal, recourse, declaration, or consultation on doubts that may arise, or any pretext foreseen or not foreseen ; it being our will that, from and immediately after this moment, such suppression and abolition of the whole order of said society and of all its offices have full effect in form and manner as by us hereinbefore expressed, under pain of major excommunication incurred *ipso facto*, and reserved to us and the Roman pontiffs our successors *pro tempore*, against any one who ventures to raise any hindrance, obstacle, or delay to the execution of the dispositions contained in these letters.

“ We prescribe, moreover, and by virtue of the holy obedience, we order that all and every of the regular and secular ecclesiastics, whatever their rank, dignity, quality, and even by name those who have been admitted to the society, and who have formed a part of the Company of Jesus, shall not dare to reprove or attack the present letter, to write against, or even speak about the suppression, its causes, its motives, or even of the institution of the society, its constitution, the form of its government, or any other thing relating to the argument, without the express permission of the sovereign pontiff. Also, on pain of excommunication, reserved to us and to our successors in the pontificate, we forbid all and each, especially those who have belonged to the society, that, on account of this suppression, they venture to attack this act by disputation, insults, affronts, or any kind of contempt, whether by word of mouth or by writing, and publicly or privately.

“ We exhort all Christian princes to employ the strength, power, and authority which they have received from God for the defence of the Holy See, in such wise that, paying that respect and devotion which they have promised to the Holy See, they give full force and effect to the present letters ; and we demand that, attaching themselves to the contents of said letters, the said princes render and publish similar decrees, and see that during the execution of these letters, no quarrel or dissension or dispute arise.

“ We exhort all Christians, and by the bowels of Jesus Christ we conjure

them to remember that they all have one Lord and Master who is in heaven, and that they all have one Redeemer and Restorer, by whom, at great cost, they have been redeemed, and that they all have been regenerated into the word of life by the same baptism. They are made the sons of God and the co-heirs of Christ, and they are all fed with the same food and with the same Catholic doctrine. All of them are a single body in Jesus Christ; all are members of one another. It is absolutely necessary, therefore, that all, united by the same bond of charity, be at peace with all, and learn that they should 'owe no man any thing, but to love one another;' for he who loves his neighbor accomplishes the law, in vowing a continual hatred to offences, enmities, quarrels, snares, and all other evil devices invented and put in action by the old enemy of the human race to trouble the Church of God, and prevent the eternal felicity of the faithful, under the color and pretence of teachings, opinions, and of a desire of Christian perfection.

"Finally, let all, with all their strength, seek after the real and pure wisdom of which St. James writes: 'Who is a wise man, and endued with knowledge among you? Let him show, by a good conversation, his work in the meekness of wisdom. But if you have bitter zeal, and there be contentions in your hearts; glory not, and be not liars against the truth. For this is not wisdom, descending from above; but earthly, sensual, diabolical. For where envying and contention is, there is inconstancy and every evil work. But the wisdom which is from above, first indeed is chaste, then peaceable, modest, easy to be persuaded, consenting to the good, full of mercy and good fruits, without judging, without dissimulation. And the fruit of justice is sown in peace, to them that make peace.'

"Even should the superiors and other members of the Society of Jesus, who have an interest, real or pretended, in its concerns, not consent to the tenor of these letters, and have been neither warned nor informed of them, it is our will that these letters shall not be invalidated on any account of subreption or obreption, or nullity, or any other great reason that can be alleged, unforeseen and essential, or on account of neglect of formalities, or other rules that should be observed in the foregoing, nor for any other capital head or custom, even if included in the body of the law, under the pretext of an enormous, and a very enormous lesion, or any other pretext, occasion, or cause, even just, reasonable, and privileged. It must not be imagined that these letters should have been otherwise expressed. They must not be cited, retracted, or invalidated in law. This constitution cannot be provided against, or combated by way of discussion in entirety, of restitution, deduction, terms of law, fact, grace, or justice, in whatever manner it has been granted or obtained, as well by justice as by any other way. We will that these presents be firm and efficacious, and have full

and entire effect, and obtain it, and that they be inviolably observed by each of those whom they now concern or shall hereafter concern. So and no otherwise, as herein contained, we will that they be judged and defined by all judges whomsoever, whether ordinary or delegated by the auditors of the apostolical palace, by the cardinals of the Holy Roman Church, and also by legates *en latere*, nuncios of the Apostolic See, and others enjoying or entitled to any authority and power, in any cause whatever, taking from them all right and faculty of judging or interpreting them, declaring that in such case they will, whether wittingly or by ignorance, offend against these presents. We will, and command, and provide all that is hereinbefore declared, notwithstanding the constitution and the apostolic orders, even given in general councils, and, if need be, notwithstanding any other law or rule which should not be reversed; notwithstanding the privileges relating to causes, colleges, and churches of the said society, supported by oath or by apostolic confirmation, or corroborated by any other force, customs, indults, and letters apostolic granted to the said brethren, to their superiors, or to any other person, under whatsoever form or tenure, and with all derogatory formalities and other decrees, even contrary, even rendered by an act similar to this, whether consistorially or otherwise, and in whatsoever manner they may be granted, confirmed, and innovated. Of that, and all other and similar disposition, mention is here made without derogation, as if this were special, express, annexed, and inserted word for word, and not by general clauses having the like meaning. No other recitation is required for the execution of these presents, which shall have force as though expressed word for word, and we expressly and specially forbid all contrary disposition.

“We further will and command that all faith be given to the copies of these presents, even if printed or signed by a notary, and sealed with the seal of any person of ecclesiastical dignity. To such copies the same faith should be given as to the present letters if they were exhibited or shown.

“Given at Rome, near Saint Mary Major, under the ring of the Fisherman, this 21st of July, 1773, the fifth year of our pontificate.

“CARDINAL NEGRONI.”

Clement was thus compelled to abandon the arguments upon which he had based his continued resistance.

According to the cabinets of the intriguing powers, the suppression of the Jesuits would produce universal peace in Europe. Clement believed that, were he to persist in his refusal, unforeseen evils and serious disasters would result. Then, with great repugnance and inexpressible grief, after four years' resistance, he destroyed the Society of Jesus by the brief which he himself drew up. That brief, signed on the 21st of July, was not

published and communicated to the Jesuits of the houses in Rome until the 16th of August. It was executed with solemn formalities ; troops being employed to prevent the Jesuits from all exterior communication.

The Portuguese Jesuit, Novaes, in his *Lives of the Popes*, digresses from the main subject of his work to make the following reflections :

“ I adore the impenetrable judgments of God, and I venerate, in an unalterable sentiment, the determination of the vicar here on earth of Jesus Christ. Consequently, as the son of an extinct mother, though I am ignorant of the motives which have produced her destruction and mine, I respectfully bow an obedient head before the upright intentions of the good pontiff. I desire, both for the Church and the whole world, that peace which was expected in vain, and which, on the contrary, changed into a more obstinate war against the Church.

“ From the depths of my heart I desire that the Church may obtain that peace for which the Society of Jesus has been sacrificed. I desire that peace, instead of the war which is everywhere kindled, producing the ignorance in youth, the omissions that have prevented pious education, the arrogance of libertinism, a deluge of immorality, and absolute contempt for the sovereignty of the Church. I supplicate God Almighty to permit that some day a pen less interested than mine, and less suspected of passion, shall write the history of this suppression, and gather the fruits of my auguries, in favor not only of Holy Church, but also of the whole world.”

So fell the great Society of Jesus, which at that time formed forty-one provinces in the six *assistances* of which it consisted—viz., Italy, Portugal, Spain, France, Germany, and Poland. There were twenty-four professed houses, six hundred and sixty-nine colleges, sixty-one novitiates, three hundred and forty residences, a hundred and seventy-one seminaries, and two hundred and seventy-three missions. There were twenty-two thousand five hundred and eighty-nine Jesuits, of whom eleven thousand two hundred and ninety-three were priests. Without allowing themselves rest, and without fee or reward, they labored for the salvation of souls, and celebrated the holy mysteries in the one thousand five hundred and forty-two churches which they possessed, and in which they devoted themselves to the interests and the advantage of the public.

Thus ended that society, approved and confirmed by nineteen pontiffs, unanimously lauded by the thirty popes who, from its commencement, presided over the labors of the Holy See, including among those popes the one who destroyed the institute ; honored by the praises of the most celebrated cardinals, and honored, encouraged, and tenderly beloved by the saints who lived during its existence—including among those saints, Saint Cajetan, Saint Thomas of Villanova, of the order of Saint Augustine ; Saint Pius V., Dominican and pontiff ; Saint Louis Beltran, apostle of the Indies, Domini-

can ; Saint Teresa, reformer of the Carmelites ; Saint Charles Borromeo, cardinal archbishop of Milan ; Saint Philip Neri, founder of the Oratory ; Saint Francis de Sales, bishop of Geneva, and other saints more numerous than we have space to enumerate. It must not be forgotten that the great Saint Vincent de Paul said to his sons : "Remember that you are the servants who carry the sacks of Saint Ignatius and his companions, and consider yourselves as the poor gleaners of the ears of wheat that the reapers have left behind them."

Many other saints and religious have done merited justice to the Society of Jesus. The order of Saint Francis, in the general chapter of 1565, publicly decreed that all its sons should especially love, above all orders, that of the Society of Jesus, with which they were to keep up a perpetual commerce of veneration, and to which the order of Saint Francis sent letters of *fratellanza*—*brotherhood in the Lord*.

From the year 1540, when it was approved by Paul III., the Society of Jesus lived as it rose, amid and despite of the perpetual calumnies of heretics, and amidst the constant contradictions of bad Catholics, but compensated by the cordial love of all good people, in the course of two hundred and thirty-three years. During that time it gave to the altars nine saints ; viz. : Saint Ignatius Loyola, Saint Francis Xavier, Saint Francis Borgia, Saint John Francis Regis, Saint Aloysius Gonzaga, Saint Stanislas Kostka, the youngest of the canonized holy confessors, and the three martyrs of Japan—Paul Michi, John de Goto, and James Kisai. It also had the Blessed Francis di Girolamo, beatified by Pope Pius VII. and canonized by Gregory XVI. ; Blessed John de Britto, Blessed Andrew Bobola, Blessed John Berchmans, Blessed Peter Canisius, Blessed Peter Claver, Blessed Ignatius Azevedo and his companions, beatified by subsequent pontiffs. The society gave to the world an infinite number of men of letters, who enriched the libraries with immortal works.*

"I give," says Novaes, "the epitaph which a son might place on the tomb of his mother, without giving just offence to any one : This son, invited by sovereign desires to abandon her, would not yield ; during forty years, he has mourned his wretched exile from his country. There he would not have suffered so many misfortunes, of which he is the victim, for having embraced the society by vocation, preserved it by vow, and followed it in love, even to the latest moment of its misfortunes."

We must add, that the order relating to the sequestration of the property of the Jesuits was rigorously executed. The treasury, on that occasion, showed the greed and eagerness of the treasuries in all countries.

* The list of the authors of the society, with brief sketches of their lives, forms a work in five large volumes, by the Fathers de Baecker, entitled *Bibliothèque des Ecrivains de la Compagnie de Jésus*.

The close of the year 1773 was marked by the hypocritical felicitations of some of the courts.

We now return to the labors customary at Rome at the near approach of a great jubilee.

Clement, on the 30th of April, 1777, published the Indiction of the Universal Jubilee for the opening of the Holy Gate, thus :

“Clement, bishop, servant of the servants of God, to all the faithful in Jesus Christ who shall read the present letters, health and apostolic benediction :

“Our Lord Jesus Christ, the author of our salvation, when from the ancient slavery of sin he recalled men to life and liberty by his Passion, and declared us his co-heirs and the sons of God, deigned to add to those favors yet another immense favor—namely, that if some men, by the infirmity of nature, and as a consequence of its depravity, had insensibly fallen from the precious condition of that divine heirship, they should find means to aid them to expiate their crime, and that, in virtue of the power to remit sins granted to the prince of the apostles with the keys of the heavenly kingdom, they be restored to their ancient justice, and reap the fruits of redemption.

“As there remains one only way to recover divine grace, and to be called anew to salvation, for those who depart from the law of the Lord, the successors of Saint Peter and to his power have neglected no cares to lead men to the fount of mercy, by promising and offering to penitents their pardon, thus to draw to remission those who are bound in sin.

“Such being the case, the pontiffs have done what was necessary to the perfect saving of men ; they have given all the assiduous cares and attention to be expected from their apostolic ministry, and they have selected and appointed certain times especially fitted to excite sinners to appease the divine justice, and to awaken in them, by the hope of pardon, the act of penance, as the only plank after shipwreck, and a certain means of obtaining a more ample reconciliation. Thus the pontiffs distribute to men abundance from the treasury of indulgence intrusted to the Holy See.

“In consequence, that the generations of men should not be deprived of the greatest of favors, propitiation, the pontiffs declared that the Holy Year of the Jubilee—that is to say, the year of remission and pardon—should be celebrated every twenty-five years, and that that refuge of mercy should be opened in the very abode of religion.

“We follow that salutary custom of our predecessors, and, therefore, to all of you, dear sons, who are joined with us in the communion of the faith, and with this Holy Roman Catholic Church, we early make known the approach of the Holy Year, and we exhort you to work out the salvation of your souls, and to come and obtain for yourselves the greatest help that can be presented for your sanctification. We shall distribute all the wealth

of the divine clemency and mercy which flows from the blood of Christ, and which has been intrusted to us.

“We will dispense unto you that copious abundance of the satisfactions which are contained in the merits of the most blessed Mother of God, of the apostles, in the blood of the martyrs, and in all the holy and pious actions of those who have been pure. In that wise we shall open unto you an easier access to pardon and to peace, assured by so many aids proceeding from the communion of saints.

“We are united in the admirable society of the saints, and in their communion; we are united in one body of the Church, which is the body of Christ. We are all washed in his blood: it quickens us: each of us may be useful to the other.

“That his great mercy might shine forth with new lustre, and apply the infinite power of his Passion and the efficacy of his merits, he has willed that they should be joined to the other parts of the mystical body, in order that, acting in itself with a reciprocal affection and by a communication derived from that source of grace, they should aid each other with a view to unity; so that in that wise the benevolence of the eternal Father was directed towards clemency before the immense value of the blood of his Son, the power of the sacrifice, the merits of the saints, and the accession of the holy prayers.

“To obtain a portion of that abundant indulgence, and to invite you to receive the treasures of the Church, according to the customs and institutions of our ancestors, with the consent of our venerable brethren, the cardinals of the Holy Roman Church, and the authority of God Almighty, and of the holy apostles, Peter and Paul, and our own,—to attest the glory of God, the exaltation of the Catholic Church, and the sanctification of the whole Christian people,—we announce and promulgate the Indiction of the great Universal Jubilee of the Holy Year, which will be celebrated in our illustrious city in the approaching year of grace, 1775, commencing at the first vespers of the nativity of our Lord Jesus Christ, and lasting throughout the year.

“Throughout that year of jubilee we grant and give the most plenary indulgence, the remission of sins, and the merciful pardon in the Lord to all Christians of both sexes who, being truly contrite, and have confessed, and been nourished by the holy communion, shall, at least once daily, devoutly visit the basilicas of the most blessed Peter and Paul, Saint John Lateran, and St. Mary Major in Rome, during thirty days, continuous or interrupted, whether natural or ecclesiastical days; that is to say, from the first vespers of each day to the twilight of the following, if they be natives or settled inhabitants of Rome,—(if, on the contrary, they be pilgrims or foreigners, at least during fifteen of these days); and who shall have truly prayed to God

for the strengthening of his Holy Church, the extirpation of heresies, and the safety and tranquillity of the Christian people.

“And as it may happen that among those who, from whatever motive, have undertaken the journey to this capital, some, on the way or in the city itself, shall be detained by sickness or other legitimate cause, and shall be prevented by death from completing the appointed number of days, or even have not commenced them, from their inability to visit the basilicas above mentioned, we, desiring to favor their holy desire as far as in the Lord we can, grant them participation in this indulgence and in this remission, provided that they be truly penitent, and confess, and receive holy communion, as though they had visited the said basilicas on the days prescribed by us. Thus, although prevented by the said necessities, they can participate in the gift of the Holy Ghost, and obtain the object of their desire. Arouse, then, all you sons of the Church! The time is auspicious. Do not allow these days of salvation to pass away in vain, without your profiting by the opportunity of so great a propitiation to conciliate to yourselves the divine justice, and obtain all its graces; and do not reply that you are prevented by the difficulty of the journey and that of obtaining provisions.

“It is inconsistent and discreditable that, when in the desire to increase your fortune, or from mere curiosity to see noteworthy cities, you are restrained by no obstacles and by no inconveniences, you show yourselves too timid or too indolent to acquire the abundance of the divine grace, and to visit the temples of God. Those labors and difficulties themselves to be encountered in the journey may be great aids to you, and enrich you with the precious fruits of penitence.

“It is for that reason that the ancient custom of pilgrimage was always most useful in the Church, because the hardship and tediousness of the road were expiations of past errors, and served to confirm the disposition to penitence.

“If the ardor of your mind or your love of God take from you, or greatly mitigate that disgust, yet that same alacrity of mind will have great strength to enable you to obtain pardon, and will become a satisfaction of sin; for it is written, to him who shall love much, much shall be forgiven. Ascend, therefore, into the city of Sion, and fill with abundance the houses of the Lord. The aspect of the city alone, and of the piety of the home and the tombs of the apostles, and the monuments erected to the martyrs, will determine you to appease God by penitence.

“When you shall tread that soil bedewed with their blood, where so many traces of their sanctity meet your gaze in every direction, you cannot but regret that you have forgotten to honor the institutions and the laws that they have followed, and that you, too, profess to follow.

“The majesty of the temple, and the dignity of the divine worship will excite you; you will remember that you are yourselves the temple of the living God, and you will be more anxious to adorn that temple with the gifts of the divine grace than previously you were ready to violate it and to sadden the Holy Ghost.

“And further, the tears of others who before you have wept their sins, and the sobs of those who before you have implored their pardon, will excite you to a like sentiment of piety and grief.

“But, amidst your grief and your tears, you will be melted at the sight of a multitude of people of all nations hastening to works of penance and justice.

“No sight can be more agreeable to you than that which all will look upon as a triumph of religion; and our joy, too, will spring from that assemblage of almost the whole Church. We believe that we shall receive the greatest assistance, and a new strength, from that outburst of your charity and your piety.

“We trust, in your prayers to God, that you will bethink you of your common father, who cherishes you with so much tenderness, and that with us you will pray the generous Giver of all good things for the safety of the Catholic faith, for the return of all the nations who have wandered from unity, for the tranquillity of the Church, and for the happiness of Christian princes; and that you will support and strengthen our weakness by your vows and your prayers, that we may be enabled to bear the weight of the great charge that is laid upon us.

“And you, venerable brothers, patriarchs, primates, archbishops, and bishops, assist our solicitude; do at once our duty and your own. Publish this season of penitence and propitiation that is intrusted to you; employ all your cares and all your authority, that this opportunity of obtaining pardon which we furnish to all, according to the ancient institutions of the Church, supply the greatest advantage to the salvation of souls.

“Make known how all Christians should exert themselves in works of charity, humility, and mercy, that they may be the better disposed to seek pardon for nurturing themselves upon the fruits of heavenly grace. Fasting, prayer, and alms-giving are needed; make that necessary duty known by both your precept and your example.

“Yourselves, venerable brothers, if you add to your labors and your vigils the task of bringing a part of your flock to this citadel of religion and well-spring of indulgences, to us who are ever ready to receive and to embrace you—new lustre will be added to this celebration; you will obtain great riches of divine mercy from a work of such glorious and honorable toil, and most agreeably communicate them to your people.

“We doubt not that our very dear sons in Christ, the emperor elect,

Joseph II., with all the Catholic kings and princes, will contribute to the happy issue of these wishes that we form for the salvation of souls.

"We conjure and beg those princes that, with all the love that they bear to religion, they will favor the anxious zeal of our venerable brethren the bishops. The princes should aid those prelates; they should watch over the safety of the roads, and prepare secure shelter for the pilgrims. Princes must be aware that such forethought and precaution effectually aid in preserving the public tranquillity. This conduct will draw down God's mercy and favor, as it will show them to be more anxious to increase his glory in the sight of their people.

"In order that these presents may readily reach the hands of the faithful, wherever they may dwell, we order that copies, either printed or signed by a notary public, and furnished with the seal of any ecclesiastical dignitary, obtain the same faith and credit as these letters presented and shown in the original.

"Let no one among men break this page of our indiction, promulgation, concession, exhortation, prayer, and will, or rashly venture to gainsay it. If any one venture to transgress, let him be assured that he will incur the indignation of Almighty God, and of the apostles Peter and Paul.

"Given at Rome, at Saint Mary Major, the 30th of April, in the year of our Lord 1764, and of our pontificate the fifth.

"CLEMENS, PP. XIV."

But this pontiff was not destined by God to open the Holy Gate.

We must speak of his last labors. They relate to the catacombs of Rome. Many of the pontiffs had interested themselves in this venerable and sacred refuge of the primitive Christians. Towards the close of the reign of Clement XIV., repairs were made to what were called the *foramina*, the places by which the light formerly found entrance, and which served to indicate the position of the various sanctuaries.*

In his enthusiasm, Bottari, writing of the catacombs, quotes the words of Martial:

"Terrarum Dea gentiumque, Roma,
Cui par est nihil, et nihil secundum."

* These retreats, in which so much Christian blood had been shed, formed the topic of a work by Monsignor Bottari, published in the reign of Clement XII. (3 vols. 4to, 1737). The author enjoyed a high reputation for exactitude, and the plates illustrating it faithfully represented the monuments found in the catacombs.

This learned prelate, Bottari, was eighty years old at the commencement of the reign of Clement XIV., who doubled his pension, and ordered him to be treated in the ceremonials with the greatest distinction.

Bottari, born at Florence in 1689, enjoyed the confidence of several pontiffs. Free from all ambition, he did not avail himself of that favor to aggrandize himself; he lived retired in his

The poet Propertius, book iii., elegy 22, had also said :

"Omnia Romanæ cedant miracula terræ ;
Natura hic posuit quicquid in orbe fuit."

One thing alone renders Rome a most extraordinary city, and this is the great number of subterranean cemeteries, commonly called *catacombs*. Considered apart from the veneration in which the Christian world holds places so holy, they are also a prodigy which arrests the minds of the most frivolous of mankind.

Who will not be stricken with a kind of stupor, when, after seeing a vast city like Rome, he sees beneath it yet another Rome, more vast instead of less so, distributed into so many streets, corridors, chapels, chambers, and churches, that he meets with at every step, divided into many tiers, one above the other, with innumerable tombs, elegant pictures, graceful and artistical ; the whole arranged in a kind of regular ornamentation ?

If we consider these subterraneans as places consecrated to memorials of the triumphs of the ancient martyrs, our surprise and veneration are increased ; for they represent a very vast treasure-house of antiquities, sanctified by the bones of many of the champions of the faith which they still contain, or which have been sent forth thence to all parts of the Catholic world. These places were the work and the abode of noble pontiffs, and of the primitive Christians, whose blood was the seed of the Church, and who, by the odor of their sanctity, draw so many to our religion. They lived in that happy time when the blood of our Saviour still warmed the world ; in the time when a new faith spread with primitive fervor among the faithful, as Saint Jerome says. Those places, no less than the magnificent works of the Cæsars and of the world-vanquishing people, not only excite admiration, but prompt serious study.

The first modern writer who labored successfully in this field was Onuphrius Panvini, a great light of the Augustinian order, the celebrated illustrator of Roman antiquities, who acquired a high reputation by his work, "On the Mode of Burying the Dead among the Christians, and on their Cemeteries." In this he treated only of their assemblies and the pious ceremonies performed in those cemeteries ; yet he described those last asylums of man, of which he reckoned forty-three. The author also treats, but with great brevity, of some other cemeteries outside of Rome, and not mentioned by other authors.

study, where, however, he was sometimes surprised by visits from the popes, who loved to show him respect.

The academy of the Della Crusca chose him as the editor of a new edition of its dictionary, in six folio volumes—1729 to 1738.

To him we also owe the fine Vatican Virgil, large folio, 1741.

He went into the library at sunrise, and often remained there until far into the night, and took his frugal repast there previous to retiring to his apartment.

After him came Anthony Bosio, a Maltese, a doctor in law and advocate at Rome, and subsequently agent of the order of Saint John of Jerusalem. From 1567 to 1600 he devoted, says Moreri, nearly his whole time to the examination and study of those ancient cemeteries; tracing their plan, and often visiting them to copy the paintings and sculptures which he discovered and made known in his *Roma Sotterranea—Subterranean Rome*.*

The pontiffs unweariedly caused the work to be continued, so as to clear up various very difficult passages in the Fathers. Henry de Sponde, bishop of Pamiers, also wrote on the same subject.

Bottari's work resumes and completes these labors. His style is simple, free from flowery language, clear, and precise. The author attends absolutely only to the explanation of the plates, done after the finest pictures and the most elegant sculptures.

It is noticeable, that the latter are often after the same model. The mode of the pictures is more varied, and the artists of that time approached more varied subjects. There are many repetitions and received types; but suddenly we have to remark a new invention, borrowings, more or less wise, from mythology, which the Catholic writer should confine himself to reproducing without too rashly venturing to find the connection which attaches those profane and often too free subjects to the Christian idea, which is always pure, contemplating her divine Master.

Bottari lauds the piety with which the pontiffs have continued to honor the little churches that are found in the catacombs. On this subject he directs attention to the great prudence of Boniface IV., who, without removing a stone, converted Agrippa's Pantheon into a Catholic church. One cannot bestow even a momentary glance upon the actions of the pontiffs without feeling compelled to admire the constancy of their efforts to propagatè and maintain the glory of the Church.

Here is the fitting place for inditing the eulogy of Boldetti, who for forty years was guardian of the sacred cemeteries. The senator Buonarotti, and Maragoni, also distinguished themselves in the same description of knowledge.

The same zeal which led the popes to consolidate the supports of those vast streets of the catacombs, suggested the idea of especially attending to the exact closing of the *foramina* in the part of the Vatican crypts. By no

* To appreciate the talent and learning with which he gloriously finished so difficult an enterprise, how he conceived it, and how he perfected it, John Vincent de Rossi, who took the literary pseudonym of James Nicias Erythrea, must be consulted in his *Pinotheca*, vol. i., number cxxix. That writer says of Bosio: "He was endowed by nature with a mind at once penetrating, patient, and indefatigable; what he saw he appreciated at a glance, and preserved it, as though engraven in his memory; and he became more and more animated when he found it necessary either to attack or defend. Bosio lived more in the cemeteries than in superterranean Rome, to which it was not every day that he ascended even to take his meals or to sleep."

method can those pious abodes be violated from without. They still contain a great number of tombs of martyrs who found shelter there.

On the subject of the inscriptions collected among the wreck and ruinous fragments in the cemetery of Saint Felix, we find in Bottari the following words, worthy of being quoted: "They (the inscriptions) have fallen into the avaricious, not to say impious, hands of the excavators,—men entirely ignorant, or heedless of the sanctity of the place, and wretchedly mindful only of gain, and not of the soil, the stones, or the bones of the dead. Should men not censure these violators, *the very stones would rise up and exclaim*, as Christ says in the Gospels. It must be confessed that, without any respect for those sacred relics, the men alluded to have broken them up, sold them, and heaped them up to await the orders of the collectors of antiquities, whose heirs have dispersed what their fathers had kept somewhat respectfully."

It is not astonishing that Marangoni says upon that subject: "Augustus exclaimed: *I found Rome clay, I left it marble*. We found the ancient churches built of marble, and we leave them of mud."

The researches of the learned always result in discoveries and information that are beyond suspicion. Some of the architectural ornaments of the *Porta Pia* were copied from the catacombs by Michael Angelo.*

One can easily conceive the expenses entailed on Clement XIV. by his wish to arrest the progress of decay in this subterranean Rome, occasioned by damp, and that those sums were granted with generous readiness, especially when it could be observed that the primitive Christian artists had, in some sort, prepared the ideas that the great talents of the revival of art would carry to a degree of perfection now declared almost inimitable.

* We have especially noticed that a group of arabesques, the contours and colors of which were imitated by Raphael, were borrowed first from the baths of Titus, and then from those of the catacombs, as a visit to the catacombs and the Vatican will show. Correggio also, although he never visited Rome, was acquainted, by the designs of many painters, with those sacred subterraneans of Rome.

It suffices to examine the fine fresco of the Benedictine convent at Parma, to recognize in it figures, the first idea of which belonged to the monastic painters of the catacombs. Historians are silent as to the fresco at Parma, which remained unknown for more than two centuries, until, towards the close of the last century, it was visited by Ferdinand, duke of Parma, and afterwards by a host of amateurs and foreigners whom that fine composition attracted from all parts. Correggio painted that fresco at a time when a very rich abbess governed the convent, and when the statutes of the order left the nuns some liberty; since then the strict laws of the cloister were imposed on them, and no men have been allowed to enter the convent.

I have always thought that the first idea of that fresco proceeded from a painting which is still to be seen in the crypts of the Appian Way, and which is supposed to be the work of some Greek monks of the order of St. Basil, in the year 450.

This fresco was finished by Correggio in 1524. It is probable that it remained hidden from about the date of 1571, and that, two years after the marriage of Ferdinand, duke of Parma, brother of Charles IV., to Mary Amelia Antoinette, of Austria, sister of Joseph II., that princess had a curiosity to visit the monastery. All the permissions were readily given by Clement XIV.

We shall now, at almost every step, meet the consequences of the brief, *Dominus ac Redemptor*, suppressing the Society of Jesus—consequences that were developed throughout the reign of Pius VI.

And now what were to be the consequences of the conduct of the pontiff?

Clement's health began to be seriously affected. On Ascension-day he published the bull of the Holy Year, but his disorder became more serious. He suffered severe pains; baths were prescribed, but they afforded no relief. Doctor Bianchi, a physician of Rimini, ordered artificial means to be resorted to for the purpose of exciting copious perspiration; and, though the summer heat was then at its greatest, Clement was continually exposed to the most ardent sun, which scarcely could be resisted by insensible marble. By degrees he fell into a universal marasmus, and, by the end of July, the pope was reduced to an almost unrecognizable shadow. At the beginning of September, notwithstanding the progress of the disorder that was consuming him, he fancied that he still had strength enough to make the slight journey to Castel Gandolfo, where, during his pontificate, he had been accustomed to seek a pure atmosphere during the months of May and October. It is true that for five months the pope had been continually battling against death, but at length his constitution, strong as it had been, succumbed, and the fatal moment at length arrived, on the 8th of September, when, in the chapel of the Nativity of the Virgin, at Saint Mary's *del Popolo*, he presided at the beatification of the venerable Bonaventure of Potenza, a Conventual Franciscan, as he himself had been. It was necessary, in all haste, to bear the pope to the Quirinal, which palace he left but on a few occasions afterwards.

On the 30th of March, it was known at Rome that on the 23d of that month the king of Naples had restored Benevento, and that France had restored Avignon. On the 10th of May, 1774, Louis XV. died, an event which deeply grieved the pope, for, in his heart, the pope loved Louis, whom he did not consider as an enemy to Rome.

The Romans made many calculations upon the pontiff's illness, which they attributed to various causes. Some thought that his blood had become fevered by the effect of arduous mental labors, and by his habitually exposing himself to a burning sun; while others maintained that he had been poisoned.* But this is an unworthy falsehood. The true cause of his illness was a universal scorbutic affection. The celebrated Florentine surgeon, Nannoni, being at Rome to perform an operation upon a great personage, was consulted upon the serious state of the pope. Nannoni, after careful consideration of all the symptoms, declared that the evil was a scorbutic affection of the blood, and far advanced. He advised a certain

* Novaes, xv., p. 203.

regimen, which might mitigate the disease, but could by no possibility cure it. Thus, some time before the death of Clement, Nannoni rejected the poison theory, and pronounced that death was approaching. Cardinal de Bernis, too, who at first had believed the pope poisoned, subsequently confessed that he was convinced of the contrary.*

What is quite certain is, that the vigorous constitution of Clement was in a short time utterly enfeebled by a disease, the activity of which baffled the most skilful physicians and the hopes of every one, as was stated by Father Marzoni, his confessor, in a circular which, in his capacity of general, he addressed to the whole order of Conventuals. However, the pope rallied his waning strength sufficiently to sign the bull which put his former brethren in possession of the Penitentiary of Saint Peter at Rome, and of the Madonna of Loretto, which the Jesuits had enjoyed from the time of Saint Pius V. While at the point of death, he was greatly urged to name eleven cardinals who, in that year, had been reserved *in petto*; but he constantly replied, "We cannot and we will not do it. The Lord will judge our reasons." They knelt to him and repeated their request. He replied decisively and regardless of etiquette: "I am on my way to eternity, and I know why."

He received holy viaticum. On the following day extreme unction was administered in presence of the sacred college, and he died on the 22d of September, 1774, in presence of the generals of the Augustinians, Dominicans, Minor Observantines, and Conventuals, after governing the Church five years, four months, and three days.

As I have said, there was a rumor of poison; but the attestations of Salicetti and Adinolfi, who were present at the autopsy of the deceased pontiff, declared that the ventricle and the intestines were uninjured. It was affirmed, too, that the Credenziere of the pope had also been poisoned: he died shortly afterwards of pleurisy.

In the Gazette of Florence, for the 9th of September, 1775, there appeared a certificate by Father Louis Maria Marzoni, general of the Conventuals, in which that fellow-religious of Clement, and his private and fully trusted confidant, protests that on no occasion did the pope ever say that he had been poisoned.

There were other accusations of the kind. It was said that great men, offended by the events that had occurred during the papacy of Ganganelli, had determined to get rid of him. The truth, however, is exactly that which was constantly affirmed by judicious and disinterested men, who accuse no one, but affirm that the pope's death was occasioned by the scorbutic affection of which we have spoken.

* See Beccetini, *History of Pius VI.*, vol. i., p. 34.

To prove the poisoning, some writers have asserted that soon after death the body of Clement fell to pieces. Seventy-three years have elapsed since the death of Clement XIV. To ascertain the fact of the body having fallen to pieces, which is no uncommon effect of an acrid poison, is therefore a matter of some consequence. Dispatches to more than one court gave to that rumor something like the consistency of truth. These dispatches, which may have been seen at Paris and Madrid, announced not only that the body had fallen to pieces, but also that the head having fallen into a kind of dissolution, it had been found necessary to substitute a head of wax when the funeral ceremonies were to be performed. But the falsehood of that report was to be proven so clearly, that no doubt could be entertained.

When, in 1802, the body of Pius VI., who died at Valencia, was delivered to Monsignor Spina, by an at once generous and compensating attention on the part of the First Consul Bonaparte, the sarcophagus of Clement XIV. stood over the grating of the chapel of the canons in Saint Peter's, where each deceased pontiff reposes until the body of his successor is borne thither to replace him. The monument erected in the church of the Holy Apostles, the church of the convent in which Clement lived when he was still a friar, was ready to receive his body. It was necessary that the corpse should be formally examined and authenticated. In presence of a host of witnesses, among whom was the celebrated sculptor Canova, the seals were removed from the wooden and from the leaden coffin, and the body of Clement, perfect and entire, was discovered and fully identified. The body had not fallen to pieces; the natural head was in its natural situation, and the only wax in the case was the remnant of the waxen mask which is placed on the face of every deceased pope during the first three of the nine days (*novendiali*).

Thus all Rome, all the diplomatic body, and Canova, to whom the body of Clement, entire and well preserved, was intrusted, were convinced that the fable of the body fallen to pieces and the wax head had been invented by the bad and believed by the credulous.*

Clement was of ordinary stature. He had a long face, a broad forehead, black and bushy eyebrows, and bright eyes. His constitution promised him almost a century of life. He understood the French language, but

* I often urged Canova to write his Memoirs. I was persuaded that they would greatly interest not only artists, but even statesmen. He always replied with a smile that he had not time, and then, with his usual modesty, he added, that it would be useless. I then spoke to him as one should speak to a man of intellect and genius, to a man of an admirable simplicity of disposition, yet not wholly without a certain spice of Venetian satire; but he would not yield to any thing that could be said to him on that point, and there was nothing for it but to leave him in peace; he would promise nothing. If he had written his memoirs, he would have had to speak of Clement XIV., and especially of the fact which I have just related.

spoke it only with his friends. He held nepotism in such horror that he would never allow his nephew, who was studying jurisprudence, to be with him. He could not even be persuaded to send any little present to his nephews or nieces. "No," said he to a canon of Fossombrone, and to Father Bontempo, the pope's dearest confidant; "should we give some mere trifles we should be asked for things of more importance, and we should gradually get accustomed to refuse nothing."

When he was dying he was urged to make his will. He replied: "What we possess will go where it should go." After his death, effects were found of very considerable value—sums proceeding from presents that had been made to him. An inventory was made, and the whole was divided between his two nephews, Tebaldi and Fabri.

All his actions were performed with anxious care, and always before the time. Accustomed to community life, he was ever ready before the appointed time, and often he did not wait until the whole of the sacred college had assembled. In his habits he was strictly methodical. He went out daily after dinner; and he spent a part of his evenings in the Villa Patrizi, outside the *Porta Pia*. There, with the chief persons of his court, he witnessed the playing of *Tracco*—an Italian variety of billiards. On returning to his palace he visited the Blessed Sacrament in the Pauline chapel.

"The coffin containing the body was placed above the door which gives access to one of the chantries, whence it was removed on the 21st of January, 1802, to the church of the Holy Apostles, and laid in the tomb erected there by the great Canova."

Many authors have written the life of Clement XIV., each according to his individual prepossessions;—"The Spirit of Pope Clement XIV." (Amsterdam, 1775); "Interesting Letters of Clement XIV., and a History of his Life, Actions, and Virtues" (Paris and Lugano, 1776, 4 vols., 8vo); the same work, with notices of his birthplace (Venice, 1778)—with appendixes (Naples, 1784); "History of the Life, Actions, and Virtues of Clement XIV., newly enriched with medals, inscriptions, and other monuments" (Florence, 1778); "Life of Pope Clement XIV.," by the Marquis Carraccioli, and enriched with appendixes and corrections (8vo, Florence, 1776); "Eulogy of Clement XIV."*

The following is from Feller's judgment on Carraccioli's life of Clement.

"It is only a compilation from the gazettes of the time. Letters published under his name, dated 1776 and 1777, 3 vols., 12mo, are entirely in the style of that marquis." Michaud, in the *Universal Biography*, thus expresses

* In recent times a warm discussion of the reign of Clement XIV. has engaged the public mind. It began with "Clement XIV. et les Jesuites," by Cretineau Joly. This work was followed by a life of Clement XIV. by the Oratorian, Father Theiner, Librarian of the Vatican: Father Ravignan added his "Clement XIII. et Clement XIV."

himself on the same subject: "Carraccioli has given the life of Clement XIV. (Paris, 1775 and 1776, 1 vol., 12mo), and the translation of many letters and other writings attributed to that pontiff. The first of those works is only a long panegyric, written without order or method, and in a style unequal, incorrect, and diffuse. The collection of letters is not without interest, but most of the letters are falsely attributed to Ganganelli." The learned author of the "Art of Verifying Dates" sought to verify the originals, but could not do so. It has been objected that Carraccioli had not the ability to write so ingenious an invention; but it is well known that he had associates quite skilful enough to compensate for his want of ability. Count d'Albon, in his "Discourse on History, Government," etc., (vol. ii., p. 235), speaks of Pope Clement XIV. in the following terms: "Opinions vary as to Clement XIV., and the portraits of him written by different hands bear so little resemblance to each other, that it is impossible to recognize in them any resemblance to the same person. Some speak of him in terms of the most exaggerated eulogy, as of a rare man, who was self-made, and who had the merit and the glory of rendering himself celebrated in a short time. Others, in a tone of biting satire, maintain that he is to be best described by giving him the single feature of a man who had the melancholy talent of making himself famous. How are we to extract the truth from such opposite statements? Bulky volumes are given to us telling us about the vast knowledge of the pontiff, the extent of his intellect, the solidity of his judgment, the breadth and depth of his views, and his skill in managing business. But enthusiasm should never be substituted for proofs. The friends and admirers of Pope Ganganelli exert and torment themselves in vain, perhaps to cause the public to share the warmth of their feelings; a shorter and surer way presents itself for the solution of the problem. What good was done by that pontiff? Let us see his acts and his conduct; by showing what he did, we shall enable every one to judge what he was."

I leave d'Albon free scope to show his judgment. I, for my part, will be only the faithful reporter of the facts which belong to history. It does not seem to me to be allowable to judge Clement apart from the perverse whom he permitted to dominate his will. For those who subsequently pretended, and will pretend, to have proofs against him of simony, bargaining, and the complicity of the entire sacred college, in order to place on the throne an instrument of destruction, and those who shall endeavor to write that history of Clement XIV. without hatred, rancor, and interest, and with an icy bandage upon their brow, I will quote another passage from Novaes, relating to Pombal, the original cause of all those disasters. In Novaes we find the following facts, which prove that God punished the principal culprit even in this world:

"In 1777, the order of succession called to the throne of Portugal Queen Mary, daughter of King Joseph I., under whose reign the nation suffered so much abominable ill-treatment at the hands of his despotic minister. The first measure of that princess was to deprive Carvajal of all authority, and send him, under military escort, to his fief of Pombal. Thither two of the royal ministers were sent to put him on trial for the acts of injustice which he had committed during his ministry. The proceedings being ended, the accused himself confessed that he deserved death, to which he was sentenced. But the new sovereign, with the kindly feeling which was natural to her, ordered that extreme sentence not to be carried into execution. The queen was especially incited to that lenity by the entreaties of her husband, Dom Pedro. He remembered the state of oppression in which he had lived while a child, and he was unwilling that the death of his tyrant, who had also been the universal tyrant, should be mistaken for an act of Dom Pedro's personal vengeance.

"Such was the end of the once powerful Carvajal (d'Oeyras), marquis of Pombal, the secretary of state, the prime-minister of the kingdom, the major-domo of the palace, major-domo of the royal palaces, president of the public treasury, protector of the commercial companies, and reformer of the University of Coimbra, posts in which he had received the same honors as the sovereign. Carvajal, the author of the sentence of which we now speak, *i. e.*, the condemnation and destruction of the Society of Jesus, and of the affliction given to the excellent pontiff Clement XIII., was faithfully depicted in a few sentences of the address of the councillor Sylva to the queen, when she was proclaimed sovereign. He addressed her in presence of an innumerable audience assembled in the great commercial square of Lisbon, before all the royal family of the kingdom, and all the nobility of the kingdom, including Carvajal's own son.*

"At a time and under circumstances in which an orator could not dare to be guilty of an imposture or a calumny, Sylva boldly said :

" 'The wounds still bleed that were opened in Portugal by that blind and unlimited despotism, our sufferings from which are only now ending. He (Carvajal) was the systematic enemy of humanity, of religion, of liberty, of merit, and of virtue. He populated the prisons with the very flower of the kingdom. He oppressed the nation, and reduced it to misery. He lost the respect due to the pontifical authority (here we have the complete apology for Clement XIII.) He depressed the nobility. He corrupted morals, perverted legislation, and ruled the State with an iron sceptre, in a manner the vilest and the grossest that has ever been witnessed in the world.' "

* The Count d'Oeyras. He presided over the Senate that day, and was the head of the assembly.

To those historical facts I will add the judgment so eloquently, and at once so Christianly and so severely, pronounced by Cardinal Somaglia, secretary of state to Leo XII.

I will first give the extract from a dispatch of the marquis de Laval, dated in 1823, in which, referring to the duties and the acts of the Roman court, incidental mention is made of Clement XIV.

The ambassador, after speaking of the little success of the combinations made between the crowns, continues thus :

“ It must not be forgotten that Rome has often gained rather than lost by her defeats. The admirable construction of that political machine, when considered in its entirety, leaves no doubt upon that head ; and the government that has to conciliate the anti-Catholics, who possess a considerable part of Europe, and to endure, with dignity, the mortifications which are almost daily offered to her—the council which in all Europe has the most prudent, affectionate, enlightened, and conciliatory men, does not commit capital faults.

“ The sacred college has not that mania for playing the great game which in battles and finances has ruined more than one empire. It can justly say through the secretary of state :

“ ‘ Point out a fault of the Roman court during the last two centuries, a single fault attributable to its tyranny and ambition. There is but one to be found, and that one shows not its ambition but its weakness—Clement XIV. exhibits it.’ ”

I have not and I will not have any other opinion upon that point than that of Cardinal Somaglia ; his expressions have a certain degree of justice, measure, reserve, and concession which has always struck me.

He does not reject Clement XIV. from the lineage of the pontiffs. There has been a fault which demonstrates the weakness of Rome—Clement XIV. exhibits it.

All this controversy is referred to God. Good Catholics have only to be silent. Those who have defended religion should not embarrass the glory that they have acquired ; and the courts should not threaten chastisement without knowing whether their sentence will be confirmed at home. The faithful guards should remain immovable beneath the flag. The suffering parties should have no other rule than prudence. God, the same God who judges Clement, throws down kingdoms and raises them up. All men should be silent upon a subject on which God alone can finally decide.

The Holy See was vacant four months and twenty-two days.*

* I possess three medals of this reign :

1. CLEMENS XIV. PONT. M. A. I. *Rev. : DEDIT GLORIAM IN LOCO ISTO.* In the exergue : MDCCLXI. View of the church of the Holy Apostles, where Clement XIV. resided before he became cardinal.

We will close with a few facts relative to the tomb of Clement XIV.

"When Canova began to be distinguished at Rome, he numbered among his friends Volpato, the engraver of the finest works of Raphael, a man of exemplary honor. Canova asked in marriage the hand of Domenica, a daughter of that artist, who consented to that union.

"At that juncture, Signor Carlo Georgi, to whom Clement XIV. had given a lucrative employment, wishing to erect a monument to his benefactor, requested Volpato to find out a sculptor competent to the fitting execution of that great work. Volpato recommended Canova, not because the latter was about to become his son-in-law, but because he was a man of distinguished talent. The name of his employer remained a secret, which Canova promised faithfully to keep. In the midst of his good fortune, Canova was to experience a great grief. Domenica determined to give her hand to Raphael Morghen. Volpato, in revoking the promise of a father, confirmed the commands of the friend, and he advised the young artist, who was barely eighteen years old, to go to Carrara and select marble fit for his monument. On his return, he began, and very rapidly finished the colossal model in clay. The statue of Clement XIV., in the pontifical habit, was seated above a sarcophagus, accompanied by two statues of the same proportions. One of these is standing, and is *Moderation* weeping; the other, *Gentleness*, is seated on the surbase, which was to contain a scene copied from the door of the sacristy of the church of the Holy Apostles. Previous to casting the model in plaster, Canova begged Gavino Hamilton, his friend and a very good painter, to bring his friend, the great painter, Pompey Battoni. The latter, on seeing the group, said only these few words: 'This young man has great talent, but he has chosen a wrong way; I advise him to quit it;' and

2. REFVLST SOL. The pontiff is seen embracing Lusitania; an escutcheon is seen bearing the arms of Portugal. In the exergue: CONCORDIA, MDCCLXX.

This medal was struck on occasion of the re-establishment of concord with Portugal. But Pombal was still in power there, and the pope had given the cardinal's hat to the brother of that sanguinary minister.

3. DEVS NOVA FÆDERA SANCIT. The pontiff blesses a child that a crowned female holds in her arms. In the exergue is the inscription: HISPAN INFANS. A. S. FONTO SVSCEPTVS. Struck on the occasion of the birth of the eldest son of Charles III. On an escutcheon are seen the arms of Spain, the lions, the towers, and the lilies. On the left, a pedestal, bearing a statue, which appears to be that of Saint Paul, with his sword. Florida Blanca could not obtain less than Pombal. The head on the obverse wears the tiara.

I find these others described.

4. ELEVAT PAVPERES. A woman holds in her arms a child, and consoles the poor. In the exergue are the words VECTIGALIA REMISSA, 1769. That was one of the first acts of the government of Clement XIV.

5. FRUCTUM ATTVTIT IN PATIENTIA. A palm-tree, laden with fruit.

6. NVNQVAM NOVI VOS, DISCEDITE A ME. PS. CXVII. 23. Christ, followed by two apostles, repulses three members of the Society of Jesus. This insulting medal cannot have been struck at Rome. The workmanship is different from that of the Hamerani; it may have been struck in Germany, by order of some agent of Pombal.

he went out. Canova was completely overwhelmed by this dictatorial sentence; but Gavino restored him to courage. Quatremere de Quincy, who was then at Rome, arrived, and told Canova that Battoni had spoken as a partisan of the Berninis and the Marattas, and of their traditions, which were unreasonable.

“‘It is precisely against their manner and their taste for imitation,’ continued de Quincy, ‘that you have set up again the banner of antiquity; and his criticism should rather please and encourage than vex and depress you. The best reply to such criticisms is to persevere in the true system.’ Wishing to prove himself still further a true friend, he praised the figure of *Gentleness*, in which he suggested some alterations. He went so far as to say of the figure of *Moderation*: ‘In its present state, it is not worthy of you.’ Canova replied in tones of friendship: ‘Oh! many thanks!’ He abandoned that *Moderation*, and commenced another.

“Eight days afterwards, the new statue, eleven feet high, was finished as we now see it. Milizia, who had the reputation of a rigid Aristarchus, wrote to Count Sangiovanni, that in that mausoleum *Gentleness* looks as innocent and gentle as the lamb by her side; and that formerly, in the palmy days of Greece, if they could be supposed to have to represent a pope, they would have given him no other appearance than that which Canova had given to Ganganelli. The composition is of a simplicity the most facile in appearance, though in reality most difficult.”



254. PIUS VI.—A. D. 1775.



PIUS VI. (John Angelo Braschi) was born at Cesena, a city of Romagna, December 27th, 1717; his father, Count Marcus Aurelius Braschi, belonging to one of the noblest families of the city, and his mother being the Countess Ann Teresa Bandi, an illustrious lady of that province.

After early studies, under his parents' eyes, young Braschi passed to the schools of the Jesuits, where he soon displayed the happiest qualities. His judgment was precocious. He learned the most difficult matters with ease, and retained them in a memory which never lost them; for fifty years after he still recited from memory extracts from the most celebrated Greek and Roman writers, as though he had but just read them. He was not yet seventeen when, in 1735, he was made doctor of the civil and canon law: and that moment he resolved to embrace the ecclesiastical career, although the last male of his line. To perfect himself in study, he left Cesena and proceeded to Ferrara, under the direction of his maternal uncle, John Charles Bandi, then auditor to Cardinal Ruffo, the pontifical legate in that province. The cardinal, soon won by his docility, modesty, courtesy, and eloquence, gave him all his confidence, and made him his secretary.

In 1740, he attended the cardinal to Rome as his conclavist, and was then made by him auditor in his diocese of Ostia and Velletri. This post Braschi kept for thirteen years, till the death of his protector in 1753.

On the 11th of August, 1744, being at Naples during an engagement between the Austrians and Neapolitans, in which Charles III., king of Naples, had well-nigh fallen into the hands of the Austrians, Braschi saved the papers of the Neapolitan chancery. The king subsequently meeting him at Rome, promised him his protection, and he always retained it.

Troubles having arisen at Naples in regard to archbishops' officials, Benedict XIV. sent Braschi to settle the difficulty. The negotiator succeeded to the satisfaction of both courts. To reward him, Benedict made him the assistant in his studies. Employed in writing, under the dictation of that learned pontiff, Braschi became secret chamberlain and canon of the Vatican. Propositions were made for his marriage, but he renounced all idea of it. He solicited the priesthood. In 1758, he entered the prelacy, and took the oath of referendary in the hands of Cardinal Corsini.

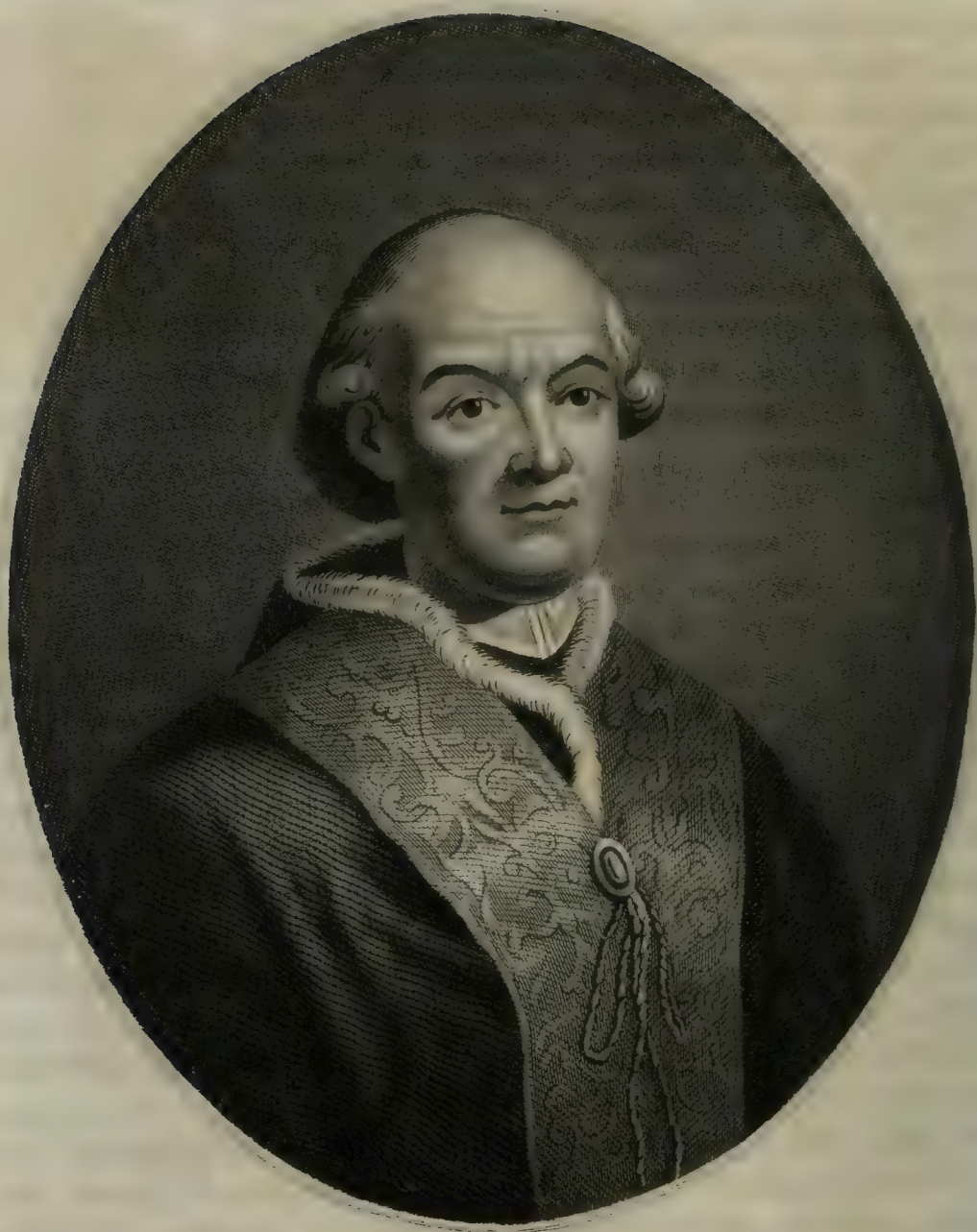


PLATE 14

In 1759, Cardinal Rezzonico, camerlinga, chose Braschi as his civil auditor, a post always filled by an able jurisconsult and prelate. Clement XIII. made Monsignor Braschi treasurer-general, in 1766, and Clement XIV. created him cardinal on the 26th April, 1773.

After the funeral of Clement, twenty-seven cardinals entered into conclave. Other arrivals increased the number to forty-three, and the conclave was prolonged to four months and nine days.

As before, the courts of the house of Bourbon resorted to infamous intrigues, to violations of the established rules of the conclaves; and the minister of the petty kingdom of Portugal threatened to resort to force, if the cardinals did not elect a pope to please the crowns. The unbiased cardinals, having only the true interests of the Church at heart, might have elected a pope from the first, but to give no ground for any accusation of surprise, calmly awaited the arrival of their colleagues at a distance. One thing, however, they made well understood—that exclusions by the crowns, pushed to such an extreme in the last conclave, were too odious a step to be again renewed.

Gradually the votes for Cardinal Braschi so increased as to leave so little doubt of his election, that all at last united in raising him to the papacy, on the 15th of February, 1775.

The new pope took the name of Pius VI., in honor of Saint Pius V., for whom he had a special devotion. He was consecrated bishop on the 23d of February, and crowned immediately afterwards, although he did not take possession of Saint John Lateran till the 30th of November.

One of the first cares of Pius VI. was to open the Jubilee of the Holy Year, and provide for the wants of the crowds of pilgrims who thronged the eternal city.* Suitable provision was made for the reception of Charles Theodore, elector palatine of the Rhine; Maximilian, archduke of Austria, brother of Joseph II.; the duke of Gloucester, brother of George III.; and the marquis of Anspach, brother of the king of Prussia.

The holy door was opened on the 26th of February, and closed by the pope, with great ceremony, on Christmas-eve.

The next care of the pontiff was to establish regulations as to the dress of ecclesiastics, and reform a certain laxity in manners which had crept in. Several decisions, rendered by him on these points, were universally approved in Italy.

Before ascending the throne, Pius having been treasurer-general, was conversant with the financial abuses. The preceding pope had too lavishly granted survivorships. Pius severely revoked all. He reduced

* It was ascertained, after the close, that one hundred and thirty thousand pilgrims visited Rome, without any accident or confusion in the ceremonies.

large pensions unwisely granted, and thus, in an instant, increased the revenues.

Little protection had been accorded to agriculture. Fresh from the cabinet, he knew how much depended on it: new laws protected the farmer and dealers in grain; rewards were assigned to the most vigilant agriculturists. A congregation of cardinals was appointed to consider the evil effects of sloth, scanty sowings, monopolies, false weights. The State then received greater returns, and merchants relief. It was unusual to see a treasury department thus aid a class it elsewhere oppresses. This congregation immediately ordered a merchant, who had enjoyed the favor of the preceding pontiff, to account for nine hundred thousand crowns furnished by the apostolic chamber to purchase grain during the scarcity of 1771-1772, and to aid those who were too embarrassed to sow necessary crops. He was convicted, not of fraud, but of neglect, and condemned to refund to the treasury two hundred and eighty-two thousand crowns.

The king of Spain, perceiving the ruin of this merchant, relieved him in his distress by a pension.

The Holy Father, animated by a sentiment of justice, wished to show his interest in the Jesuits, whom he acknowledged as unfortunate rather than guilty. To several he granted favors, and without formally disapproving what had been done, he improved the treatment of those whom he found confined in the castle of Sant' Angelo. Among these was Father Ricci, the general of the order. He died on the 24th of November, 1775. By order of the pope, solemn obsequies were performed in the church of the Florentines, and his body borne to the Gesù, to repose beside his predecessors in the generalship. Father Ricci left a memoir, in which he protested, as he did also before receiving the viaticum, in the presence of several witnesses—1st. That the Society of Jesus had, to his knowledge, given no grounds for its suppression, and this he declared as a superior well informed of the affairs of his order; 2d. That as to himself, individually, he did not believe that any act of his merited the imprisonment or hardships to which he was subjected on the extinction of the society; that he sincerely pardoned all who had harassed and afflicted him, first by the ill-treatment of his brethren, and then by their attacks on his reputation. Pope Pius VI. soon after released from imprisonment all the other Jesuits. At the same time, on the request of Frederick II., king of Prussia, he maintained the institute of those religious, as a body, in the States of that prince, who deemed them necessary for the instruction of a million and a half of his Catholic subjects. On this occasion, not to give umbrage to the courts of the house of Bourbon, Frederick asked that the Jesuits should lay aside the distinctive habit of their order, and appear only in the dress of secular priests, although freely following their rule.

Meanwhile, in pursuance of a decree of the heads of the orders, cardinals who in turn direct affairs during the vacancy of the Holy See, a prosecution was carried on against the Abbate Cajetan Sertor, a Florentine, who, during the recent conclave, had published a drama entitled *The Conclave*, ridiculing nearly all the members of the sacred college, to the great scandal of the Catholic world. But Pope Pius, believing him led away by poetic imagination and ill-directed wit, rather than perverse feelings, deemed his long imprisonment a sufficient punishment. He accordingly ordered him to retire for some months to a convent of Observantine Franciscans, and then leave the Roman States. Cardinal Zelada, who had most ground to complain of Sertor's satire, not only pardoned him, but, with religious generosity, sent him a hundred crowns for his journey, advising him, however, to devote himself to a more useful profession than that of satiric poet.

During the previous reign, the property of Peter Ojetti had been sequestered for illegally shipping grain out of the State. After his death his widow applied to Pius, and showed the irregularity of two judges in the case. The pope instituted an examination, restored the property, and removed the judges, who, under a severer pontiff, would not have escaped so lightly.

To these proofs of his equity, Pius added an ardent desire to show his zeal for the good of his people. A project for draining the Pontine marshes had been presented to Clement XIV. by Monsignor Bolognini. He proposed to drain a district all covered with lakes, connecting for over twelve leagues. The Holy Father examined the plan calmly and attentively; and, anxious to improve the sanitary condition and agricultural value of the district, approved the plan, confiding its execution to Monsignor Bolognini, subjecting him for general direction to a congregation of cardinals.

For several years after, Pius VI. consulted the most learned men in hydrostatics, and experienced engineers, among others, Louis Benck and Cajetan Damini. The works were to begin in 1777. Then the pope, to avoid all questions between the communes and the owners of the lands and fisheries in the district embraced in the project, appointed Luke Sperandoni commissary legate, with the power to pronounce on all disputes arising. Two professors of mathematics and hydrostatics, Boldrini and Zannotti, were chosen to examine and resolve difficulties that might arise in regard to the plans for the several sections. A general plan of the works in detail was drawn up by Angelo Sani, to serve as a guide for the superintendents, at the head of whom was Cajetan Rapini, a Bolognese, a surveyor and architect accustomed to similar works. The first attempts were successful, and a great part of the district was at once drained.

At this moment, the Barnabite Father Santini, laid before the pope the plan of a canal at Rome, which would be most serviceable to commerce,

saving the expense of land transportation to the capital ; but to Pius VI. the draining of the marshes seemed a more glorious and more beneficial work.

As we have seen, a museum called the Clementine was founded under Clement XIV. Pius VI. ordered embellishments, improvements, and additions on so extensive a scale, that the museum received the name Pio-Clementine, and was placed under the guardianship of the celebrated Abbate Visconti.

The Archduchess Mary Christina, and her husband, Duke Albert of Saxe Teschen, having arrived at Rome to visit the pope, were received with cordiality. Soon after, Rome saw within her gates the landgrave of Hesse Cassel, Prince Augustus of Saxe Gotha, Prince Augustus, brother of the king of England, Gustavus III., king of Sweden, his brother the duke of Ostrogothia, and finally the Emperor Joseph II., and the count du Nord, son of the Empress Catharine. They came to admire the city of Catholicity. The pope ordered the first princes of the State to pay to these august visitors the honors of the grandeurs of Rome.

All the ideas of Pius VI. were grand. Saint Peter's was the noblest temple on earth, but it had no sacristy in keeping with its magnificence. Old structures were demolished, the ground levelled for the erection of a new edifice, and the pope, with imposing ceremonial, laid the corner-stone. Besides the sacristy, the new erections were to comprise the capitulary chamber and the canonica, a building large enough to accommodate all the canons. The enterprising pontiff did not confine his meditations to such labors ; his genius, ever devoted to the good of his people, must needs embrace other works, to give employment and illustrate his reign.

He purposed joining Lake Thrasymene with the Tiber, by a mathematically traced descent. This would be an incalculable benefit to the neighborhood of Perugia. Father Gaudio, of the Pious Schools, was appointed to prepare the plans.

The antemural of Civita Vecchia, that formidable bulwark reared against the sea by Trajan, urgently required repair. This was ordered by Pius VI. and executed with skill.

The tribute of the palfrey still existed, notwithstanding the discontent of Bernard Tanucci, minister of Naples. By a dispatch addressed to the prince of Cimitilla, ambassador of his Sicilian majesty, the minister declared that the king had resolved no longer to consent to the solemn ceremony of the palfrey ; in future, his majesty would simply remit to the pontifical treasury the stipulated sum of seven thousand gold ducats, as a devout offering to the apostles Saint Peter and Saint Paul. The pope, by his silence, neither approved nor disapproved the king's resolution, although a violation of the solemn oath taken in his name at the time of the investiture. When, on Saint Peter's day, in 1777, the ceremony of the

palfrey took place with the ordinary pomp, Constable Colonna added to his accustomed discourse, that he presented the tribute for that year in attestation of the devotion of his sovereign to the apostles Saint Peter and Saint Paul. The pope, surprised at this formula, replied promptly : " We accept this palfrey as a sign of vassalage due us." The people with lively acclamations applauded this reply.

The same enthusiasm was not shown at the sumptuous festivities celebrated on the 31st of August, when the famous shepherdess of Arcadia, Corilla Olimpica (Magdalen Morelli Fernandez di Pistoia), was crowned in the capitol. Many Romans deemed her unworthy of such an honor, granted only to the most renowned poets ; and satirical verses assailed this complaisance of Pius VI. The new laureate was hissed as she left the capitol, and had to leave Rome under an armed escort.

This same year witnessed a ministerial revolution which took place in Portugal. The cruel minister, Pombal, lost his power. Prison-doors rolled open, and the countless victims long pining there recovered their liberty ; the pope's nuncio recovered his lost privileges ; many religious houses that had been proscribed were restored ; the See of Lisbon recovered its honors, revenues, and chapter ; bishops came forth from bondage. This revolution changed the lot of the ex-Jesuits confined in Saint Julian's tower at Lisbon, victims of the monster's tyranny. The new queen, after the death of her father, Joseph I., exiled Pombal, whom a tribunal had just condemned to death.

Pius VI. deemed it a favorable opportunity to demand reimbursement for the expenses incurred by the pontifical treasury in supporting the Portuguese Jesuits, thrown almost naked and like so many slaves on the Roman shore. The queen admitted the justice of the claim, and paid one million and eighty-thousand crowns, soliciting, moreover, new religious favors for her kingdom.

At that moment the Empress Maria Teresa solicited the erection of two new Sees in Hungary, which Pius VI. eagerly granted.

New Sees were also established in the vast Spanish possessions in the Indies, at the request of the king of Spain.

In a promotion on the 24th of April, 1775, the pope created as cardinals :
1. Leonard Antonelli, a noble of Sinigaglia, born November 6th, 1730, afterwards prefect of the Propaganda, and dean of the sacred college ;
2. Bernardine de Vecchi, a Siennese noble, born June 28th, 1699. In a second promotion, May 29th, 1775, he created John Charles Bandi, of Cesena, his maternal uncle, born July 17th, 1700. In a third promotion, July 17th, 1775, he created Francis Mary Banditi, of Rimini, born September 9th, 1705, and Ignatius Buoncompagni Ludovisi, of the princes of Piombino, born July 17th, 1743.

On a fourth promotion, November 13th, 1775, he created cardinal Friar John Thomas de Boxadors, a noble Spaniard, born at Barcelona, April 3d, 1703, minister-general of the order of Saint Dominic.

In 1776, Pius VI. made two promotions. In the first, on the 15th of April, he created Louis Valenti Gonzaga, born at Rovere, near Mantua, October 15th, 1725, nuncio at Madrid; John Archinte of Milan, born August 10th, 1736, major-domo. In the second, he created Guy Calcagnini of Ferrara; Angelo Mary Durini of Milan, nuncio in Poland, president at Avignon.

Since his accession, thirteen cardinals had died—De Solis, Sersale, de Rodt, Malvezzi, de Vecchi, Bonacorsi, Veterani, Saldanha, Paracciani, Torreggiani, de Rochechouart, Spinola, and de la Roche Aymon. It was necessary to fill these vacancies.

In 1777, Pius VI. made his seventh promotion. It comprised—1. Bernard Honorati, born at Jési, July 17th, 1724, secretary of bishops and regulars; 2. Mark Anthony Marcolini of Fano, born November 22d, 1721, president of Urbino; 3. William Pallotta of Macerata, born November 13th, 1727, treasurer-general of the chamber; 4. Gregory Salviati, born at Rome, December 12th, 1722, vice-legate at Avignon; 5. Andrew Giovanetti of Bologna, born January 15th, 1722, a Camaldolese; 6. Hyacinth Sigismund Gerdil, born at Samoens, near Geneva, in Savoy, June 23d, 1718, a Barnabite, and preceptor of the princes royal of Savoy; 7. John Anthony Manciforte Spinelli, a noble of Ancona, born at Assisi, February 22d, 1730, nuncio at Florence; 8. Vincent Mary Altieri, born November 27th, 1724.

The eighth promotion took place June 1st, 1777; it was called the promotion of the crowns, and comprised—1. Francis Xavier del Gado, a noble Spaniard, born December 18th, 1714, patriarch of the Indies, archbishop of Seville; 2. Dominic de la Rochefoucauld, born near Mende, in 1713, archbishop of Rouen; 3. John Henry de Frankenberg, born at Flockau, near Breslaw, September 18th, 1726, archbishop of Mechlin; 4. Joseph Bathyany, born at Vienna, January 30th, 1727, archbishop of Strigonia; 5. Thomas Mary Ghilini, a Piedmontese, born at Alessandria, August 6th, 1718, secretary of the Consulta; 6. Charles Joseph Philip de Martiniana, a Piedmontese, born at Turin, June 17th, 1724, bishop of Vercelli; 7. Louis Rene Edward de Rohan, born at Paris, September 25th, 1734, bishop of Canope *in partibus*, and coadjutor to his uncle, the bishop of Strasburg; 8. Ferdinand de Souza y Sylva, a Portuguese, born at Lisbon, September 5th, 1712, principal of the patriarch at Lisbon; 9. John Cornero, a Venetian, born June 5th, 1720, governor of Rome; 10. Romuald Guidi of Cesena, born February 5th, 1722, commander of Espiritu Santo in Sassia.

The ninth promotion took place July 12th, 1779. It comprised Alexander Mattei, a Roman, born February 20th, 1744, archbishop of Ferrara; and

Francis Herzan de Harras, a Bohemian, born at Prague, April 5th, 1735, auditor of the Rota for the Germans.

On the 11th of December, 1780, Pius VI. made his tenth promotion, and created Cardinal Paul Francis Antamori, a Roman, born November 14th, 1712, bishop of Ostia.

In order to diffuse still more the benefits of the Catholic religion, the Holy Father issued a bull in which he confirmed the dispositions already taken to preserve and repair the holy places, the custody of which is so justly confided to the Franciscans of the Observance. The Holy Father exhorted all the faithful to send alms to these Fathers, who had paid enormous contributions during the last wars of the Turks. It was necessary, too, to keep up the exercises of piety practised around the tomb of Christ. The ecclesiastical authorities, in all the Catholic States, were urged to make quarterly collections. All who contributed to relieve these necessities were admitted to a participation in all the pious works of the Franciscans.

Constant complaints were made to the pope against the laxity of life in the order of Malta. Four years before, September 9th, 1775, three hundred rebels, instigated by Cajetan Mannarino, a priest, formerly a missionary and preacher, formed a conspiracy against the grand master. A dispute, too, between that sovereign and the bishop of the island, had been carried so far, that the latter was obliged to leave his church and take refuge in Rome. The pope, to reform the order and restore peace, ordered that no one in the island should receive the tonsure, except under the title of benefice or perpetual chapel. None were to be admitted to minor orders under eighteen, unless they had spent at least three years in a seminary, and brought an authentic testimonial of correct life.

Pius VI. then became mediator between the grand master and bishop, and by his good offices restored the pastor to his flock.

The pope was troubled with the opposition of some Catholic courts, whose regulations on ecclesiastical matters conflicted with the interests of religion. The obstinate schism of the church of Utrecht also afflicted him. At the same time, the heart of the Holy Father was gladdened by the tidings that the English government had modified, and to a great extent abolished some provisions of an Act of William III., against the Catholic bishops, and against Catholics remaining in the British empire. They were restored to almost all the rights everywhere deemed inherent in a good citizen.

Pius was also consoled by the retractation of Monsignor John Nicholas de Hontheim, bishop of Myriophidia *in partibus*, and suffragan of Prince Clement of Saxe, archbishop elector of Treves. In his work, *De Statu Ecclesie*, published in 1763, under the pseudonym of Justin Febronius, and condemned by Clement XIII. in 1764, this prelate warmly assailed the rights of the Holy See, and endeavored to destroy the unity of the Church, against

which he declaimed with bold temerity. Many authors undertook to refute the work, and succeeded. The assembly of the clergy of France, on being consulted, replied, that the book, little known in France, was regarded as very inaccurate, as favoring the new ideas, and as at variance with the doctrine so often professed by the Gallican Church on the primacy of the popes and the authority of the Roman Church.

Among the writers distinguished on that occasion were Father Valsecchi, a Dominican professor at Padua; Father Sangallo, a Conventual Franciscan; the brothers Ballerini, of Verona; Froben, Zecch, Kleiner, Feller, Berger; and above all, the Jesuit Francis Anthony Zaccaria. Several cabinets who favored the anti-febronian opinions deprived Zaccaria of his post as librarian to the duke of Modena, constraining that prince to banish him, so offensive to them was his *Antifebronius*, or *Historico-polemic Apology* for the primacy of the pope (Pesaro, 1767, 4to).*

The work that threw most lustre on the reign of Pius VI., and to which he himself attached most value, was the draining of the Pontine marshes. It flattered his self-love, and drew on him pompous eulogium. It was indeed an enterprise tending to the prosperity and salubrity of an important part of Italy.

The Appian Way, so famous in history for its age and its founder, illustrated by so many triumphal processions, and which sufficed in its very ruins to give a high idea of the magnificence of the Romans in their works, crossed the district called the Pontine marshes.

The origin of their existence is lost in the night of time. Two rivers, which have preserved to our day their ancient names, Amasemus and Uffens, seem by their overflow to have first desolated the country, whenever the neglect of the local authorities ceased to call in the beneficent hand of industry. From this part of the Apennines, which border the ancient Campania, and at the foot of which is a large valley running to the sea, descend a number of streams of all sizes, fed by inexhaustible sources in the summits and sides of that rocky range. Blending, they form several rivers, whose bed, constantly filled up by the mud brought down, becomes incapable of holding the abundant tribute they receive, especially in the rainy season, when they rise and overflow the plain, which is level with their banks. Some of these streams flow into the lowest parts, and there form vast ponds, which teem with fish. Such is the permanent cause of the marshy tendency of this district; such the obstacles which the Romans in the splendor of their republic had to overcome.

A colony of Spartans, disgusted with the severity of the Lycurgan laws,

* A second edition appeared at Cesena in 1770. Zaccaria subsequently translated it into Latin, and enlarged it. In this form it appeared at Cesena in 4 vols., 8vo.

left Lacedemon, and after a long and painful voyage landed on this coast. Finding a fertile country, they settled there, and according to the usage of those superstitious times, consecrated a temple, a sacred wood, and fountains, to an unknown goddess, whom they chose to call Feronia, and whose worship and altars are immortalized by Horace.*

By the care of this industrious colony, the country which they had peacefully conquered filled up rapidly with people, and shone with culture. It is the land of the Volsci, who play a part in the hardy youth of the Roman republic. This country was long one of the principal granaries of the city of Rome.

But even at the period of its greatest splendor, this country, wasted by the inundations, assumed indistinctively the names of Campagna and marshes.† The twenty-three cities that once adorned its surface lived only in the memory of the Romans. The great families of the capital, however, erected on the spots where elevation or industry checked the ravages of the stagnant waters, those villas whose charms and fertility have been chanted by the Roman muse.

About three centuries before the Christian era, the censor Appius Claudius, surnamed the blind, was the first benefactor of this country, having thrown across the marshes the causeway which bears his name, and was never equalled in magnificence. Among other monuments, it presented those tombs which awakened in the soul of the traveller the philosophic thought—"Those who here repose once lived, and like thee were mortal."

Yet it was not till a century and a half after the construction of the Appian Way that the consul Cornelius Cethegus undertook to drain the Pontine marshes. His effort was vain and transitory. Julius Cæsar found the Campagna again a desert. Eager for every form of glory, he determined to restore it to agriculture, but a premature death prevented his undertaking.

Augustus, however, opened along the Appian Way a canal to receive and carry off the stagnant waters, and at the same time furnish a means for transporting passengers and merchandise. It was by this canal that Horace went with Mæcenæ from Rome to Brundisium, seasoning his account of the trip with his satirical humor.

Trajan was the next to attempt the improvements of this ill-starred land; but he merely repaired and embellished the Appian Way, and erected one that bears his name.

* "*Ora manusque tua lavimus, Feronia, lympha.*" Lib. i., Sat. v. The dutchess of Devonshire printed, privately, at Rome, in 1816, a magnificent edition of this satire, in Latin and Italian, with fine engravings, one of which represents the fountain Feronia in its present condition.

† *Ager Pontinus, Palus Pontinæ.*

Nearly three centuries afterwards, during the memorable reign of Theodoric I., king of the Goths in Italy, the Pontine marshes resumed their hideous form. That prince, by his minister, the great Cassiodorus, thus depicts them to the Roman senate, in the poetic style of the time which was not really so barbarous. "These marshes, whose hostile fury ravages the neighboring country, where the resistless violence of the waters extends like a sea, and rules all the country from afar, desolates the finest fields by fearful inundations, withering their smiling face by converting it into a desert, and dishonors a soil which, stripped of its fruits by its incursions, no longer bears useful products, since it has fallen a prey to the stagnant waters. Let us admire and imitate the bold energy of past ages revived in one of our contemporaries, who faces alone what the united powers of the State shrank from undertaking." He alludes to Decius, a rich patrician, who really offered to undertake alone the drainage of these marshes, Theodoric ceding to him the part which he might recover, it being but just, he said, that each one should enjoy the fruit of his toil.

An inscription found near Terracina, proves that the efforts of Decius were crowned with some success. But after him, time, powerfully seconded by the ravages of war, the ignorance and neglect of governments, resumed its sway over this country, alternately the scene of rich cultivation and slimy wilderness. The popes whose temporal authority first extended over it, were prevented by the troubles of the time from possessing that constant activity, and by the low state of science from possessing the knowledge or means requisite to accomplish those miracles of industry. Boniface VIII., Martin V.,* Leo X., Sixtus V. especially, whose character recalls in many points of view the fairest days of Rome, ambitioned this glory, and did not fail to gain some advantage. Projects were formed, maps made, Dutch engineers consulted, the character of Holland having created a body of skilful engineers, who, availing themselves of the learning of the old Italians, disputed some poor acres of ground with the waves of the sea. Several Bolognese under Benedict XIV., Clements XIII. and XIV., presented plans of drainage which were lightly examined and laid away in the portfolios of the Vatican. Meanwhile the source of ravage flowed slowly but uninterruptedly on, so that when Pius VI. ascended the throne, the Pontine marshes, after two centuries of neglect, presented a most lamentable aspect.

To restore them to agriculture, and bless with salubrity the vast tract which they covered, was an enterprise to appal any ordinary courage: that of Pius was sustained by the perspective of glory that was to environ his

* There are few traces of the labors of Boniface. In the time of Martin V. it was richly cultivated. The peasants still show a Rio Martino. The proofs of Leo's labors are to be found in the Medici archives rather than on the spot.

name. One day visiting that desolate waste, he shuddered as he beheld from a hill-top the ravages of time and water, the pestilential fog hovering over the scene, the very danger that menaced him if he continued too long to tread that unsafe spot. He conceived the project of beginning by opening a secure road, and constructing great bridges over this abyss, in order to give at least means of crossing it without danger. Then would come the great operation of draining. The marshes begin at the port of Astura, where Cicero was beheaded, and where, thirteen centuries later, the ill-fated Conradine fell into the hands of his pitiless conqueror. The marshes then extend along the coast to Terracina, on the Neapolitan border, striking in some places far inland. They would long since have poisoned Rome, had not the pestilential vapors been arrested by the forests which shield the towns of Cisterna and Sermoneta.

In the commencement of a reign, especially after a troubled one, attention and hope revive, and designs of more than ordinary extent may be attempted. The sovereign pontiff was now only fifty-eight years of age; vanity, ambition, and adulation eagerly seconded his views: those of Pius were applauded by his new subjects. He founded a bank which, under the name of *Mount of the Marshes*, was to receive the funds assigned to the work. Voluntary subscriptions soon raised one hundred and twenty thousand Roman crowns. Bolognini, already mentioned in the reign of Clement XIV., was placed at the head of the undertaking. Sani mapped out the ground, showing where the operations might be commenced with the greatest prospect of success.

The first discovery under the mud, was that of an aqueduct for supplying Terracina with water. It was restored at trifling expense. The famous Appian Way was cleared of the successive layers of mud that had buried it, and that masterpiece of Roman magnificence, built entirely of lava, and extending from Rome to Capua, was again restored to the light of day and the use of man, not, however, without great and expensive toil.

Appius Claudius, better versed than his immediate successors in the laws of hydraulics, had seen that this way, built amid stagnant waters, ought not to rise much above their level. The Appian Way was consequently, in flood-tide, temporarily submerged, but its slight elevation favored the passage of the water to the sea, or rather to the host of lakes which doubtless connect with the sea underground, as they discharge little on the surface. The directors of the works, after the days of Claudius, to relieve this temporary difficulty, elevated the road, but while making it at all times passable, fell into a new difficulty. This route, raised five or six feet by Trajan, and several feet more a few centuries later by King Theodoric, was pierced at intervals by arches, under which the waters from the Apennines escaped seaward. These waters, which in time of inundation easily passed over the

old road, were now held in by the dam raised by a want of foresight and ill-considered attempts to improve. The waters, instead of escaping, stagnated, spread, and rose, and the evil sought to be arrested was but increased. It was at its zenith when Pius VI. resolved to attack it at its source. He first demolished the successive layers of stone that covered the works of the ancient Romans. Inscriptions, spared by time and the elements, revealed the time of their construction and the names of the authors. The genuine Appian Way was at last reached, by rejecting the errors of Trajan and Theodoric.

This road was found still furrowed deeply by the chariot wheels of the republic, perhaps by triumphal cars,—sacred traces, which revived noble recollections. On this venerable foundation Pius VI. constructed a new road to Terracina, the last city of his States on the south. The kingdom of Naples continued it to the famous Capua. Some years after, this noble road, entirely completed, was thrown open to travel, and became one of the most admirable improvements of modern Italy.

They were not satisfied with achieving this great work: a great canal was opened through the marshes to the lake of Fogliano, which is separated from the sea by a mere tongue of land. Thousands were employed in these labors from the month of October, 1778, and the next year a large tract was ready for cultivation.

Meanwhile the first enthusiasm of the Romans had cooled, and this year was succeeded by murmurs. Voluntary subscriptions did not cover the enormous expense; resort was had to loans, and the work did not seem to justify the ruinous efforts. The revolutionary spirit of the age had spread even to some powerful personages in Italy. Popes, it was said, should not undertake such great works.* The enterprise was decried even by those who had contributed, disappointed to see so little apparent benefit resulting. The indignant pope was only confirmed in his design. Some scenes occur which display his character, easily excited, but always just and beneficent,—scenes which could occur only at Rome, where, as Americans feel so well, an audience is not a mere opportunity to see a state personage, but a privileged moment, where the humblest priest or layman converses with a certain freedom with one whom the highest monarchs of earth respect.

A priest of Terracina, a good ecclesiastic, but a poor courtier, went to Rome to seek a prebend. Having crossed the district which absorbed the pontiff's attention, he could give recent and certain intelligence. To the questions of Pius, he replied without disguise, that the drainage made no progress, and that the money spent was money lost. "Money lost!" cried

* Our readers have doubtless frequently met censures on popes for not doing this very work. There is a certain fable where the wolf always contrives to find a lamb in the wrong.

the provoked pope. "What! do you come to brave us in our very palace!" This was a thunderbolt for the poor priest. He fainted, and was carried out. When he came to himself, he saw no course but to return to Terracina in all haste. He was in utter despair, and felt as if he was to leave Rome under the ban of the Holy Father. What was his surprise to see a papal functionary enter, bearing not only a brief for the prebend which he had solicited, but also an order to return to His Holiness as soon as possible! The second interview was less stormy than the first, but was doubtless more useful to the pope. He derived information which he turned to account.

Human effort avails little, however, against the caprice of the elements. Towards the close of 1779, extraordinary inundations swept away a part of the works, entailing incalculable loss, and in part justifying the prediction of the priest of Terracina. No one durst impart the fatal news to Pius. It reached him modified and disguised; alarming enough, however, to make him resolve to visit the spot in person, so as to see the extent of the damage and apply a remedy.

It was then rare enough to see a pope leave his See. Pius VI. had already once visited the Pontine marshes—no one expected a second visit.

Except the visit of Benedict XIII. to Benevento, and the first journey of Pius, no pope, since the days of the former, had been further from Rome than Castel Gandolfo. Pius rose from a sick-bed, and in spite of physicians and courtiers, set out with a very small retinue. This mark of his taste for simplicity and aversion to useless display should have excited applause—it was answered by satires. His economy was ascribed to meanness, his absence of pomp was a want of dignity. At Albano he was received by Cardinal de Bernis, and the city gates bore flattering inscriptions. At Veletri, his first stopping-place, the dean of the sacred college, Cardinal John Francis Albani, paid the noble traveller every kind of homage, to which he was not insensible. On leaving Veletri, he was escorted by a squadron of cuirassiers of his guard to Terracina, where he was to stop. The neighboring cities sent detachments of soldiers to prevent disorders among the crowds who flocked to witness his passage, both from his own States and from Naples. During his few days' stay at Terracina, he resided in a private house. The new prebendary hastened, with streaming eyes, to kiss his benefactor's feet.

Pius VI. thence visited the Pontine marshes, not many miles from that city towards Rome. Current affairs admitting of no delay, were dispatched at each post—important affairs deferred till his return. After an absence of twelve days, Pius returned to his capital well pleased. They are said to have shown him only the works that gave brilliant hopes, and that the damage was concealed; but this is not easy to credit. As a conscientious man, he went to see the damage done, and Pius VI. was not one to be easily de-

ceived; he had studied the question when treasurer-general. In an earnest and honorable desire to know the truth, he asked the different hydraulists presented to him, where lay the danger, miscalculations, local resistance, want of communication with the sea, low spots where fever had become naturalized. A man of business, a wise administrator, a sovereign jealous of his glory, and who fears to compromise it, must easily, by such questions, see some truth, and Pius certainly did. He distributed gold and silver medals to the workmen, saying: "My good friends, all hearts must rejoice at our joy."

Going and returning, he travelled, with a satisfaction easy to appreciate, that fine road which, after so many centuries, had been restored by his exertion, and lost its name of Appian Way in that of Via Pia. This road, still the admiration of travellers, is perhaps one of the most useful results of all his care and labor; for, since that time, the complete drainage of the marshes has been regarded as impossible, inasmuch as the water which covers them is lower than the sea, and as they are fed by streams incessantly flowing from the mountains.

To obviate the difficulty, Pius VI. dug a new canal, and formed on the spot the design of building a new city on the ground rescued from the water. A plan was drawn up. The city would have contained ten thousand hearths, was to be a perfect square, crossed by a wide canal, in which all the neighboring waters would empty. This canal was to empty in the sea, after being a means of transport to inland commerce. The exhausted state of the pontifical treasury obliged Pius VI. to defer this project.

On his return, he visited the lake of Fogliano, and the quarries of marble recently discovered in a mountain on the seaside. On his way, he examined the sumptuous edifices which he was adding to the Abbey of Subiaco, which he had possessed before ascending the pontifical throne. All that belonged to him, near and afar, was to be enriched and embellished. He had at once ordered a fine church, seminary, and palace to be erected at Subiaco.

During this voyage his attention was called to the precious ruins which seem to have belonged to the ancient city of Suessa Pometia, and to the edifices of all kinds that line the Appian Way. Among these ruins were found trunks of statues, inscriptions, bas-reliefs, articles of furniture—some disfigured by time, others still intact. These the pope ordered to be carefully collected for the museum of his projected city.

An unforeseen trial awaited Pius on his return. Naples envying him the fruit of his solicitude, one of his claims to glory, one of the results of his courage, now through the Marquis de la Sambuca, worthy heir of Tanucci's malignity towards the Holy See, was drawing up documents to maintain the claim of Naples to the great part of the Pontine marshes and the city of

Terracina. Naples was envious of the rich fields to rise from the Pontine marshes,—the new city, the port of Terracina, offering a sure haven to small vessels, and perhaps rivalling Naples.

When the *deduction* of Naples finally appeared, the pope was filled with consternation, and the archives consulted to refute the absurd claim, which was based on the idea that the king of Naples was entitled to all waters flowing from his territory, with the territory on them.

Pius VI. paid a third visit to this district. This time he returned much dissatisfied. He continued the works, and then suspended them in consequence of a complaint of Cardinal Orsini. They were resumed, but works published by the learned discouraged those most interested, and no one spoke of the matter without impatience.

Yet not to be unjust, the restoration of the Appian Way as a means of communication between Rome and Naples was itself a great work, and one to improve all the district through which it passed. Before its restoration, the road to Naples was a long detour through Foglia, by the foot of the Apennines, Sermoneta, and Piperno to Terracina. It was then the glory of Pius VI. to have restored a route in some sort imperishable amid daily increasing local difficulties, inefficient resources, and the ill-will of many of his people, who subsequently admitted the greatness of the benefit.*

“No pope,” says de Prony, a French engineer, sent by Napoleon I. to examine the Pontine marshes, “no pope undertook for the Pontine marshes works to compare with those executed between 1777 and 1796, by the orders and under the immediate direction of Pope Pius VI., who had this great and noble work at heart, and expended about two millions of dollars. To him is due the restoration of the Appian Way, the ancient bridge across the marshes, the superb canal beside the road, the vast storehouses of Terracina, and a great many other edifices for civil and religious purposes. Every work of his had a monumental character, from church and palace to the simple post-house. Unfortunately, his first attempts at drainage, based on very specious and seductive plans, not devoid of merit, but too generalized, resulted only in failure.

“Great labors were executed, but disappointment only equalled the hopes conceived. Then, men were loth to take and follow other plans, either because the connection between the modification and the original plan, as well as the results, was not as evident then as now, or because the additional works, required by these corrections, condemned too plainly the first errors, and entailed new and ruinous expense: hence they were undertaken and continued with regret, although correct enough in principle.

* There is an important work by Monsignor Nicola: *Dei Bonificamenti delle terre Pontine*. Rome, Pagliarini, 1800, folio.

"The drainage works then executed under Pius VI., in a hydraulic point of view, are in general great and often imperfect sketches ; and among those not even sketched are some of the highest importance (those, for example, having reference to the waters called *superior*), without controlling which no permanent amelioration of the Pontine soil can be expected. These were not comprised in the primitive plan, because, under the systematic views to which I have alluded, they were deemed useless.

"Notwithstanding these observations, I am none the less convinced that Pius VI. has acquired, by his improvements in the Pontine marshes, an immortal right to public gratitude, and that if a perfect drainage is ever effected, a notable part of the glory of the success will be due to that sovereign pontiff. This glory will be based not only on the important and decisive experimental works performed at such great cost, but also on the sensible diminution of the unhealthy character resulting from his operations."

Prony, whose competence to judge of the matter cannot be disputed, and who was addressing one whose position called for no flattery to the sovereign pontiff, thus solidly establishes the claim of Pius to glory for his great work.

When Joseph I., king of Portugal, died in 1777, the pope pronounced an allocution before his cardinals in a secret consistory. This document was not at first printed, for fear of eliciting protests from Lisbon against some passages which reproached the king, probably in regard to the Jesuits, and his extravagant confidence in Pombal, with having done *less well* on several occasions during his reign. But the pious Queen Mary, who succeeded her father, making no remonstrance, the allocution was granted.

We will give an extract from this document, which may be found entire in the *Bullarium* of Pius VI.*

"VENERABLE BRETHREN :

"As we are all born of the race of the prevaricator, we are all bound by the law of death. The Supreme Hand which formed us of the same clay, knows the number of his vases : he knows when he breaks them. The will of God and the necessity of nature compel us this day to present to you a spectacle of grief.

"We have lost our very dear son in Jesus Christ, Joseph, most faithful king of Portugal. Struck by a lingering disease, he contemplated death with the eyes of faith. Seeing himself about to appear before Him who will judge even justices, he did not murmur. He was not cast down in soul on witnessing the tears of others, but his mind was absorbed with the correction of what during his whole reign he deemed he had done less well."

* Edition of 1832, p. 346.

Further on, the pope declares that his majesty said to the nuncio : " I did not approve what was wrongly done seventeen years ago against another nuncio apostolic."* The king, before dying, had addressed to his daughter Mary counsels already published by the press, and which will give the royal name a more brilliant crown.

" The prince counsels her to govern her people in a spirit of peace and mildness ; to seek only their eternal happiness ; to observe the divine laws, to defend the true religion, and ever to maintain harmony between the priesthood and the civil power."

Pius VI. thus continues : " Now that the situation of Portugal is changed, that the impetuous waves are arrested in their course, what prosperity will not now dawn on the Portuguese nation ! What will not be the tranquillity of the people and the renown of the Princess Mary ! What a reward of glory and felicity will not her merits receive ! God, the God of meekness, protects and exalts those who thirst for harmony of minds."

On the 3d of July, in the same year, the pope confirmed the Confraternity of the Blessed Sacrament of Benevento in its right of annually delivering a malefactor under sentence of death.

By a brief of December 12, 1605, Paul V. had granted to the Confraternity of the Blessed Sacrament of the courageous city of Benevento, the right of delivering every year one condemned to death. This faculty was held valid only for a specified class of criminals, and whom perhaps a law, which it was not desirable to revoke, visited with too severe a penalty ; it required, too, on the part of the family of the victim, a formal and public consent given freely, and from no hope of pecuniary return.

Benedict XIII. and Benedict XIV., acknowledging that services of various kinds rendered to religion by the confraternity, which sought out those who died on the Campagna, which assisted the plague-stricken, distributed dowries to maidens, and everywhere gave examples of beneficence, courage, self-denial, contempt for life in saving their fellow-men, were worthy of a striking recompense, had likewise confirmed this privilege.

Pius VI., in his turn, deemed it just to sanction anew this extraordinary privilege. In the mind of the pontiff, respect for the views of his predecessors was supported also by a desire to reward the people of Benevento for their fidelity during the recent occupation of the town by foreign troops, under the reigns of Clement XIII. and Clement XIV. The city of Benevento, on this occasion, ordered rejoicings throughout the whole duchy, and, by its acclamations, thanked the pontiff who re-extended the right of pardon, and shared it nobly with subjects bound for so many centuries by ties of affectionate devotion to the pontifical government.

* The one who represented that the Jesuits should not be treated so rigorously.

The custodians of the Holy Land, belonging to the order of Minor Observantines (Reformed Franciscans), continued to welcome charitably all pilgrims visiting Jerusalem. Pius VI. addressed apostolic letters to these worthy religious, to compliment and encourage them. This constitution bears date July 31, 1778. The following is an extract :

“ Pius, Bishop, servant of the servants of God, for the perpetual memory of the fact.

“ Among the most profound secrets of the divine judgments, which it is not given to human minds to fathom, we cannot recall without shedding tears, that the land once flowing with milk and honey, become renowned by so many prodigies, and by the signal benefits lavishly granted to the Hebrews ; that this land, so happy and so worthy, since there it was that the Word made flesh accomplished the ineffable work of human redemption, still groans beneath the power of the infidel, and that the efforts of our predecessors and of so many Christian princes have failed to wrest it permanently from the sway of these strangers.

“ But as the chief care of our predecessors, when frustrated in the hopes of recovering it, was to save these witnesses of the Passion of our Lord from being deprived of the care which is becoming, those pontiffs committed their custody to religious men ; that these pontiffs at one time assured pardon for faults to those who visited that sanctuary, and at others exhorted Christians scattered throughout the world not to relax in sending assistance and alms to preserve these holy places. In the same manner we, with equal solicitude and burning with as ardent a desire, are anxious that the divine worship be rendered with the same honor, that the necessities of the religious guardians be defrayed, and works of exemplary charity thus accomplished. We therefore eagerly renew and extend the privileges heretofore granted.

“ Finally, our dear son Vincent Belda, priest of the order of Friars Minor of Saint Francis, of the observance so called, has come to us as commissary of the Holy Land,* and has described to us the sad condition of the churches, convents, and houses committed to the care of those Fathers. These establishments, he assures us, are daily yielding to the ravages of time. The professed of that mission, after celebrating the divine worship in the churches, administering the sacraments, extending the Catholic religion, must also receive pilgrims into the hospices, take care of the sick, constantly teach children the principles of the orthodox faith, watch over, by timely succor, the chastity of young maidens, secure them husbands,

* He was sent by Father John Dominic de Levignano, a Tuscan, custos-general from 1775 to 1787.



Jerusalem.

ransom Catholics fallen into bondage, nourish the poor, even infidels in calamitous times ; in a word, practise frequently a thousand works of mercy. These religious represent that they are unable to meet these expenses, and cannot support the burden unless more liberal alms are uninterruptedly transmitted to them."

The pope cites letters by which Urban VIII. had ordered collections in all the parishes of Christendom. Now these resources are insufficient. Pius VI. thus continues : "We declare that the alms given in Europe for the friars of Saint Francis cannot be converted to any other use, however urgent."

In consequence of this constitution, considerable alms were sent to Jerusalem, from Lisbon, Madrid, Paris, Vienna, Munich, and Warsaw.

On the 19th of December, 1778, Pius VI. pronounced an allocution on the retraction of Justin Febronius.

"VENERABLE BRETHREN :

"You are not ignorant of all the evil done by John Nicholas Hontheim, bishop of Myriophidia *in partibus*, suffragan of Treves.

"Since 1763, under the pseudonym of Justin Febronius, he has published works in which he has not hesitated to attack the unity of the Church, in order to combat the rights of the Holy See. The archbishop of Treves, Clement Wenceslaus, who is distinguished by so much pastoral ardor, the eminence of his mind and his virtues, has induced the said Febronius to confess and retract his errors.

Hontheim admitted that he had misunderstood the testimony of the Fathers, the decrees of the councils, and other ecclesiastical sanctions. In the retraction of the penitent these expressions were remarked : "I confess that God the Son, when he founded the Church, and wished it to be *one*, instituted a primacy to form and govern that *unity*, and confided that primacy to Saint Peter. I firmly avow with the holy fathers, Cyprian, Jerome, Optatus of Milevium, Gregory of Nazianzen, John Chrysostom, Ambrose, Leo the Great, Gregory the Great, and others, that one alone was chosen among the twelve apostles, in order that, this head being constituted, that head on which the Church is founded, there might be no ground for schism. I declare that Jesus Christ, when he conferred powers on his apostles, began by one of them, to whom he attributed the primacy, in order to show forth a Church, *one*, the unity of the See, and at the same time the origin of the unity. He is a schismatic, who, as Optatus says, sets up a Church against that which is *one*, and withdraws from its communion by a refusal of obedience. He has not the heritage of Saint Peter, who by an impious division destroys the See of Peter. Where Peter is,

there is the Church. The foundations of the Church, that is to say, the apostles who are subject to Peter as head, have been confided to that apostle; by an eminent grace, the primacy excels in him. Christ committed to him the direction of the apostles; he is the mouth and the prince of the apostolic college."

Hontheim's retractation contained seventeen articles. He confessed that he had fallen into error. He begged the pope to pardon him and accept his repentance. As we have seen already, he admitted that the keys had been given to one solely, and at the same time the unity; that the pope's primacy is a primacy of jurisdiction, and necessarily perpetual; that the Church has a right to determine the sense and judge the doctrine of propositions; that entire obedience was due to the bull *Unigenitus*; that when any doubt arises as to the state of the Church, recourse must be had to the pope; that the Council of Trent had been free, and that it had acted wisely, in reserving certain dispensations to the pope; that bishops not recognized by the Roman court must be deemed not legitimate.

Hontheim admitted the justice of reserving to the pope the canonization of saints, and appeals in all ecclesiastical causes. On faith, the sacraments, the discipline and power of the Church, the pope has full right to pronounce, etc.

On the 3d of February following, this suffragan bishop published a pastoral to announce and confirm his retractation, in which he declared that he abjured forever all that he had said in his Febronius. He bound himself to combat that work, and himself made known an order of the elector of Treves, forbidding the reading or keeping of that work.

The assertion having been made that these confessions were not entirely free, Hontheim, on the 2d of April, 1780, published a declaration which he sent to the elector his archbishop. In this document the prelate avowed the sincerity of his retractation, and promised to confirm it in a work on which he was engaged. In fact, he published the next year a comment on his retractation, and developed it in thirty-eight articles.

In some he gave interpretations and modifications deemed by many at variance with the document of November 1st, 1778. There are in fact many passages in it which evince the difficulties and stratagems of a writer who wishes not to abandon his primitive opinions; an author who enfeebles by partial restrictions the confessions he has made, and the principles to which he seems to return. Whatever we may think of his sincerity, he inserted in his last work the consistorial acts of December 25th, 1778, the brief addressed to him by the pope, and an extract from a work issued at Rome, which maintained the sincerity of his retractation. He died fully penitent, September 2d, 1790.

Gustavus III., king of Sweden, then wrote to Pope Pius VI. a letter full of respect, in which that prince announced that he had granted the Cath-

olics of Stockholm permission to erect a public church, and give missions freely throughout his States. The church built on the southern suburb was attended, in 1792, by a Bolognese priest of piety and learning. All faithful to the Roman faith gave considerable alms for the expenses of divine worship, as in the days of the primitive Church.

The Catholic Armenians of Constantinople solicited permission to open a church in that city. The schismatic Armenians then began a persecution against our brethren, who till then had been forced to celebrate their sacred ceremonies in the churches of these very Armenian dissidents. The latter, in concert with the Turks, committed a thousand horrible excesses on the faithful. The courts of France and Spain, warmly urged by the pope to stop such massacres, obtained an alleviation of these miseries.

New fears then afflicted the heart of Pius VI. The bishops of the Church of England, conspiring against the Catholics, brought into the House of Lords a list of their diocesans reputed to be Catholics. It was bitterly remarked, that whereas, in 1717, only one thousand five hundred were reckoned in the diocese of Chester, at the present moment there were no less than twenty-seven thousand two hundred and twenty-eight. Lord Ferrers asked a repeal of all acts in favor of the Catholics, and a revocation of all privileges granted to them; but his bill did not pass, and the anti-Catholic agitation ceased for a time.

It seemed then that Asia, better advised, was about to welcome religion—banished from some parts of Europe. King Solomon of Imérel, sovereign of a kingdom bordering on Georgia, and a tributary of Constantinople, at the instance of the Propaganda, granted the Catholic missionaries entire liberty to preach in his States.

Pius VI. showed great firmness in preventing invasions on the rights of the Holy See; at the same time great facility in granting all just petitions laid before him. Catharine II. had maintained the Jesuits in White Russia, notwithstanding the brief of extinction. Pius VI. made no resistance; it is even asserted that he it was who stimulated Catharine's zeal on this occasion. Accordingly, numbers of persons arrived in that province who, without protest on the part of the Holy See, received the habit of Saint Ignatius. The judge of Potesko even solicited the degree of lay-brother.

When, in 1773, Clement XIV. published the brief of extinction, a part of Poland had passed under the Russian yoke. Still the brief was not published there. The Jesuits residing there remained in the same state: they abstained, however, from receiving novices, and persevered in this course, till Mgr. Sieztrzencewicz, bishop of Mohilow *in partibus*, their diocesan bishop and vicar-apostolic in Russia, permitted their reception—authorized to give this permission by a decree of Pope Pius VI., August 9th, 1776. That pope had already, on the 13th of January, 1776, approved and con-

firmed the Fathers. The enemies of the society were alarmed to see it still preserve an asylum in a corner of Europe, and fearful of seeing it return to other countries from which it had been expelled, complained bitterly to the pope of the non-execution of his predecessor's brief. These complaints, supported by powerful and repeated instances, obliged the pope to notify his nuncios that the bishop of Mohilow, in permitting the reception of novices, had exceeded his powers, and the nuncio at Warsaw had orders to inform the bishop of the fact.

This retractation, made with repugnance by Pius VI., did not produce the result desired by the enemies of the Jesuits. The Empress Catharine openly expressed her determination of preserving the Jesuits who were in her States, and she represented to the pope, that to suppress them was to deprive her Catholic subjects of the assistance which they received from those religious, especially in the essential matter of education; and that it was not easy to replace them in a country where educational establishments were very few in number. Nay, more, by virtue of an order of that empress, which became authentic by the approbation of the bishop of Mohilow, the Jesuits assembled in a general congregation in the college of Polocz, and on the 17th of October following elected Father Gerniewicz vicar-general. He and his successors soon found themselves at the head of six houses, containing one hundred and seventy-two members.

The elector-palatine having solicited power to establish in Bavaria a new language of the order of Malta, Pius VI. granted the necessary permission, and appointed Monseigneur Bellisomi, nuncio at Cologne, to proceed to that electorate, and take necessary measures to found two grand priories and thirty commanderies.

On the 16th of November, 1781, the pope published statutes for the order of Saint Paul, the First Hermit, of the congregation of Portugal. The third chapter, "On Chastity," reads thus: "It is an excellent virtue, which renders men like the blessed spirits, when the purity of love, vigilance, care, the curbing of the senses, impose a law and a check on the rebellious cupidities of nature and the violent stings of the flesh.

"For this reason, those who belong to the congregation should be vigilant and attentive to preserve spotless chastity, not only in body but also in spirit; they cannot attain of themselves or by their own strength a victory over the flesh, but they must ask it of the Holy Ghost, without whom there is no holy, no perfect work.

"They must take care that other virtues are acquired by practice; but this is obtained only by avoiding even the most remote occasions. Let them be well convinced that in this no one should trust to his own efforts; for many holy men before this have yielded to their desires, as though struck by this lightning. A thousand occasions arise daily. There are as

many snares, as men can take steps; hence we forbid all familiarity and conversation with women, unless a mother or sister. If any religious must see or speak to a woman, let him do so modestly, with his superior's permission; in fine, let each one consider his actions one by one, as the place and the dignity of the women present require."

At the close of 1781, Pius VI. called to Rome Count Louis Onesti, son of one of his sisters, empowered him to assume the name of Braschi, assigned him a suitable revenue, and after creating him duke of Nemi, united him in marriage with Donna Constantia Falconieri, of one of the first families in Rome. He also summoned another nephew, whom he wished to make a cardinal.

We come now to the year 1782, which will be memorable in the pontifical annals, on account of the event which we are about to relate. Innovations in ecclesiastical discipline were daily established in the States of Joseph II., emperor of Germany.

This prince, after the death of his mother, the Empress Maria Teresa, had instituted reforms among religious; he had ordered them not to obey their superiors, suppressed convents, seized their revenues, and forbidden orders to receive any novices. He next granted greater toleration to Protestants; drew up a statement of the revenues of the clergy, and would not suffer any application to the pope for marriage dispensations. He prescribed the imperial *placet* for bulls, briefs, and rescripts, coming from Rome. Bishops were forbidden to confer holy orders; in fine, a host of regulations changed and abolished all the usages practised by the Roman Church; the most trifling customs were abolished by formal law; and the prince set himself up as a reformer beyond control: confraternities were abolished, processions suppressed; the number of Masses and form of benedictions were alike regulated. They even went so far as to prescribe the number of candles to be burnt during the offices.

Frederick the Great not inaptly called the emperor, "My brother, the Sacristan." These innovations excited discontent. Several bishops remonstrated, but the emperor would not listen to them. Cardinal Bathiany, primate of Hungary, demonstrated to the emperor that his decrees exceeded the power of civil authority. This intrepid cardinal showed that the Church could not submit willingly to such changes, which diminishes the respect due religion, and the authority of the Roman court. From every quarter came pouring in protests and remonstrances.

The Roman court in vain endeavored to arrest these murmurs. The Holy Father thought that his presence and his words would be more potent than letters: he resolved to proceed to the spot where the evil existed, like some of his predecessors, who in similar circumstances had obtained, by their presence, the legitimate satisfaction which princes could not refuse. Pius

VI. communicated his project to Cardinal Albani, dean, and Cardinal Gerdil, two members of the sacred college, for whom he had a singular esteem. One of them showed His Holiness how much he would have to contend with in this undertaking. "Well," replied Pius VI., "let us combat, but with the arms of mildness and Christian charity." Cardinal de Bernis and many other cardinals opposed the step, fearing that it would lead to satires and derision on the part of the wicked and freethinkers, in case his efforts should, as was not improbable, fail to obtain the desired modifications. To this the pontiff replied with apostolic courage: "We will go whither duty calls, in the same spirit that we should go to martyrdom, in the interest of religion: rejoicing to defend it, the successors of Saint Peter did not hesitate to expose their lives. It is not lawful for us to abandon the barque of the Church amid the most violent tempests. It matters little that a perverse world turn us into derision; the Gospel teaches us that we should even appear as fools for Christ's sake."

On the 9th of February, 1782, Pius VI. informed Joseph II. of his intended visit, without specifying its object. Still, the emperor wrote to His Holiness that he had taken an irrevocable step in all the changes made, and that in these measures he would never give way. The Holy Father persevered in his project, and so informed the sacred college in the consistory of the 25th of that month.

The allocution pronounced on the occasion was as follows:

"VENERABLE BRETHREN:

"Our apostolic ministry now requires us to depart to Vienna: we are going to undertake this journey, and leave you for a time. We communicate to you this intention, and have assembled the sacred college as required by the affection we entertain for you, and the mutual tenderness of our souls.

"While announcing this to you, we will state, in order that you should not remain in ignorance, why we shall be attended by no one of you in this journey to share the consequent labors. It is, in the first place, because we shall travel with but little pomp, as becomes an ecclesiastical personage. We have resolved to take on ourselves alone all the embarrassment and inconvenience consequent on the accomplishment of our resolution; and moreover, it would be disagreeable to have to make a choice, and reject some, when we entertain the same love, esteem, and tenderness for all.

"We inform you, venerable brethren, that we have given letters, in form of brief, by which we declare that the *curia*, our ministers and those of the Holy See, after our departure, shall remain in the same position as now. A document grants them the faculties ordinarily reserved to ourselves alone

and we are convinced, knowing their individual fidelity, that no one will abuse them.

“We reflect that the necessity of dying is imposed on all, that the day of death is uncertain, and that daily dangers threaten human life. We have consequently deemed it right to omit no care to secure the assembly of the Roman Comitia at Rome, should any peril cut off our life.

“Finally, we beg you earnestly to preserve now in an especial manner the same sentiments that you have often expressed. Do not cease to commend us during our absence to Almighty God, our Lord Jesus Christ, his most glorious Mother, and the blessed apostle Saint Peter. Attend our journey by your vows, that our projects thus planned be blessed of God, and that the desired object of our toils and watches be obtained by the effect of his mercy.”

The pope soon after confided the ring of the fisherman to Cardinal Conti. He then called to him his two nephews Braschi, and gave them a sealed paper, containing his will. When confiding it, he said: “Here is our last will, in case we die on this journey. Remember us in your prayers.”

His Holiness then ordered a very fine triple crown to be prepared for him to carry, with two rich crosses, which were preserved in the castle of Saint Angelo; four cardinal's hats, one thousand gold medals, each worth fifteen Roman crowns, struck expressly, and bearing on one side Saint Peter and Saint Paul, and on the other the head of the pope.

On the 27th of February, he heard Mass in Saint Peter's, and prepared to set out with four carriages and two chaises. In the first carriage, drawn by six horses, the pope was to travel with Monsignor Marcucci, vicegerent of Rome, and Monsignor Contisini, his almoner. On descending to the Vatican square, the Holy Father found Paul, grand duke of Russia, subsequently emperor, and then travelling in Italy with the grand duchess, under the name of the Count and Countess du Nord. After exchanging compliments, the prince begged the Holy Father to accept a pelisse, sewed by the Empress Catharine's own hand; adding that this pelisse would be useful to the pontiff in the climate of Germany, severer than that of Italy. The Holy Father accepted this gift with lively satisfaction.

The assemblage of Romans in the square increased; for a long time they had been unaccustomed to see their sovereign travel. The pope reached Cesena, his native place, on the 5th of March. There, laying aside the strict formality of etiquette, he invited all his kindred to his table. Here, too, was presented to him Count Zambeccari, senator of Bologna, charged with the Spanish interests in the legation, who handed the pope a letter from his sovereign, Charles III. The Catholic king wrote in his own hand: “I envy the emperor the happiness he will enjoy of possessing Your Holi-

ness at Vienna. It would be my desire to enjoy a like felicity, and I wish Your Holiness the accomplishment of all your desires."

At Bologna, Pius VI. met the Infante Don Ferdinand I., duke of Parma, come expressly to present his respects to the Holy Father. There was so great a crowd around the carriage, that the guards were obliged to keep them back; but Pius said: "Let my children approach, do not repulse them."

From Bologna, by the way of Cento, the august traveller entered Ferrara, where he was received by the cardinal-legate Carafa, and Monsignor Mattei, then archbishop, and created cardinal by the pope on his return. An hour after the pope's arrival, a noble Hungarian guard came up, to announce that by the emperor's orders apartments for His Holiness' reception had been prepared in the imperial palace, although Pius VI. had written that he wished to stay at the nunciature. His majesty also asked when he might expect His Holiness in Vienna. The pope replied that he hoped to arrive there on the 18th, in company with Cardinal Carafa, legate at Ferrara, and Monsignor Mattei, cardinal *in petto* since 1779. On the 10th, the Holy Father embarked at Lago Scuro, on the Po, where three bucentaurs, seven peottes, and three barks had been prepared to facilitate his crossing and that of his retinue.

At one o'clock at night the pope landed at Chiozza, and was there complimented in the name of the republic of Venice, by the procurators of Saint Mark—Louis Manin and Peter Contarini—who attended him to the frontier of the republic. The pope entered Brenta by the canal of Brontolo, and at la Mira he met the Patriarch Giovanelli, whom he invited into his bucentaur. Thence he glided by the city of Venice, where the pope promised to stop on his return. The bishops of the country and the corps diplomatique residing near the doge came to Mestre to pay their homage to Pius VI.

On the 14th of March, 1782, His Holiness entered Goritz, and there found Count Cobentzel, vice-chancellor of the court, dispatched by the emperor to receive the pope, felicitate him, and pay him all the honors due his sacred character.

The pope arrived on the 17th at Leoben, where he was received by the Archduchess Mariana of Austria, who came expressly from her abbatial residence of Clagenfurt.

On the 22d of March the emperor, although troubled with an affection of the eyes, came, with the Archduke Maximilian, to meet the pope two leagues from Newstadt. They descended from their carriage and presented themselves at the door of the pope's to assist the sacred traveller to descend. Pius, embracing the emperor warmly, left him no time to make any act of profound respect, addressing him with admirable and gracious cordiality.

The emperor invited the Holy Father to enter a two-seated carriage, and took his seat on the left, to pay due honors to his new guest. At Newstadt refreshments were offered to the pope, and they then started for Vienna, through two immense lines of people and more than eight thousand carriages, containing all the better class of residents of the capital. The apartments of the Empress Maria Teresa had been prepared for Pius VI.

On descending at the palace, the pope found prince de Kaunitz. Joseph presented him to the Holy Father, saying: "Holy Father, this is our grand chancellor of court and state." The pope replied: "We are glad to see him beside your majesty."

This reply is cold, but not discourteous. Some authors assert that Pius VI. spoke to the prince of his great age, and laid his hand on his shoulder, adding some words that were not well understood. Pius VI. was distinguished for his intellect, and went there to negotiate with a powerful minister. We must believe that the pope, true to his friendly character, did not, the very first day, raise up obstacles in the very affairs he had gone so far to manage. If he did, he acted unwisely.

The emperor conducted his guest to the apartments which he was to occupy. Thence he could pass unremarked to those of the emperor. They could hold interviews without the knowledge of others. The pope was then conducted to a gallery opening on one of the court chapels, in which the Blessed Sacrament had been exposed since morning. At the moment when the pontiff and Cesar, the heads of the priesthood and the empire appeared, the *Te Deum* was intoned.

All Europe had its eyes fixed on Vienna. All eagerly sought to know the result of the pope's negotiations. He had undertaken a voyage, painful at his age, and in a season still very cold.

Many reports were current, but nothing certain is known as to what passed. It was however remarked, that during the whole period of the stay of Pius VI. at Vienna, the most extraordinary reforms were not interrupted, notwithstanding the seeming courtesy with which the emperor treated the pope on all public occasions. Letters of the emperor appeared full of menaces against those who had failed to publish his orders on the relations between the different religious. The personages most reprimanded were the bishop of Goritz, count de Elding, and the intendant of the province of Carniola.

On the other hand, the pontiff, a constant defender of the rights of the Holy See, did not hesitate to publish a very strong brief,* the only one dated at Vienna, in which, with apostolic plainness, he reprimanded the bishop of

* I have sought this brief in vain in the Bullarium of Pius VI. I find none addressed to the bishop of Brünn in regard to this matter. When was it published? why suppressed?

Brünn, in Moravia, who had believed himself authorized to throw open convents of religious women. They had been scattered, seeking shelter. The bishop had also taken on himself to absolve Carthusians from their vows.

This brief will serve to prove that the conduct of Pius VI., in Vienna, was courage tempered by condescension, and it cannot longer be said that the pope was only complaisant, inactive, or timid.

“ To the venerable Mathias, bishop of Brünn :

“ PIUS POPE VI.

“ Venerable brother, health and apostolic benediction.

“ By your letters to us of the 6th of March, and afterwards of the 3d of April, we learn what causes us great grief. The law is indeed a deplorable fact, which displaces religious orders here and there, and expels from their monasteries regular Fathers and sacred virgins.

“ And herein we deem you over-hasty in declaring that in your diocese the Carthusian monks are freed from their own laws and statutes, so that they may at once assume the condition and state of secular priests. This declaration, made without the knowledge of the Holy See, and seeming to you, venerable brother, opportune amid the actual evils, has appeared to us unseasonable and full of danger.

“ Care must first be taken that all persist in their vocation, and that they proceed to one of their own monasteries or others, where they may fulfil the solemn vows whereby they have consecrated their lives to God. None of the human reasons considered, as you say, by you, in regard to the religious, are valid ; you must think only of conscience and salvation.

“ Say this in the very terms that we employ ; say it to the religious whom this affair concerns, and strengthen them in obedience, if you find them fail. Yet, should it happen to some one of them not to find hospitality, considering his situation of misery only, we permit him to remain in the position of a secular priest, provided he acts thus only from absolute necessity.

“ Then each one of them must live in the world without forgetting his vocation, and always keeping in view the discipline and regular life to which he is bound. He must keep and maintain his solemn vows, which will always remain firm and immovable. He will be sacrilegious who frees himself from the obligation of the purest chastity. Let all practise poverty so far as their new kind of life will permit, that they may preserve their hearts in joy, and free from the deceitful cupidity of earthly things. Let them pay obedience to the bishop, and under their habit wear some sign of their religious profession, that they may appear not to have left it.

“ You have our sentiment, and must conform all your action to it. By this you will easily understand, that we give no consent to those who solicit

dispensation from their solemn vows to contract carnal alliances, and deem themselves empowered to make wills.

“Beware of letting such dispensations creep into the Church to sully the honor and beauty of the house of God. You cannot, you say, and in this you think aright, at all derogate from the common law, and it is for us to delegate to you this right and power.

“Remember then your priestly character: take courage, to be able by assiduous prayers to obtain for us an availing succor of God’s power. In this hope we send you, with affection, and the sheep of the flock confided to you, the sacred apostolic benediction.

“Given at Vienna, April 12, 1782, the eighth year of our pontificate.

“PIUS PP. VI.”

There is still, as we have said, much obscurity as to the Vienna negotiations. We know, however, that Pius VI., on his return, wrote from Bologna to his nephew, Louis Braschi: “We have obtained of the emperor what we could desire: moreover, we have suppressed the oath prescribed to the bishops in his States, and have granted them faculty for matrimonial dispensations to the third and fourth degree, and even for a nearer relationship, exacting, however, that they request our assent in such cases. We have obtained several modifications in regard to religious houses for both sexes, and religious toleration; in a word, our presence at Vienna has been very useful for the affairs of the Holy See, and we cannot but rejoice at our journey.”

At the moment when Pius VI. entered Vienna, an indiscreet minister had asked whether his visit would be a long one. Pius VI., with much presence of mind, replied: “We know well that we are pope, but we do not know that we are a prophet.” The unfavorable disposition of the cabinet did not prevent the people from showing their respect for the Holy See. In the moments which, after grave affairs, he could give to other cares, he showed his accustomed affability, by granting audiences to the most worthy personages of the city and to the people. One day a priest invited him to his first Mass. The pope made no reply, but presented himself at the church at the moment when the Mass was to begin. On the 19th of April he held a consistory in the imperial palace, and gave the hat to two prelates, subjects of the emperor, Monsignor de Firmian and Monsignor Bathyany. On this occasion, he pronounced an allocution, praising the piety and religious sentiments of the emperor.

Before the pope thought of setting out, Joseph presented him a very fine travelling carriage, with a rich cross in brilliants, and a pastoral very delicately worked, as well as many jewels. These gifts were esteemed at more than three hundred and fifty thousand florins. The Holy Father accepted

these presents; but, at the same time, he declared that he should never regard them as his property; that he considered them as belonging to the Holy See, as a token of the imperial munificence, and that he desired his successors to make no use of them except on the greatest solemnities of the ecclesiastical year. Not content with this magnificence, the emperor presented to the pope a diploma making his nephew, Don Louis Braschi, a prince of the empire, the title descending to his posterity. The Holy Father returned the patent to Joseph with these words: "We do not wish it to be said of us, that we are more concerned with the exaltation of our family than the interests of the Church."

The emperor approved the pope's reserve, and the patent remained till further orders in the chancery of Prince Colloredo. The pope felt bound to offer the courts becoming presents, and thus betoken the goodness of his heart and his royal magnificence. Joseph wished the pope's portrait; and His Holiness accordingly sat to the celebrated painter, Joseph Hickel, who was appointed by the emperor to reproduce the features of his sacred guest. Many medals in gold and silver were also struck at Vienna bearing the head of Pius VI.

He had been a month at Vienna; affairs became protracted, and meanwhile the people at all moments sought the pope's benediction. One day he was obliged to bless the people eight times. It was estimated that no less than one hundred and twenty thousand persons assembled at the moment of the pope's departure.

The emperor and the pope then entered the same carriage. At Maria Brünn they separated with the greatest mutual tokens of affection and esteem. That night the pope rested at the celebrated Benedictine abbey of Moelck.

On the 24th of April, the Holy Father arrived at Lintz, where he was received by Cardinal Firmian, prince bishop of Passaw.

At Haag the pope found the elector-palatine, Charles Theodore, duke of Bavaria. They entered Munich in the same vehicle. The archbishop of Treves had already arrived. Pius VI. spent a week there, and had nothing but praises to express on the splendid reception given to him in that city, styled the little Rome of Germany. Munich was indeed regarded as the city in Germany most devoted to the Holy See, and is so still.

On the morning of May 2d, the pontiff, accompanied by the elector-palatine, entered the city of Augsburg, so famous in the annals of Lutheranism, and which, seven hundred and thirty years before, had been visited by the holy pontiff Saint Leo IX. There Pius VI. was welcomed with great respect, not only by Catholics, but also by Protestants. The Holy Father could not perceive that there was any difference of religion in the city.

Pius VI. prepared to return to Rome, and had promised to pass by

Venice, where he was impatiently expected. At Verona he visited the arena, and there from his throne he gave his pontifical benediction to over one hundred thousand Catholics. At Padua he descended at the monastery of Saint Justine, and then visited the university. On the morning of the 15th the Holy Father embarked for Venice, in a very rich bucentaur, which the doge had built expressly. The pope was attended by the Venetian commissaries Manin and Contarini, Cardinal Buoncompagni, Rezzonico, senator of Rome, Garampi and Ranuzzi, nuncios at Vienna, and other prelates of his retinue. The Patriarch Giovanelli and eighteen bishops proceeded by way of la Brenta to Fusina, to meet the pope. Near the canal of la Zucca the pope was saluted by two hundred cannon, and his entrance offered a spectacle which Venice had never seen equalled, neither on their regattas, nor at the festival of the Ascension, not even indeed at the Marriage of the Sea.

The pontiff having reached the outskirts of Venice, met the doge, Paul Ranieri, who had come to visit His Holiness. The moment the pope left his galley, he offered him his arm, and then wished to kneel. The pope, without giving him time, raised him and embraced him. During his stay at Venice, the doge gave the pope so many tokens of regard and veneration, and such a friendship was established between them, that the State Inquisitors, displeased at the little consideration shown them individually, took umbrage at the doge's conduct; and immediately after the pope's departure, they bitterly reproached their chief for evincing any such sentiments to a foreign sovereign, whose pretensions on the States of others the republic had at all times disapproved. The doge was reproached with having several times whispered to the pope, and often conversed with him privately. Pope Pius learning this, sent these magistrates, through his nuncios, gold boxes, which dispelled their fears for the safety of Venice.

After the doge had received the pope in his vessel, they proceeded together towards Venice, with such a fleet of gondolas that the sea seemed to unite with the land. Having entered the great canal at the custom-house, they found the windows richly adorned with drapery. A short time after, they disembarked at the Dominican convent of Saint Peter and Saint Paul, which the pope had preferred to the ample monastery of Saint George Maggiore. They ascended to the apartments assigned to the pope. There the doge pronounced, in a loud voice, his official felicitation, in the presence of all the superior authorities.

Pius VI. left Venice on the 19th of May, and proceeded to Ferrara by way of Padua. On the 22d he held a secret consistory, in which he published, as cardinal, the archbishop of that city, Mattei, already created *in petto*.

At Bologna the pope met the duke of Parma, the Marquis Santini, am-

bassadors of the republic of Lucca, and an envoy of the king of Sardinia. At Inola the pope stopped at the palace of his uncle, Cardinal Bandi, where he met his own sister, Julia Onesti.

On the evening of June 8th the pope arrived at Loretto. When he arrived at the post of Prima Porta, near Rome, the Holy Father laid aside his travelling dress and resumed the pontifical habit, which he was accustomed to wear in Rome; and on the 13th of June he re-entered his capital, after an absence of three months and seventeen days.

The pope subsequently addressed the sacred college in an allocution, giving an account of part of the acts of his voyage. On this subject a satire, in the form of a petition, was affixed to the faldstool of His Holiness in Saint Peter's. "What Gregory, the greatest of the pontiffs, had established, Pius VI., last of priests, destroyed." As soon as the Holy Father read it, he asked for pen and ink, without showing any emotion, and pretending to take it for a petition, wrote, in the form of a rescript, these words, which became the talk of Rome: "The kingdom of Christ is not of this world. He who distributes heavenly crowns, cares little for the perishable crowns of earth. Let us give unto Cæsar the things that are Cæsar's, and to God the things that are God's."

The memoirs of Jauffret state that Pius VI., during his stay at Vienna, obtained from the emperor some, though slight, modifications in his edicts. The Holy Father wished to preserve all the monasteries; and Joseph, while suppressing what he deemed superfluous, did not destroy any religious order. The emperor explaining his decree on the bull *Unigenitus*, forbid it to be discussed in public, while he permitted professors to give their pupils an historical explanation of it. Joseph also declared that the imperial placet which he had prescribed, did not apply to bulls on matters of dogma. He permitted applications to Rome for dispensations from impediments to marriage nearer than the third and fourth degrees; he declared that the plan adopted for the censorship of the press did not prevent bishops from offering remonstrances as to any that they deemed injurious. These are the chief points on which Joseph relaxed their rigor, and it will be seen that he yielded as little as possible. The counsels of Kaunitz hardened him to the solicitations of the pope.

After the pope's return to Rome, he received information of new changes. The emperor assumed to himself, by edict, the nomination of the bishops in Lombardy, who had from time immemorial been named by the pope; and Pius VI. thought it best to yield again in the difficult position.

Joseph, of his own authority, formed a new regulation of the bishoprics of the two States—Lombardy and Austria; he abolished the diocesan seminaries, and established general ones in only five or six cities. He published a decree ordering sacred images to be removed from the churches; he sup-

pressed the dirimant impediments to marriage, and prescribed new ones ; he finally permitted divorces in certain cases.*

Meanwhile there was at Pavia an assembly of partisans of a proscribed sect, who, like that of Ricci, bishop of Pistoia, revived the writings of the French appellants, sought to introduce a schism, to abase the Holy See, to restore what they called sound doctrine, and endeavored to propagate in the ecclesiastical regime the same republican ideas and democratic principles that they had introduced into the teaching of philosophy, and were soon to be attempted in political government.

Pius VI. complained more than once of the imprudent protection given to these freethinking theologians, but his remonstrances were unheeded.

Father Natali, driven from Rome, was welcomed in that university, and professed the doctrine of the appellants from the bull *Unigenitus*. He disseminated their books, which he himself translated into Italian. The pope endeavored, but without effect, to remove him from that university. One who took most part in these innovations, was an ecclesiastic, a friend of Monsignor Stock, of the same party, who had been appointed to train in the principles of religion the sons of Maria Teresa. Rauffenstrauch, abbot of Braunau, who succeeded Stock as president of the faculty of theology, outstripped even his predecessor in his unbridled zeal for reform.

We should also remark, that at the moment when the arrival of Pius VI. was awaited with religious impatience at Vienna, Eybel, an ex-professor of canon law in that university, one of those most infatuated with the new system, and most ardent co-operators in the emperor's projects, attempted to chill this devoted transport of the people, and stifle the sentiments of respect for the Holy See, and veneration for the vicar of Christ. After writing against sacramental confession and other articles of Catholic faith, he this same year 1782 published, from the press of Joseph Kurzbeck, a small work entitled, *Quid est Papa?*—"What is the Pope?" This work, bearing the imperial seal, had been scattered in profusion, translated into several languages, even into modern Greek, to propagate everywhere with greater ease the poison it exhaled.

This misguided canonist treated as fanatics the overwhelming majority of the faithful, whom he supposed to present their homage to the Holy Father and their acclamations to the successor of Saint Peter. He made the Church a kind of republic, in which the pope exercised only the functions of president, because he derived his authority only from the body of the republic itself, and possessed no authority except to warn and exhort. The author pretended that bishops had not received less authority than the

* These *Josephine Institutions*, a Protestantism forced on the Church by almost the last emperor of Germany, continued their baleful influence till the liberation of the Church in 1848.

pope in the government of the Church. He exaggerated their rights, and cited only such monuments of traditions as exalt the episcopal dignity, omitting all passages proving the power of the Holy See.*

Pius VI. believing the work, from its insignificant size, and the absence of all reason in its pages, to be of no great weight, thought it for a time unnecessary to condemn it; but when he remarked the ardor with which it was disseminated in some countries at the close of 1782, and the following years, and the obstinacy displayed by the enemies of the Holy See in oppressing and degrading the centre of unity, listened only to his zeal, and by his decree of November 28th, 1786, *Super soliditate*, condemned and prohibited the work as containing propositions, respectively false, scandalous, rash, injurious, schismatic, erroneous, heretical, and others already condemned by the Church. The emperor, convinced that this decree of condemnation would naturally penetrate into the Netherlands, ordered it to be suppressed; and as the nuncio at Brussels, Monsignor Zondadari, and the cardinal archbishop of Mechlin, were accused of having contributed to its diffusion in France, he commanded the former to leave his residence at once, and the latter to proceed at once to Vienna to give an account of his conduct.

The Holy Father had given proofs: he showed by his decree that the authority of the Holy See had always been recognized and invoked. To this tract, created by the spirit of discord, he opposed Saint Cyprian, Saint Chrysostom, Saint Epiphanius, Saint Jerome, Saint Ambrose, Saint Augustine, Saint Optatus of Mileve, and Saint Bernard. They all regarded as profane whoever was not united to the chair of Peter, or heard not its decisions. The pope recalled the uniform teaching of the general councils; he deprived Eybel of the suffrages of the councils of Constance and Bâle, on which he had so unwarrantably sought to rely; he set forth, in the most becoming manner, the most constant doctrine, the surest and best adopted tradition, the most clearly expressed in the councils and writings of the Fathers of the Church. The word of Pius VI. became a dogmatic judgment, irrefragable in authority, by the acceptation of the churches of Germany and the Austrian Netherlands, to which his decree was sent, and by the silence of all the other churches, no one of which raised a dissenting voice.

As the spirit of revolt, to obtain its end, often resorts to falsehood, Doctor Plat, a great favorer of Eybel, and promoter of the reforms of Joseph II. in the Netherlands, published in a treatise, that the uprising of the Seminars of Louvain had been caused by the decree of Pius VI. against Eybel; but on examining the accusation, it will be seen that this enemy of the popes

* We do not see, however, that Joseph had any such exalted ideas of bishops and their powers. He assumed powers over them greater than any pope had claimed.

was here self-blinded : a single observation repulses the calumny entirely. The decree against Eybel's book is dated November 18th, and it is manifestly impossible that it could in those days have been known at Louvain on the 7th of December, the day when the revolution began, no telegraph being then in use.

Amid all these trials, which were to afflict and depress the Holy Father, he experienced great consolation on learning the result of an event favorable to the progress of Catholicity. Gustavus III., king of Sweden, thanked the Holy Father for sending him a prefect-apostolic to direct the thirty thousand Roman Catholics residing in Sweden. From the moment that Gustavus Vasa embraced the heresy of Luther, the exercise of Catholic worship had been forbidden. The Holy Father had appointed Monseigneur le Clerc de Juigné, archbishop of Paris, to add also to the mission one belonging to the body of the Sorbonne.

Pius VI., since his return, was not to think only of these things ; other cares demanded his attention. Italy and the Pontifical States were ravaged by frightful scarcity. He ordered various measures to relieve, and then remove it.

Notwithstanding the great outlays required to satisfy the generous dispositions of Pius VI., and meet the expenses required by the labors in the Pontine marshes, and the erection of an immense sacristy for Saint Peter's, he continued to bestow assiduous care on that vast enterprise. The season being too far advanced, he could not encourage the workmen by his presence at Terracina ; but he went almost daily to witness the works at the sacristy.

In 1783, many princes continued to carry out the irreligious alterations which they had initiated, and which deeply afflicted Pius VI.

Charles III., however, of Spain, gave a better example. He desired to remedy several abuses which had been introduced into the administration of some ecclesiastical patrimonies. He would interfere personally, and applied to the Holy Father, begging him to examine so delicate a matter thoroughly. Then the pope issued a brief, not published till a later day, by which he granted jubiliary innovations, tending to relieve the poor of the monarchy.

The king of Naples, at this time, consented to measures not concerted with His Holiness, and counselled by inconsiderate courtiers. Monsignor Filangieri, archbishop of Naples, having died without obtaining the hat, which, for three centuries, had been granted to the titularies of that diocese, the king named for that See, Monsignor Capece Zurlo, bishop of Calvi. The pope then proclaimed that prelate, and created him cardinal, without specifying to whom the nomination was due, for it belonged to the pope alone.

Pius VI. could not show equal indulgence as to the filling of over thirty vacant Sees in the kingdom of Naples, for the subsisting controversies had not ceased. It was asked whether the pope or the king was to nominate. Twenty-six only of the one hundred and thirty-nine bishoprics in the kingdom were recognized as of royal patronage. The king had given the See of Potenza to Monsignor Andrea Sarao, the author of a work generally considered as infected with dangerous maxims, and belonging to the Jansenist party. The Holy Father refused to accept this nomination, because, according to him, it belonged to the Holy See alone to decide whether the choice of a pastor is good or bad. Sarao finally renounced his errors, and recognized the positive authority of the Holy See. Then the nomination was approved, and half the expense of the bulls remitted.

The Empress Catharine seemed resolved to protect the Catholics in her States, and to continue to afford a protection to the Jesuits. She permitted them to elect a superior-general at Mohilow, as well as other superiors necessary for the better management of their churches.

During one of her journeys, Catharine, witnessing the affection entertained for these religious in White Russia, resolved to give them further proofs of her protection, and even asked a confirmation of the institute. To this Pius VI. replied, that he could not grant it without displeasing the sovereigns who had solicited the suppression of the society.

However, Catharine wrote to the pope, by Canon Benilawski, an urgent letter, accompanied by a letter of her son Paul, who had been at Rome when the pope started for Vienna. She gave with imposing energy her motives for favoring the Jesuits.

"By upholding these unfortunate Fathers in my States, notwithstanding the ill-will of other sovereigns, I but accomplish my duty, because I am a sovereign. I regard them as faithful subjects, useful to the State, and especially not culpable. For my part, I cannot be terrified by cabals and machinations, either on the part of those religious, if any such exist, or on the part of any other ecclesiastical personage who lives under my authority. Under the laws of my empire, no one is persecuted unless on impartial examination there appears just cause, and unless the crime is manifest. Proof of crimes committed by individuals in general, of the order suppressed by your predecessor, has never fallen under my eyes. Dispel then, Holy Father, all fear from your mind: I take the whole matter on my own person. Your Holiness shall experience no annoyance on this account."

The ambassadors of the powers hostile to the Jesuits, astonished to see Rome about to move in the matter in the name of so great a power, sought by all means to penetrate the negotiations. Pius VI., without hesitation, announced that he had received the categorical letter, and frankly asked them what reply he was to make to the imposing autocrat of all the

Russias. Each envoy consulted his cabinet. Several courts had already been diplomatically informed of Catharine's wishes. Each, therefore, knew in advance her desire. The cowardly courts, as timid before power as they had been overbearing to weakness, agreed in replying that they had no intention of tying the pope's hands, and that it was best not to give too much publicity to an incident, in a matter to which the powers, engaged with other interests, were unable at the moment to express any lively opposition. Then Pius VI. sent to the empress a brief, dated July 24th, 1783, whereby, for grave reasons, he maintained the Society of Jesus in the States belonging to her majesty.

A few days after, the pope informed the empress in an autograph letter, that he was resolved to dispatch to the court of Saint Petersburg, Monsignor Archetti, nuncio at Venice, to concert orally and establish regularly what she desired.

Catharine approved his determination, and canon Benilawski, after staying a month and twelve days at Rome, set out for White Russia, with the assurance that on his arrival in Saint Petersburg he should be consecrated by the nuncio as coadjutor of the Church of Mohilow.

Pius VI. kept his promise, and early in July, Archetti, the nuncio, entered the imperial palace. The grand duke met him, and presented him at the audience with the empress. She received him with all the honors usually paid at that court to ambassadors of the very highest powers.

An apostolic nuncio was invested with a sacred character in a schismatic court separated from the Latin Church. This was regarded as a new and unforeseen event. But it was forgotten that Gregory XIII. had sent to Russia the celebrated Jesuit Anthony Possevin, with the character of nuncio, and that he was commissioned to invite John Basil, then reigning, to enter into a league with the Pole and the king of Spain against Selim II., great sultan of the Turks, who had shortly before invaded the island of Cyprus, belonging to Venice. As to the embassy of Archetti, there was this difference, that the Roman court then recognized the imperial title in the person of Catharine and her eventual successors. Till that moment Rome had refused to the Russian princes the title of czar, because it was synonymous with that of Cæsar.

On the 15th of July the nuncio obtained a public audience. He paid a becoming compliment to the sovereign, who replied to him in the most obliging terms. All obstacles being removed, the nuncio consecrated in the church of the Capuchins a Catholic archbishop and three bishops, the empress with all her family witnessing the ceremony. The pallium was then given to the new archbishop of Mohilow. Then the nuncio, in an allocution, declared that to this archbishop, as the new and natural pastor, belonged the care of the Catholic flock scattered over the immense prov-

inces of Europe and Asia subject to Russia. The number was then probably three millions.

About the same time another Catholic church was consecrated in Saint Petersburg, in presence of the grand duke and duchess, who in token of their especial respect for the nuncio, presented him an episcopal cross of the value of eighty thousand roubles, and a superb pelisse. To this gift was added a letter addressed to the pope, soliciting the purple for the nuncio; and the pope, notwithstanding the opposition of some courts, granted it to him some time afterwards. The empress at the same time asked that Rome should send a nuncio to reside permanently at the capital. The Jesuits had the direction of all ecclesiastical affairs. Every day, by order of the princess, new seminaries were founded. In fine, it was decreed that the general of the Jesuits should enjoy at Saint Petersburg the honors granted at Madrid to the generals of the Dominicans and Franciscans, who were considered as *grandees* of Spain.

Amid the care of his apostolic ministry, Pius VI. continued to embellish his capital, and labor for the good of his subjects. The Pontine marshes had been again inundated by the continued rains, and in consequence of the neglect of engineers in charge of the works, breaches were made which required restoration. For the fourth time Pius VI. visited the province, and on the spot saw, beyond all power of deceit, that the damage was not as great as calumny had made it. He prepared, therefore, to return to Rome, whither the elector-palatine, Charles Theodore, whom the pope had seen at Munich, had just arrived again. His Holiness had been so well pleased with the hospitality he had received from that prince, that in an impulse of heartfelt gratitude he gave him apartments in the Vatican.

Meanwhile the inventive genius of Pius VI. gave rewards to all explorations of the ancient site of Rome. A prodigious quantity of statues, bas-reliefs, vases, urns, and inscriptions were discovered. The most precious objects were transported to the Pio Clementine Museum, and arranged by John Baptist Visconti, father of the celebrated Ennius, who daily rendered this magnificent depository of the fine arts more wonderful.

The new sacristy erected at the Vatican was opened for use in 1784. The same year the public roads were repaired, especially that to the mountain of Viterbo, which was often unfit for travel. Immense hydraulic works were also continued and concluded on the Tuscan frontier. To meet these expenses required a loan of three million from the Genoese. When the pope proposed it to the sacred college, no cardinal spoke but one, who asked what necessity there was for spending so much money. The other cardinals approved the expense.

On the 1st of June, in the preceding year, Pius VI. solemnly beatified Lawrence of Brindisi, who had been general of the Capuchins.

Learning that Gustavus III., king of Sweden, had set out for Rome, he sent to the frontiers of the Pontifical States, Catenacci, courier to the court, to prepare apartments for the prince. A singular mistake occurred. The Emperor Joseph also wished to surprise the pope by a visit, and left Vienna on the 6th of December. After spending a few days at Florence and Pisa with the grand duke Leopold, his brother, he reached the papal frontier before the king of Sweden, who was travelling incognito like the emperor, and under the name of count de Haga. The courier knew neither sovereign, and taking the emperor for the king of Sweden, announced him as count de Haga. The emperor rested for an hour at the palace of Cardinal Herzan, his ambassador, then repaired, without any previous intimation, to the Vatican, where, in consequence of the confusion, he was not expected. The pope recognizing him, welcomed him with lively marks of respect.

After spending an hour together, they proceeded to Saint Peter's. The pope begged his guest to kneel at the papal faldstool. Joseph declined the honor, saying: "Holy Father, this is not the place for compliments. Permit me to visit the museum."

On the evening of the next day, the king of Sweden entered Rome, and with the emperor attended the ceremonies of Christmas night, both dressed as simple officers. Then, kneeling on the right step near the papal altar, they listened to a pious homily which the pope pronounced after the gospel.

After spending a week in Rome, where he was to meet his sister, Mary Amelia, duchess of Parma, to whom the pope, on returning to Rome, had, through his nephew, Monsignor Braschi, presented the Golden Rose, Joseph II. proceeded to Naples, to spend two weeks with his other sister, Mary Caroline. He then returned to Rome, where he had frequent conferences with the pope. A concordat had been prepared, in which the pope conceded, in perpetuity, the right which the Holy See enjoyed, of nominating to the sees and benefices of Lombardy, to be enjoyed by the Emperor Joseph and his successors, as dukes of Milan and Mantua. The emperor then returned rapidly to Vienna, and there pursued his reforms in ecclesiastical matters.

To this epoch must be referred a pontifical act relative to the faculties granted to the seminary of Saint Sulpice, at Paris.

These faculties, dated March 16th, 1784, though dispatched subsequently, permit the superior, director, and priests of the parish church of Saint Sulpice, at Paris, to give the apostolic benediction to the faithful of the parish *in articulo mortis*. This right was granted provided the ecclesiastics conformed to the tenor of the letters of Benedict XIV., April, 1747, beginning, *Pia mater catholica ecclesia*. The Sulpitians no longer direct the parish, confining themselves exclusively to their pious work of training

young levites for the sanctuary, a work which they continue also in America, at Quebec and Baltimore.

The favor granted by Pius VI. was unsolicited, and a surprise to the Sulpitians : it became a reward for the attachment to the Holy See shown by that institution, which enriched the Church with co-operators so learned and long so renowned.

Gustavus III., after spending the carnival at Rome, soon after returned to Naples, and constantly showed the most kindly regards for the person of the Holy Father. It was at a moment when Rome was afflicted with chagrin and humiliation by many courts. Gustavus chose that very moment to complete the erection at Stockholm of a Catholic church, promised to those who had remained faithful in that country. Doctor Oster, of the diocese of Metz, vicar-apostolic, had already blessed the church. The Divine Mysteries were celebrated there for the first time at Easter, the duke of Sudermania, brother to the king, attending in his absence.

During the ceremonies of Holy Week, the place of honor was given to Gustavus, wherever he went, and he had then the courage to say, although a Lutheran, that Protestants unjustly criticised the sacred functions of the Catholic rite, and that the Holy See acted rightly in investing them at all times with august solemnity. The prince carried his curiosity so far as to witness the ceremony of a profession in a convent of Capuchin nuns, and asked permission to enter that retreat of consecrated virgins.

When the king of Sweden left Rome, he offered the pope as a present three elegantly wrought boxes of Brazil-wood, containing two hundred and thirty-two medals, ninety-nine gold and one hundred and thirty-three silver, representing the principal sovereigns and great men of Sweden. This gift, received by the pope with almost enthusiastic pleasure, was placed by him in the Pio Clementine Museum, beside the other numismatic series previously sent by the king of France and Empress Catharine; but by the cruel vicissitudes of invasion, these rich objects, like many similar ones, have disappeared from the museum.

When Gustavus paid his last visit to the Propaganda, that college intended to diffuse over the universe the light of faith, they presented to the prince his eulogy in verse, printed in forty-four ancient and modern languages.* When the pope and Gustavus finally parted, they embraced, and desired each other all prosperity. They little knew the fate which awaited them :—one was to fall assassinated in a ball-room, in the very heart of his

* Cancellieri printed the eulogy, to give a specimen of the languages spoken at the Propaganda, and of the type belonging to its press. When Pius VII. visited the Imperial Printing Office at Paris, in 1804, Marcel, the director, presented him the Our Father, translated into one hundred and fifty different languages, forty-six Asiatic, sixty-three European, twelve African, and eighteen American.

capital ; the other, after unheard of sufferings and insults, was to die in exile in a hitherto Catholic country.

Meanwhile the situation of Ulterior Calabria became every day more deplorable. It was ravaged by cruel earthquakes, which had engulfed whole cities, levelled mountains, and swept away more than seventy-thousand people. The treasury of the king of Naples was unable to remedy such ravages ; he had recourse to the beneficence of Pius VI. The pope authorized him to employ, in these necessary works of charity, the revenues of several convents which had been destroyed, and which possessed revenues and lands in other parts spared by the scourge.

Pius VI. on this occasion experienced new grief. Notwithstanding his complacency for the court of Naples, it continued to harass the Holy See by ecclesiastical innovations, as offensive as they were inconsiderate. Cardinal de Bernis, acting as mediator for the pope, proceeded to Naples. The king, or rather his minister, insisted on the royal nomination to all the Sees. Pius VI. replied : " We cannot, and must not, adhere to an absolute nomination ; the wound would be too cruel. Why not offer some modification ? All that we can grant is the nomination of three candidates, among whom we or our successor will chose the most worthy."

A noble example set for Pius by his last predecessors, at the end of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, was exactly followed at Rome ; the new pontiff declared vigorous war on bad books.

On the 17th of November, 1784, he condemned and prohibited a book entitled : " Universal Profession of Faith of all Religions : 1784. Dedicated to the understanding of a sound man."

The pontiff begins his letters thus :

" Finally, there has issued from the darkness a work, small in form, but complete by the bitter gall which it contains, and full of poison. The author is unknown : his aim is not to attack this or that chapter of Christian doctrine, but he pretends to destroy and annihilate the whole form of revealed religion. At the head he prints, in vain ostentation, this short sentence : ' Know God and be an honest man.' One of the writer's assertions is this : '*It is nowhere prescribed, and no one can prescribe to men to think rightly ; it can only be prescribed to do right. He who does right is happy, be he Jew, Turk, Pagan, Christian, or Naturalist.*'

" We can answer. Will he whose thoughts are depraved be innocent before God, who searches the heart and the reins ? Shall a man who thinks evil be reputed happy because he withholds his hand from external crime ? When he affects by act a probity not his own, he lies to himself, to his neighbor, to the commonwealth, and enters the rank of hypocrites. Can a more serious and atrocious insult be offered to the author of the faith of Jesus, who consummated the sacrifice, than to treat as one the perfidy of

the Jews, the gross immanity of the Mohammedan pagan superstition, and the inconstant and impious vanity of the worshipper of nature?

"Let us, on the contrary, adhere to our Mediator, in whom are hidden all the treasures of wisdom and science; nor be seduced by the loquacity of a vain philosophy, and let us repulse the superstition of a false religion."

On the 21st of November, 1784, Pius VI. condemned a German work, entitled, "What do the documents of Christian antiquity contain as to auricular confession," (Vienna, Nobili, 1784),—another product of the author of the dangerous book, "Quid est Papa?"

Pope Pius thus begins his brief: "The Mediator between God and man, Jesus Christ, wishing to pour forth over us the riches of his mercy, took pity on our earthly condition, and to console those who had strayed from baptismal grace, he instituted, in favor of the priests of the Church, the right of remitting sins, the sacrament of penance, by the power and efficacy of which Christians, duly confessed and repenting of their faults, obtain from the priest absolution of sin. The author of this work is Eybel. He had already published, 'Introduction to the Ecclesiastical Rights of the Catholic,' placed on the Index on the 16th of February in the present year.

"Celestine, our predecessor, in his epistles to Cyril, speaks in these terms: 'It is necessary to heal at once a wound which attacks not a member, but moreover the whole body.'"

The pope forbids the reading or even keeping of such a book, and refutes its doctrines with all the science that Rome can so well draw from the Fathers to extinguish error.

The next year it was proposed to the pontiff to confer with the marquis de la Sambuca, prime minister of Naples, to remove all the difficulties which had arisen between the two courts; but the pope refused the interview, declaring that he would repair to the conference, if prefaced by a declaration of consent to the measures which he proposed for the bishoprics. The minister was subsequently succeeded by the Marquis Caracciolo, viceroy at Palermo. Better dispositions could not be expected from a man who had said at London: "If ever I become prime minister of the king my master, I shall know well how to act to make him independent of the grand mufti of Rome."

Caracciolo was a man of much mind; he had even the reputation of being a statesman. On this occasion, he proved that he deserved credit for neither.

Pius VI. had long avowed the sentiment of nepotism, which he imprudently felt for advancing his family. The princes, catching at this means of flattering the pontiff, loaded his nephews at Rome with tokens of regard.

On the 15th of February, 1785, Pius VI. addressed an allocution to one

of his nephews, Louis Braschi Onesti, on handing him the great cross of the order of Saint Maurice and Saint Lazarus, in the name of Victor Amadeus, king of Sardinia, grand master of the order. The pope explained the origin and value of the order of the decoration, founded in 1684, by Amadeus VIII., duke of Savoy, in honor of Saint Maurice, chief of the Theban legion. With this order was subsequently blended that of Saint Lazarus, which had an equally illustrious origin.

At that time a congregation of cardinals was deliberating on a petition presented by the Catholic Armenians, subjects of the Ottoman Porte. Having no churches, they sought permission to enter the Armenian churches, subject to the schismatic patriarch, to offer alms and prayers, and celebrate several feasts according to the usage of their ancient calendar. They showed that if this privilege was refused, they would be exposed to great dangers and cruel vexations. The petition was accompanied by a learned dissertation on the point, by the Marquis John de Serpos. The affair, however, met with difficulties; the great multiplicity of other matters led to delay, and they obtained the favor which they sought only long after.

The pope gave his attention successively to the affairs of China and North America. It was announced to him that the emperor of China not only cheerfully tolerated the Catholics in his States, but that he had permitted four public churches to be erected at Peking, to show his deference for the Jesuit Florentine Poirot, a native of Nancy. This missionary, as a mandarin, held the post of secretary for correspondence with Russia. He enjoyed the special confidence of the emperor, who loved painting and viewed with pleasure the works of art produced by this religious, who had learned this art also, while studying theology at the Roman college. He then besought the General to send him to one of the missions to which only those were dispatched who have cultivated one of the liberal arts. The pope, by briefs, encouraged these pacific dispositions and generous protection accorded by the emperor.

The thirteen colonies of Great Britain, in America, which had, since 1775, resisted aggressions on their rights, had now, by the aid of France, secured their liberty and established a republic—the United States of America. Many of the late colonies, in their new State constitutions, cast aside the bigoted penal laws against Catholics, and the Constitution of the United States took from the general government all power of creating a State church, or infringing on religious liberty.

Catholics were few and scattered. Maryland, settled by Catholics, and Pennsylvania, contained the greatest number, and all the clergy. The priests who ministered to these children of the Church were members of the late Society of Jesus, belonging to the English province, and now subject

as secular priests to the vicar-apostolic of London. The first colony sent out by Lord Baltimore to Maryland in 1632, in the Ark and Dove, was attended by Father Andrew White, and other missionaries of the society, who established a mission which has never been abandoned. The Franciscans also labored here for many years, but, at the period in question, had suspended their missions. As is well known, Catholics did not long enjoy in Maryland the freedom which Lord Baltimore established; the Protestants, whom his liberality attracted, soon used their power to deprive the Catholic settlers of all civil rights, and to put their worship under the ban of the law. The Jesuits were at one time all carried off to Virginia, and some of them to England, but they soon returned.

At the outbreak of the Revolution, the Catholics ardently espoused the cause of the colonies, and Father John Carroll, regarded as the leading Catholic clergyman, was highly esteemed by many of the leading statesmen of the new republic. As the Catholic clergy and people were in a manner abandoned by the vicar-apostolic of London, and from political reasons wished a separate ecclesiastical organization, the Maryland clergy solicited the appointment of a Superior from among themselves. Pope Pius created Father Carroll prefect-apostolic in June, 1784, and as part of the United States had previously belonged to the dioceses of Quebec and Havana, steps were taken to relieve the bishops of those Sees of districts to which they could no longer easily extend their care.*

An important lawsuit then attracted attention. The Marquis Charles Ambrose Lepri, who had come from the valleys of the lake of Como, had come to Rome and there amassed a considerable fortune, converted afterwards into a trust, died at an advanced age, leaving three sons. The last survivor was Amanzio Lepri, who, in the prime of life, renounced the habit of the Pious Schools to assume the cross of Brother Chaplain in the order of Malta. This old man, weak and inconstant, in a fit of ill-humor against his sister-in-law Victoria, widow of the Marquis Joseph, his brother, who left an only daughter, concluded, in 1782, that the trust terminated in him, and made the order of Saint John of Jerusalem his heir. By a special bequest, he left twenty thousand scudi and other property to Louis Braschi, the pope's nephew. By a new will of December 26th, of the same year, he made a donation *inter vivos* to the Holy Father, as John Angelo Braschi, a private individual, of all his considerable patrimony, valued at a million and a half of Roman scudi, including the jewels, which alone were estimated at one hundred and twenty thousand dollars, reserving, however, the use during life. In the month of February, 1783, he renounced the right of using

* It would be hardly possible to crowd more errors into a paragraph than Artaud has done in what he says on this matter in his work.

it, reserving only a pension of six thousand dollars, payable by those who should take possession in the pope's name.

As soon as the donation to the pope was known in public, four claimants to the trust-fund appeared—Ann Mary Lepri, daughter of Marquis Joseph ; a cousin, Ambrose Lepri ; and two brothers, Curti, sons of a sister of Amanzio. The case was brought before the judges of Monte Citorio, the pope declaring that he wished to be considered in the matter simply as a private individual. Monsignor Civia, first civil lieutenant of the auditor of the chamber, held that the trust ended in the person of Amanzio, and he could dispose of the property at pleasure. Meanwhile this rich inheritance, since the donation accepted in 1782, was administered for the Braschis by Monsignor Nardini, who had exercised a great influence in the donation, but was so troubled by scruples that on his death-bed he implored the pope's absolution.

The heirs appealed from Civia's decision to the auditors of the Rota. Pius directed these magistrates, wise and learned men, to act unbiased by human respect, and to decide in favor of truth and right, declaring that he wished no rights of others sacrificed in his favor. On the 13th of June the first decision of the Rota was annulled ; the donation was declared null, the trust still subsisting, and held to pass after Amanzio to the posthumous daughter of Joseph.

Amanzio fell more dangerously ill with a chronic disease, and feeling his end near, showed his regret for what he had done, wrote two letters, one to his sister-in-law, mother of his niece, and the other to his cousin Lepri, asking them to pardon his estrangement, and retracting all that he had said or done. He died in December, and then, to the great astonishment of all, another will was produced, dated August 12th, which annulled the famous donation to the pope, although expressly irrevocable. The testator set forth his reasons for making it. They compromised the pope, for it seemed that the donator acted on counsels which he should have distrusted. The pope showed no displeasure, retaining his indifference, and expressing his determination to adhere to the definitive decision of the auditors of the Rota. The adverse parties obtained another decision in their favor, and they then proceeded to a third hearing. Early in December, Monsignor Priocca, lieutenant of Monte Citorio, decided the donation valid ; he rejected all exceptions, and especially the last will. The case came up again before the Rota, which decided in favor of Ann Mary Lepri. Then an auditor of the Rota proposed a compromise, which seemed to the advantage of all parties. It was not relished at first. But the Marquis Antici, subsequently cardinal, persuaded the Marchioness Victoria Lepri and her daughter to consent to an act of submission to the pope. They subsequently consented, and in 1788 proceeded to the sacristy of Saint Peter's, and petitioned the pope to compromise.

Pius VI. assented. A contract was drawn up, and signed also by five cardinals, Albani, Antonelli, Pallotta, Altieri, and Carandini, and sealed by three notaries. By this document four hundred thousand scudi and half the jewels fell to Ann Mary Lepri; the rest of the trust fund, with the private property of Amanzio, was reserved to the Braschi brothers, who bound themselves to indemnify suitably Ambrose Lepri and the Curtis. The pope ordered, moreover, that all their legal expenses should be paid.

Thus ended the famous Lepri case, so much spoken of in Rome, and the subject of so many strange stories abroad. If the pope, in this matter, did not seem equal to himself, if he showed too great deference for his nephews, he was so great in his conduct otherwise, that this defect may be overlooked in the presence of all the virtues that render this pontiff illustrious. Still, it would have been happier had no such case appeared in these pages.

Dalmatia, and especially Spalatro, were ravaged by the plague. As they were separated from the Marches by only some seventy or eighty miles of sea, the whole Pontifical States were filled with panic; but the precautions ably adopted by the government prevented the evil from entering the northern provinces. This year the fair of Sinigaglia and the Pardon of Assisi were suspended.

A new misfortune came to add its accumulating power. The Tiber overflowed, rising higher than in 1772, and almost as high as in 1750. Pius VI. provided barks, always ready to aid the unhappy inhabitants, whom the rising waters imprisoned in their houses.

Several shocks of earthquake were felt at Frascati, Albano, and other places, inspiring great fears, because they recollected the horrible catastrophe of Calabria. Pius VI. sent relief to Terni, Narni, Spoleto, and Rimini, where the first shocks were felt.

The government gave its care to a deaf and dumb institution, founded on the plan of that of the abbé de l'Épée, in France, perfected by the Abbé Sicard. The principal benefactor of the institution was the rich advocate, Pascal di Pietro, whose brother was made a cardinal in 1802, and merited so well of the Holy See in the labors which brought about the concordat under Pius VII.

On the 16th of February, 1785, Pius VI., seeing that sickness had diminished the number of members of the sacred college, made a promotion of fourteen cardinals:—1. Joseph Garampi, of Rimini, born in that city, October 29th, 1725, nuncio at Vienna, bishop of Montefiascone; 2. Joseph Doria Pamphili, a Genoese, born November 11th, 1751, envoy extraordinary to Madrid, nuncio to Paris; 3. Vincent Ranuzzi, born at Bologna, October 1st, 1726, nuncio to Lisbon; 4. Charles Visconti, of Pavia, born July 30th, 1736, nuncio at Cologne and Lisbon; 5. Nicholas Colonna di Stigliano, Neapolitan, born July 15th, 1730, nuncio at Madrid; 6. Gregory Chiara-

monti, born at Cesena, August 14th, 1742, Benedictine, bishop of Imola, subsequently Pope Pius VII. ; 7. Mutius Gallo di Osimo, born April 17th, 1721, secretary of the Consulta, bishop of Viterbo ; 8. Paul Massei, of Montepulciano, born September 30th, 1712 ; 9. John de Gregorio, a noble Sicilian, born at Messina, January 27th, 1729, auditor of the chamber ; 10. John Mary Riminaldi, of Ferrara, born October 4th, 1718, dean of the Rota ; 11. Francis Carrara, of Bergamo, born November 6th, 1719, secretary of the Congregation of the Council ; 12. Ferdinand Mary Spinelli, a noble Neapolitan, born November 13th, 1728, governor of Rome ; 13. Anthony Mary Doria Pamphili, brother of Cardinal Joseph Doria, born at Naples, March 28th, 1749, master of the chamber ; 14. Charles Livizzani, a noble of Modena, born November 1st, 1722, president of Urbino.

Before speaking of several melancholy disputes that arose in Germany, and were greatly prolonged, we will say some words of the effect produced at the moment by the condemnation of Eybel's *Quid est Papa*. This was issued at Vienna at the time of the pope's visit to that city in 1782. We have spoken of a subsequent and no less pernicious work.

We now come to the actual condemnation. Eybel was read attentively : Rome was especially moved when it saw the first edition speak of establishing articles like those of 1682 in France. The later editions of *Quid est Papa* expatiated at more length on this project of adopting the so-called Gallican doctrines.

Then this question was examined anew, and profound studies resorted to, in order to meet these attacks once more. A great many refutations appeared. It was from this valuable but little known arsenal that Cardinal Litta, subsequently, with great talent, drew excellent arguments to combat the partisans of this doctrine.

Unfortunately, new troubles arose in Germany. On the 25th of August, 1786, deputies from various dioceses, Heimes, Reck, Tauffer, and Benick, in accordance with the electors of Mentz, Treves, and Cologne, and Colloredo, archbishop of Salzburg, met at Ems, where the practice of the Catholic religion was proscribed, and the Lutheran only exclusively permitted. There they held a pseudo-council (conciliabule), against which many other bishops, faithful to the Holy See, at once protested.

The deputies established a project, in twenty-three articles, better fitted to create a schism in the Church than give it peace. They decided, or pretended to decide, that Christ gave the apostles, and the bishops their successors, unlimited power of binding and loosing all persons and in all cases ; that consequently they should no longer recur in any case to Rome, their immediate superiors possessing all right. All exemptions of religious not confirmed by the empire were annulled. With the inconsistency usual in religious fanatics and reformers, they ascribed to the civil power an author-

ity in ecclesiastical matters which they denied to the vicar of Christ. They decreed that religious should not depend on foreign superiors; every bishop was to dispense in cases reserved to the Holy See; to relieve religious from their solemn vows; no religious were to be received into houses of men under twenty-five, or of women under forty years of age; that no quinquennial indults should be solicited from Rome—that is, a five years' authority to give dispensations for marriage. All dispensations asked from any but the bishop were to be null. The bulls of popes were to be obligatory only when accepted by the bishop. All nunciatures were to be suppressed. The bishop's oath to the pope was to be abolished. If the pope refused to confirm the bishops, they would find in ancient discipline means of preserving their office *under the protection of the emperor!**

In these articles the imprudent archbishops implored the emperor's authority, without noticing their extravagant contradiction in refusing submission due to the legitimate superior of bishop and of Cæsar. The four archbishops adopted these articles. Then these fanatics endeavored to draw the other bishops of Germany to their side. But the latter seeing the fetters prepared for them, manfully resisted, both in writing and by open opposition. The four dissenting bishops adhered to their plan, and began to put in practice in their diocese the regulations adopted at Ems. They no longer applied for the quinquennial indults, and granted the dispensations which they and their successors had so long solicited from the Holy See. Yet they were not ignorant that the Council of Trent, declaring null all marriages contracted within certain degrees, left to the pope, as guardian of the canons, the care of dispensing in fit cases, so that the right, by the admission of a general council, belonged exclusively to the sovereign pontiff. The archbishops could not therefore arrogate to themselves this right without opposing that general council, and without troubling the security of marriage, and consequently the repose and tranquillity of society.

At this moment the validity of the sacraments and the sanctity of the conjugal union were in question. Pius VI. deemed it no time for silence; and he ordered his nuncio, Pacca, residing at Cologne, to warn the parish priests of the three ecclesiastical electors, by a circular bearing date November 30th, 1786, that the archbishops in regard to marriage dispensations had no faculties, except such as were conferred by the Holy See in the quinquennial indults, frequently thitherto solicited by those prelates.

The elector of Cologne was the one who testified most opposition to Pacca's circular, treating it as an infringement on his episcopal rights; and he complained not only to his brother, the Emperor Joseph II., but also to

* Our readers must stand perfectly aghast at the folly and wickedness of bishops, who would thus, like Henry VIII. in England, cut the Church in Germany away from the pope, and subject it to the civil power. They were Protestants, under the delusion that they were Catholics.

the Holy Father himself. Pius replied on the 20th of January, in a brief, declaring that the nuncio had issued the circular by his order. He also showed that the general usage of the Church and the decisions of the councils reserved to the pontiffs alone the right of dispensing in certain cases : this was confirmed, too, by received usage at Treves, Mentz, and even at Cologne. The elector of the last city had repeatedly solicited such indulgences as he now pretended to consider as useless.

The Holy Father also reproached the elector with the conduct he had thought fit to hold towards the nuncio, whom the elector had declined to receive ; and he exhorted the elector not to join the enemies of the Church in such calamitous times.

The archduke elector replied by unmeaning protestations of attachment, which were followed by no action and no proof. He resolutely upheld his pretensions, which his two colleagues nevertheless abandoned. The elector of Treves, brother of the pious mother of Louis XVI., was one of the first to return to the path of duty.

This prince of the house of Saxe solicited indulgences for his diocesans, because his spirit of religion opened his eyes to the real object of the authors of the new code of discipline ; and he solicited from the pope *sanatoria*, to give validity to his unauthorized dispensations. The elector of Mentz, who had at first warmly entered the league, also sought dispensations, renewed his intercourse with the nuncio, presented Monsignor de Dalberg as coadjutor, and promised the pope to leave things in the position they were previous to the Congress of Ems.

The sole adherents of the opposition were the archbishops of Cologne and Salzburg, who presented to the diet of Ratisbonne memorials in favor of their congress, and particularly against the nunciatures. The Roman court replied by another memorial, presented at the same diet.

The intrigues excited by the spirit of discord soon vanished before events much more afflicting. The troubles in Brabant, the death of the Emperor Joseph II., and still more the French revolution, destroyed the league of Ems, and the four archbishops who had protected it expiated in the spoliation of their States and the loss of their temporal power, and even of their Sees, suppressed by that victorious power, their mad pretensions against the peace of the Church and the rights of its head ; and they bewailed in exile the faults they had committed by not discovering in season the pitfall into which they had been lured.

At the moment when the ecclesiastical electors, in concert with several bishops, seemed to declare a war of jurisdiction on the Holy See, many other bishops of Germany and Flanders—among others, the bishops of Spire, Fulda, Hildesheim, Wurtzburg, Paderborn, Liege, and Ratisbonne—intrepidly maintained the rights which the Roman court had enjoyed for

so many centuries, without in any way compromising or violating, as those prelates so loudly averred, the majesty and power of the German body.

It was then seen that the opinion of these bishops was approved in other countries. William, king of Prussia, a Protestant prince warmly attached to the religion of his predecessors, and as jealous as any other of his rights of sovereignty, intimated to Monsignor Pacca that he was fully at liberty to exercise all ecclesiastical jurisdiction in the Prussian States, in the same manner as was done under his predecessor Frederic II.

Before proceeding further, we will mention some acts of the reign of this pontiff, which also belong to the year 1787.

On the 20th of May, Pius VI. confirmed a donation in favor of the Syrian patriarchs. Ignatius Michael Giarve, patriarch of Antioch for the Syrians, had acquired on Mount Libanus, in a place called Darnon, a monastery called Saint Mary Liberatrix, and he had given it to his successors in the patriarchate. The pope hastened to testify to Monsignor Giarve how greatly this noble example exalted in the East the glory and interests of Catholic worship.*

Pius VI. was strongly attached to his kinsman, Cardinal Chiaramonti, with whom he maintained a private correspondence. All favors solicited by Chiaramonti were instantly granted without difficulty.

The city of Imola needed an hospital; on the 10th of July, Pius VI. yielded to the request of Chiaramonti, and permitted him to inaugurate a beautiful hospice, which the city endowed. The pope sent from his private purse a considerable donation, and took the occasion to praise highly, in a brief, the prudence, integrity, and fidelity of Chiaramonti, as well as his zeal for religion and ability in the management of affairs. These felicitations of Pius VI., addressed to a cardinal who was to be his successor, may be remarked by history. The praise was all true; nor was Pius VII. ever better appreciated. It was only in ability for the management of affairs that he showed himself deficient; but he was well and duly dispensed by the judicious choice he made in selecting as his prime minister the illustrious Consalvi, one of the most renowned statesmen of the early part of the present century. It was not Consalvi who compromised the authority of the Holy See, which no human effort could defend against the formidable giant who ruled Europe, and whose authority was arrested only by the seacoast of Britain; but it was Consalvi, who, at the favorable moment, restored the authority of Rome as it had been before the deluge roused by the French revolution.

On the 27th of November, 1787, Pius VI. promulgated a bull on the bet-

* Monsignor Ignatius Peter, a nephew of Ignatius Michael Giarve, born at Aleppo, May 28th, 1778, was subsequently patriarch, and administered his uncle's donation down to the troubles in Mount Lebanon.

ter government of the Holy Land. The bulls of protection, published by his predecessors, are enumerated, and the supreme authority of Rome establishes new laws as to the mode of electing, authorities, officers, the administration, and the fathers *discreti*, who form the council of the custos-general.

At the close of this same year the examination of a work not formally condemned till 1788, was begun. It was entitled, "Second Catholic Memoir, containing the Triumph of the Faith and of the Church, the Monarchs, the Monarchy, and Society of Jesus, and its apostles, with the extermination of their enemies: a book to be presented to His Holiness and to the primitive Christians; a work divided into three volumes, and posthumous parts, etc. Accepted by Clement XIII., 1783, 4to." This work, in very bad taste, without judgment, contrary to all decorum, had already appeared under the title of "Catholic Memoir to be presented to the Pope. Cosmopolis, 1780." Pius VI. might have spared himself the trouble of condemning this still-born work, which attracted no attention, although teeming with hatred, falsehood, untruth, and calumnies.

Among the four courts which maintained a cordial intercourse with the Holy See, was that of Versailles. Every time it solicited any diminution on the annats agreed upon on expediting the bulls of bishops, Pius VI. was disposed to grant more than was asked, contenting himself with remarking to Louis XVI., that it was begging alms of the poor. This concord was, however, well-nigh broken by the affair of the necklace, then the talk of Europe.

On the 15th of August, 1787, Cardinal de Rohan had been summoned to court. He appeared in full ceremonial dress, ready to celebrate the feast of the Assumption, in the royal chapel, where he was to officiate as grand almoner of France. The cardinal was invited to the king's cabinet, where he found the queen with the keeper of the seals, and the baron de Breteuil. When questioned as to the circumstances attending the purchase of the necklace, the cardinal showed embarrassment, and ended by saying that he had been deceived. He was at once conducted to his own abode, and seals put on all his papers; and the king, with the consent of his Eminence, ordered a judicial investigation. This case came up before the parliament of Paris.

The clergy, then in session, protested loudly against this violation of ecclesiastical law. They demanded why the privileges had not been respected, which exempted them from the jurisdiction of secular courts.

The clergy, and the cardinal himself, by different couriers, laid the sad affair before the Holy Father. Pius fell ill, was obliged to keep his bed, and had attacks of a fever, which seemed to threaten his precious life. When he had somewhat recovered, the Holy Father held a secret congre-

gation of six cardinals, to whom he submitted the whole affair for examination; and after a conference of several hours with cardinal de Bernis, *chargé d'affaires* of France, he wrote to Louis XVI., begging him to allow the cardinal all the prerogatives attached to his dignity; observing, moreover, that although his Eminence was accused before a secular tribunal, he nevertheless remained subject to a judgment of the sacred college of which he was a member.

The congregation consulted, decided that cardinal de Rohan, having accepted an incompetent tribunal, and, in fact, violated the oaths taken by him on receiving the dignity of cardinal, could not claim the honors and prerogatives due to a cardinal. By virtue of a pontifical decree pronounced in secret consistory, February 13th, 1786, the cardinal was suspended, deprived of voting or being chosen, of all the rights and honors of the purple, till, within a term of six months, he appeared before the Holy See to defend himself against the charge of having accepted an incompetent tribunal.

Before the term expired, the parliament of Paris declared the cardinal innocent. But the king exiled him to his abbey of la Chaise Dieu, depriving him of his cross of knight of the orders, and his high dignity of grand almoner of France. Then the cardinal sent his justification to Rome, with a letter to the pope, explaining the cruel circumstances which had forced him to submit his case to a lay tribunal.

Monsignor Albani appeared before the consistory as the cardinal's representative, and explained his excuse. Rohan was then absolved and restored to the enjoyment of his former rights, and his insignia as cardinal; and the Holy Father was freed from an affair which seemed so pregnant with unpleasant consequences for the Roman court.

Amid all these different cares, Pius VI. had to deplore other assaults on the pontifical power. A new system of ecclesiastical discipline had been introduced into Belgium by Joseph II. The Church in that country seemed disposed to revolt from the Holy See. Many young Catholics, brought up in all the purity of the ancient precepts, demanded a restoration of all matters to their former footing; and gaining nothing, revolted—to obtain by force, what was denied to their respectful petition. Letters to Vienna announced that these revolts were excited by monks, protected, it was said, by Monsignor Zondadari, nuncio from His Holiness at Brussels. That prelate was, accordingly, notified by letter from the emperor to leave the capital with his auditor within a week, and the Belgian States within a fortnight. The prudent Roman envoy, not to compromise his representative character, retired to the abbey of Lobbes, near Liege. Thence he informed His Holiness of the whole affair. The pope was the more afflicted from the fact, that the court of Vienna had not forewarned him of their course.

His affliction increased when he learned that cardinal de Frankenberg, archbishop of Mechlin, had to witness the sequestration of the property of his See, and was summoned, by a secret order, to Vienna to account for his conduct. There he had to drink the chalice of humiliation to the dregs. He was forced for four months to deliver courses of the new theology, under the direction of the counsellors of the ecclesiastical deputation; moreover, the bishops of Ghent, Antwerp, Bruges, and Ypres, received severe reprimand; the bishop of Namur was deprived of his revenues and exiled to a monastery. Many ecclesiastics, dear to the people, had been treated with rigor for protesting against the emperor's edicts—edicts in violation of all the ancient discipline of the Church. The Holy Father addressed warm remonstrances to obtain an amelioration of the condition of so many worthy bishops and priests; but all his efforts were vain, the tyrannical emperor persisted in his course.

Meanwhile, Monsignor Ricci, bishop of Pistoia and Prato from 1780, gave new proof of his aversion to the discipline of the Church, as regulated and followed by the Holy See. He was protected by his sovereign Leopold, grand duke of Tuscany, brother of Joseph II., who appointed to office men imbued with the schismatic ideas of reform. He founded ecclesiastical academies, in which the new theology was taught; he encouraged writings against devotion to the Sacred Heart of Jesus, and against indulgences; he changed rites, altered discipline, and, regardless of the murmurs of the people, he stripped divine worship of majesty, the Church of its rights, and religion of the respect of the faithful.

A strict partisan of the appellants of France, Ricci took them as his models. Under his pen, Soanen was a holy bishop; Quesnel a wise and pious martyr of truth; the Abbé Racine, Mésenguy, Gourlin, and similar Jansenists, were lights of the Church. He translated into Italian their works in favor of the appeal and against the popes; he held conferences, in which he raved against the bull *Unigenitus*, and defended the cause of the schismatics of Utrecht.

Pius VI. wrote to this bishop, to endeavor to recall him to the proper path. His only reply was new innovations, which led to incessant complaints between Rome and Florence. It required all the moderation of Pius VI. to avoid an open rupture with Leopold.

Ricci, not renouncing the maxims which he had embraced, and which he wished to propagate at any cost, held a diocesan council at Pistoia, on the 19th of September. This prelate, conscious that he would not find priests enough in his diocese disposed to favor his intentions, summoned several of his partisans from other places, and especially from the University of Pavia, where Natali, Tamburini, Zola, and others manifested similar opinions. The bishop chose Tamburini as promoter of the synod, although he

had no right to be present. Other partisans are mentioned, who are cited in Jauffret's work. This synod lasted ten days; it was composed of two hundred and thirty-four priests, and Ricci declared to them that *the Holy Ghost would descend upon them, and their oracles become those of God himself*. To gain the parish priests, he permitted them, in ceremonies, to wear the rochet and violet cassock like prelates, and at other times to wear a ribbon of like color in the hat. This decoration and other indulgences of the bishops gained some weak pastors to his side.

From the rank and disposition of those who made up this synod, it is easy to infer what the decrees would be. The systems of Bainus and Quesnel were adopted, Ricci having translated into Italian the "Moral Reflections" of Quesnel, and presented them to his parish priests, recommending them to use this *golden book*, which was however condemned and proscribed by the Holy See. They then approved some propositions already condemned by the bull *Unigenitus*. They admitted twenty-four articles of those which the faculty of Louvain had presented to Innocent XI. in 1677, and which were adopted by the rebel schismatics of Utrecht in 1763. They approved the twelve articles sent to Rome in 1725 by Cardinal de Noailles, and which with manifest falsehood they pretended to have been sanctioned by Benedict XIII. They censured, with even greater warmth than Leopold had done, the Devotion to the Sacred Heart of Jesus. They treated with contempt sacred pictures and other practices of piety. Many reforms were proposed in the ancient discipline of the Church. Most of the religious orders were blamed, Ricci wishing to reduce them all to one order. He asked also the suppression of perpetual vows, and admitted only the rule of Port Royal. Pius VI. will teach us in 1794, by his bull *Auctorem fidei*, what is to be thought of this assembly and its decrees.

Scarcely had the synod adjourned than its operations elicited much opposition, even in Tuscany. To repress it, Leopold resolved to convoke at Florence an assembly of three archbishops and fourteen bishops of his grand duchy. They were directed to prepare matters to be discussed in a national council: they were also to pave the way for the changes which Ricci desired to introduce, and carry out, on a large scale, what he was executing at Pistoia. Ricci was sure of reckoning some adherents among them. This assembly opened in a hall of the Pitti palace, on the 23d of April, 1787, and after nineteen sessions, dissolved on the 5th of June. The fourteen bishops would not listen to any thing about the synod of Pistoia, and evinced a true and manly sacerdotal resistance. After the usual preliminaries, the four following articles were proposed—1. A reform of the breviary and missal, under the care of the three archbishops of Tuscany; 2. The translation into the vernacular of the ritual in the administration of the sacraments, except the sacramental words always to be said in Latin.

3. The precedence of parish priests over canons, even in cathedrals.
4. The jurisdiction of bishops is of divine right.

Ricci wished, moreover, the episcopate to be restored to its primitive rights. Four of his colleagues supported him, but the others refused to enter into a discussion, brought forward only as a source of complaint and discord.

Opinions differed as to a plan of study; the multiplicity of altars in the same church—an enormous abuse, according to Ricci, and not to be tolerated; the suppression of privileged altars, etc.

Ricci also wished to change the oath made to the pope by a bishop on the day of his consecration. Twelve bishops refused this new reform. The bishop of Chiusi, hoping to find this assembly of bishops less severe than Rome, submitted the pastoral which he had published to the examination of these bishops. But they pronounced with the pope, that it was full of errors, and a spirit of schism and heresy; and with the same firmness they censured the writings which Ricci had printed at Pistoia to pervert Italy.

That innovator, seeing nothing to hope for from bishops attached to the Holy See, hostile to schism and discord, and repudiating these novelties the more firmly because they were protected in high quarters, thought it best to dissolve the assembly.

Novaes considering it useless to relate what was then done at Florence, confines himself simply to saying that, among other things, on the 20th of September, 1788, Leopold suppressed and abolished the tribunal of the Florentine nunciature, where Monsignor Ricci had himself been auditor. Matters were submitted to the examination of the three Tuscan archbishops, and the nuncio, Monsignor Ruffo Scilla, was informed that he would in future be recognized simply as envoy and diplomatic minister. At Rome, the datary was ordered to expedite no dispensations for Tuscany, unless the documents were legalized by the nuncio.

Meanwhile, the pope continued his remonstrances to Leopold. At the same time, to give the prince an unmistakable token of his good-will, the pope acceded to a request of the grand duke, who wished to erect the collegiate church of Pontremoli, in Lunigiana, into a cathedral. The bulls of erection were sent to the prince with a declaration, that the candidate nominated by his imperial and royal highness was excluded. Leopold subsequently nominated a bishop whom Rome accepted.

We will now proceed to the beatifications. In 1786, Pius VI. celebrated the beatification of several servants of God. On the 13th of August took place that of Pacificus of San Severino, in the March of Ancona, a reformed Franciscan, who died September 24th, 1721.

On the 3d of September the pope beatified the Blessed Thomas da Cervi, an Observantine Franciscan, who died in 1729.

On the 18th of December the pope raised to the cardinalate his second nephew on his sister's side, Romuald Braschi Onesti.

The sovereigns of Russia and Sweden continued to send to the pope great marks of their respect. William II., king of Prussia, successor of Frederic II., having become master of a great part of Silesia, and many other Catholic countries, formerly belonging to Poland, granted them his protection. He recognized the rights of the Holy See, which some German archbishops thought to destroy. Although professing another religion, he went so far as to order ecclesiastical affairs to be resolved by the Holy See. He wished the nomination of bishops and beneficiaries to fall only on candidates agreeable to the supreme head of the religion which they professed.

The Emperor Leopold I., had, in 1701, conferred the title of king of Prussia on Frederic I. The Roman court then protested, and had since persisted in recognizing the Protestant sovereign only as elector of Brandenburg. Pius VI., to show his gratitude and condescension to William II., recognized his royal title. The Abbate Ciofani, agent of William, having received credentials, was declared minister resident of the king of Prussia, and acted also as agent for ecclesiastical affairs. He had, since 1787, raised above the door of his house the arms of a non-Catholic prince.

The religious met with consoling progress in China. The pope profited by this occasion to extend there the liturgy of the Church, and he directed the Propaganda to print the missal, ritual, and breviary in Chinese.

On the 15th of December, 1788, the pope gave the hat to Stephen Charles de Loménie de Brienne, born at Paris in 1727, prime-minister of France in 1787, archbishop of Toulouse, whence he was translated to Sens, March 10th, 1788. King Louis XVI. had earnestly solicited this hat, which the pope granted with great reluctance.

A menacing revolt having ensued in Belgium, Joseph II. revoked most of his edicts of suppression. The pope sought by every means to appease the insurrection and recover those States for the emperor, lost forever to the house of Austria.

In 1787 the French revolution began its violent and tempestuous course.

On the 29th of March, 1790, Pius VI. addressed the cardinals in this allocution :

“ VENERABLE BRETHREN :

“ We impart to you our grave solicitude, and the grief that overwhelms us : we call your minds to conceive duly the care that oppresses us on every side. You know into what a deplorable state the vast kingdom of France, that mighty realm, the envy of so many, has fallen ; how by the very judgment of its people, it is plunged in an instant into ruin and tears.

“At first, only a better organization of the political economy seemed in question ; and as they attempted only to lighten the burdens of the people, there seemed no disposition to concern our apostolic ministry.

“This soon led, by a rapid decline, to religion itself, which they pretended to subject to political exigencies. We have seen seditious and sanguinary movements arise ; they develop daily. We have hastened to implore the Divine mercy on that nation ; we have ordered public prayers—they are now daily offered. But hitherto our entreaties are vain before God ; the evil increases, and we do not know how much further it may extend.

“By the acts passed in the National Assembly, religion is attacked and disturbed ; the rights of this Apostolic See are usurped ; treaties and solemn conventions violated ; and as the first evils sprang from false doctrines, disseminated in poisoned books, it was deemed necessary to give a more prompt impulse to contagious opinions. A decree, therefore, enacted that all men had a right to think as they chose in matters of religion, and express their opinions on the subject ; and that each was bound to obey only the laws to which he consented. The Catholic religion was subjected to the question, whether it should or should not be dominant in the possessions of France?”

The pope continues to examine the state of France. “Solemn vows of religion are suppressed ; convents opened ; Church property confiscated for the good of the nation ; tithes, constituting a great part of this property, abolished ; the Church plate seized, and many similar measures adopted, or about to be put into execution instantly.

“Can we remain silent and not raise our apostolic voice against these fatal decrees, which cut off all communication between us and that kingdom ? The prophet Isaias seems to censure our silence, when he cries : ‘Woe to me, because I kept silent’ (Isaias, i. 5). But how and to whom shall we speak ? To the terrified bishops, deprived of all authority ? Many others have been forced to abandon their Sees. To the dispersed and now despised clergy, who cannot even call the faithful together ? Shall we address the Most Christian king himself, whom they have deprived of the royal authority ? The king is subject to the National Assembly, and is forced to affix his name to all these decrees. The nation almost entirely seems seduced by this species of vain liberty, and is enslaved by this council of philosophers, who insult and attack each other. It no longer admits ‘that the salvation of nations rests in the main on the doctrine of Christ.’ Saint Augustine also tells us that the ‘felicity of nations exists only where kings are obeyed with the full consent of all.’* Kings are God’s ministers for

* Saint Augustine to Marcellinus, Ep. 138, n. 15. ‘Edition of Saint Maur, tome ii., p. 416.

good ; they are the sons and protectors of the Church. They should love her as a mother, and protect her cause and rights.

“ We feel sensibly, nevertheless, that our duty compels us to speak, to warn, to exhort. We know too that our words will fall unheeded before the unbridled license of a populace given up to every excess, revelling in fire, rapine, the murder and execution of citizens, and no longer human ; at the same time there is fear that it will plunge into deeper crimes.

“ Here we have an admirable lesson of Saint Gregory the Great ; he proves that silence is not always misplaced. He considers that there is a time to be silent and a time to speak. He distinguishes the two situations, and instructs us thus : ‘ We must learn with prudence that the voice may open the mouth in season, and that then a seasonable silence may close it.’

“ Then for the same testimony are cited Saint Athanasius, Saint Gregory Thaumaturgus, Saint Dionysius of Alexandria, and Saint Ambrose.

“ Yet if our voice is intercepted before France, what have we to do ? Certainly we must speak with God ; we must enkindle and multiply the prayers which we offer up.”

On the 31st of the same year, 1790, the pope addressed a brief to cardinal de la Rochefoucauld, archbishop of Rouen. He says that he regards it as difficult to offer any consolation ; he himself needs it no less than the Church of France. Under the circumstances, the pope promises that dispensations from religious vows shall be confided entirely to the piety and prudence of the French bishops.*

On the 10th of July the pope addressed Louis XVI., whom he loved sincerely.

“ Pius, Pope VI.

“ DEAR SON IN CHRIST :

“ We doubt not, beloved son, that in the bottom of your heart you are attached to the Catholic Apostolic Roman religion, centre of unity, to the Holy See, to us also, and the faith of your glorious ancestors. Yet we must fear that you are deceived by false and captious words, that your love for the people subject to you deceives you, and that many traverse the desire you feel to govern your kingdom worthily, and restore it to peace and tranquillity.

“ We are on earth the vicar of Jesus Christ. To us he has committed the deposit of the faith, and our duty orders us especially to warn you, above all, of your obligations to God and your people. (We do not think that you, setting aside your conscience, can be brought to commentaries of

* This letter is signed by Benedict Stay, secretary of briefs.

vain policy.) The paternal love which we feel for you obliges us to declare and warn you, that if you approve the decrees concerning the clergy, you will thereby lead all your nation into error, you will lead the kingdom into schism, and you will cast religion into the cruel chances of war. We have hitherto employed all our zeal to prevent any movement taking place as on our part; we have had no other arms than the harmless weapons of our prayers to God. But if religion continues to meet dangers among you, the Head of the Church will raise a voice that must be heard. Still, we never break the laws of charity; we acknowledge that we owe much to the world, but we owe more to God.

“Think not, our dear son in Christ, that a civil body politic can change the doctrine and discipline of the Universal Church: that it can despise and hold as naught the sentences of the holy fathers and councils, overthrow the hierarchy, decide aught on the election of bishops, the suppression of Episcopal Sees—in a word, trouble or deform at pleasure the whole structure of the Catholic Church.

“Your majesty has near you two archbishops:* one, during the long career of his episcopate, has battled against the attacks of incredulity; the other, very learned and instructed in all that concerns religion and its regulations. Consult them as well as others, whose number is great in your kingdom, both prelates and doctors distinguished by piety and learning, for fear of imperilling your salvation and that of your people, by an unthinking approval that would offend and scandalize all Catholics.

“For the good of the nation you have renounced much that was yours; but if it was in your power to cede rights inherent in the royal crown, you cannot alien and reject those belonging to God and the Church, of which you are the eldest son.

“We who are the Head of the Church, fall herein into great pain of mind. We have also to complain in what concerns our temporal power. Your majesty knows that Avignon, by revolting, has detached itself from us, and has offered to recognize the authority of the French people. That nation will not, we think, accept what is thus offered, and your majesty’s heart will repulse this gift; for from this example it would follow, besides the manifest wrong, that the French nation could never in future reclaim provinces that abandoned it and submitted to the authority of a neighboring State, which might happen in the great perturbation of your kingdom.

“Let us trust to divine Providence, and cling steadfastly to the faith of our ancestors, and thus merit from the Almighty a present protection. As

* De la Rochefoucauld, cardinal archbishop of Rouen, and Champion de Cicé, archbishop of Bordeaux.

for ourselves, personally, we shall never cease to feel uneasiness and anguish till we see in perfect security your majesty's happiness.

"Now, with heartfelt sentiment of paternal love to your majesty, we send you, with love for yourself and all your family, our apostolic benediction.

"Given at Rome, near Saint Mary Major's, July 13th, M.DCCXC, of our pontificate the sixteenth.

"PIUS, PP. VI."

The same day the pope wrote to John George, archbishop of Vienne, to conjure him to renew his efforts to save religion, his king, and his country.

A letter of the same date and purport was addressed to Jerome Mary, archbishop of Bordeaux.

On the 17th of August, 1790, the pope again addressed Louis XVI.

"To his dear Son, the Most Christian King Louis :

"PIUS, PP. VI.

"Very dear son in Christ, health and apostolic benediction :

"Your majesty's letters,* which have been handed to us by cardinal de Bernis, inform us of your respect for religion, and your love for the Holy Apostolic See. You have had sound reasons to believe that we would address you, to prevent your straying from the canonical rules and discipline of the Universal Church. Eldest Son of the Church, you know that the spiritual and temporal powers should mutually assist each other, and that the Church alone has the right to the exclusion of all political exigency of deciding in spiritual matters, and that temporal power intervenes only to aid in enforcing the decrees of the Church.

"If this order is not preserved in the two powers, all rights must be troubled, and confusion in public things and schism will replace that happy concord which binds all the faithful by unanimous consent.

"While the Church was tost by the waves of tempests, then for a certain time it opposed its patience ; but at the same time, it remained firmly attached to the careful enforcement of the Catholic precepts.

"We have for some years employed similar toleration in the affairs of France, deeming it better not to raise our voice nor display a just severity, while minds were carried away by the fury of erroneous opinions, and that it was better to prepare hearts, that they might, as troubles decreased, return to better sentiments and acknowledge the true principles of the faith, for the support of which it becomes us to guard the rules of the evangelical law.

* They were dated July 28th, 1790.

"Some bishops of your States perhaps wonder greatly that we have not long since broken this silence by a solemn cry. But your majesty can himself tell them what a correspondence we have had with you to defend religion, so long attacked by the poison of incredulous and perverse writings.

"If we have not preached on the house-tops, we have never dissembled the truth, whenever we have been able to make it reach sovereign princes like your majesty. We have said that there must be no doubt, that when the ministers of the altar were in danger, we would seek means to serve religion.

"Dear son in Christ, raise up the souls of these ministers, exhort them, amid so many adversities, to patience and a true and stable constancy of will, to keep sound principles, and observe Catholic prescriptions.

"You cannot be ignorant that the evils which afflict your subjects are sent by God as chastisements, which he inflicts on those who resist his laws. Let your bishops redouble their prayers, as we do ourselves, that the wrath of the divine Redeemer, excited by the wickedness of man, may be changed to feelings of mercy. From no other source can we look for a term to so great evils. Your bishops should especially omit nothing to defend their spiritual rights: they are menaced, and cannot be torn from the Church. If the ministers are deprived of other goods, they should too be less moved.

"Meanwhile, as so grave an interest was at stake, we have appointed a congregation of cardinals of the Holy Roman Church. It shall examine what you propose to us through cardinal de Bernis. This deliberation would delay too much the courier's return; and as your majesty presses us to reply to your last letters, we can to-day but impart to you our primitive opinions. At another season we shall address your majesty in a more detailed reply, and meanwhile send you, and all your family, with all our heart, our apostolic benediction.

"Given at Rome, near Saint Mary Major's, August 17th, 1790, of our pontificate the sixteenth.

"PIUS, PP. VI."

We will cite another letter of the pope, addressed to Louis XVI., September 22d, 1790:

"Dear son in Christ, health and apostolic benediction. We groan in the depths of our heart when we think that by the violence of these times your majesty has been forced to publish the decrees of the National Assembly, to which you gave your sanction before referring them to us, and asking some means to console consciences, avoid the scandals of division among Catholics, and meet the evils before the almost irreparable evils of schism.

"Truly, when we think of the love for religion, which has filled your majesty's heart since you ascended the throne, when we consider your

devotion to the Holy See, your filial affection to our person, then our grief increases within us, because we see that a monarch such as you, and so great, has been forced to subscribe these acts of the Assembly, which aim only at the overthrow of the Catholic religion.

"If you could personally know how far all the articles of discipline are founded on the sacred laws of the canons, the true sentiments of the Church of France, and the principles of the Catholic Church, if you knew how closely these articles are connected with dogma itself, and almost attain the force and nature of religion, you would at once see how by these novelties they seek to cloak, with your august name, the most audacious guilt, not yet avowed, but which is the more and more to be feared, on account of the incredulity of minds and the rashness of the times.

"And now, most dear son in Christ, remember that God is your creator and your judge, and that the same God has enabled your august ancestors to pass unscathed amid so many tempests during so many ages; believe that God will ever be a God for you, if, as your fathers persevered in fidelity to His laws, you now show like fidelity. Then will God awaken in your behalf that ancient love of your people, which, assuring them a singular glory, will bring to the kingdom security and power.

"Your majesty shows surprise that by the return of the extraordinary courier, we did not reply to the main questions contained in the letters handed to us by cardinal de Bernis, on your behalf. We can assure you, that we lost not a moment to take into consideration the grave and difficult matters proposed by you.

"By your order, the documents in the matter were laid before twenty cardinals chosen by us, as well as consulting canonists and theologians. They require time.

"Your minister, the cardinal, has thought proper to make us several representations on the matter, containing information otherwise inaccessible. On his part, he urged us to satisfy your mind with expedition. At the same time, he well knew that we would not dismiss the matter, which was to be examined in all its possible consequences, that could not be examined at a moment.

"That the successor of Saint Peter may, after mature examination, modify his doctrine, requires that he be first assured of the docility of those who shall hear the voice of the first pastor.

"And who assures us of this docility in these days of tumult, fury, and delirium? Who will affirm that our words will produce more good than evil? Surely, as minds are busied in France, we have rather to fear evil than expect good.

"All must be deemed sacrificed and lost, if the centre of unity has to regret its power and its influence on minds. Attentively examine these considera-

tions, and others less grave; then you will understand how necessary it is to proceed to a serious examination. The congregation of cardinals will assemble September 23d: each of them will give his opinion in writing. These opinions we will place in the scales of religion, prudence, love of peace and concord, and we will beg God to assist us and enlighten us with his heavenly splendor.

"During this interval we persist in our condemnation of the decrees on the civil constitution of their clergy.

"Our love for you, our attachment to your kingdom, counsel us to the paths of extreme moderation. We shall certainly never forget that we are the common father of all, that your subjects are our children, that you are the Eldest Son of the Church, and that we would be wanting to the duties of paternal charity, if we did not at once seize the arms of the Church against children to be regarded rather as deceived and hurried away by unthinking impetuosity than as rebels and refractory. We will meet these furies by our patience; we will meet the mobility and inconstancy of mind by meekness and temporizing, and with the help of God's aid, we trust that without any outcries, religion itself, which is necessary for the happiness of life, for order in society, will revive, enkindled anew in the hearts of those who will be recalled to duty by their anguish, after insulting religion and smiting it with insult. At least we promise ourselves this felicity, and expect this result of the vows which inflame our heart.

"Meanwhile, we will exhort the bishops of your kingdom to concert with us, in all confidence, that we may correspond to their solicitude. We will declare what is most proper to undertake to guide them by wise and upright directions, so as to abstain from troubling the peace, exciting the outbreaks and tumults which would precede and follow schism.

"You too, dear son in Christ, forget not to urge them to concert with us to repair the evils, while they can still bear the remedy. In this manner bishops will give to all in error time to return to the right path; they will recall nations to reason, by the example of virtue, charity, constancy, and fortitude.

"United to your bishops by the closest ties, we will perhaps find more easy means to remedy the past, and arrange matters for the future. The bishops are our brethren: let them not fear to live in a good understanding with us, and rely on us in such anguish of time and affairs.

"Thus must we conduct this negotiation, rather than grant provisional faculties, which would satisfy no one, and certainly beget occasions of destroying the discipline, legislation, and jurisdiction of the Catholic Church. We must not doubt but that God will recall the hearts and enlighten the minds.

"If after this God himself, after the consultation of the greater part of

the sacred college, inspires us with the thought of any efficacious means, invoking the divine wisdom, we will readily employ it; we shall, however, first inform your majesty, to whom we grant with love, as well as to your family, the apostolic benediction.

"Given at Rome, at Saint Mary Major's, September 22d, in the year MDCCXC., of our pontificate the sixteenth.

"PIUS PP. VI."

This negotiation to obtain provisional faculties,* naturally passed through the hands of cardinal de Bernis. Pius VI. was undoubtedly under obligations to de Bernis in the conclave, and no one was astonished at the friendship and confidence reposed in him. Bernis, when consulted, had habitually given sound advice. Sometimes, too, when not consulted, he manifested spontaneously a spirit of opposition not pleasing to Pius VI. Amid these differences Bernis was not always right.

One day, speaking of the arms cut in marble on various monuments, in the beginning of his reign, Bernis had an altercation with the pope, suddenly and unasked introducing the topic.

To two Zephyrs composing the arms of the Braschi family, the intendant of the house, to exalt it, added an eagle, fleurs-de-lis, and stars. It has since been proved that various branches of the Braschi family, by connections with the emperor, the king of France, and Alexander VII., had successively obtained permission to adopt the other armorial bearings.

At the moment when the works in the Pontine marshes seemed less successful, a malcontent composed a distich against the pontifical arms, and he published the following verses:

"Redde aquilam imperio, Francorum lilia regi;
Sidera redde polo, cætera, Braschi, tua."

Rome repeated the insult, and Cardinal de Bernis was blamed for allowing it to be quoted before him. History has graver subjects.

In the first place, Pius VI. possessed, in his family archives, documents sustaining the pretension; moreover, the arms were apposite, supposing them adopted, to the early sentiments of a pope, a homage to heaven; then followed the adoption of the insignia of the two great powers, the emperor and France. Light remarks might be heard in the palaces of princes, from whose arms nothing had been taken, and who were not considered as, under heaven, the protectors of the Holy See.

Cardinal de Bernis, in letters to Paris, spoke in an unbecoming tone of the pope, and assumed a sort of tutorship over him. He kept, too, an

* These provisional faculties would have given the archbishops of France various pontifical powers, never granted by any pope to any one.

almost royal state at Rome,—his splendid dinners, his elegant suppers, not being interrupted even at the season when the city was almost deserted. He thus sought and enjoyed a great popularity and seeming power.

He opposed the journey of the pope to Vienna; but in the matter of the recognition of the Jesuits in Russia, sustained the pope in his course. But his great reverse was to come. In aiding the infidel and Jansenist element in plundering and expelling the Jesuits from France, he little thought, in the almost regal pomp with which he surrounded himself, that he would live to see himself stripped of every thing, an exile from France, dependent on the bounty of a pope soon to die himself a prisoner.

Meanwhile, from all parts came appeals to Pius VI. The bishop of Bâle, whose jurisdiction extended to Alsace, asked directions. Monsignor Stay, secretary of Latin briefs, replied, in the name of the pope, that his jurisdiction in Alsace would undoubtedly be respected. Rome would not consent to a dislocation of a diocese.

Cardinal Zelada is consulted by an abbess as to the course to be pursued amid difficulties and persecutions. His eminence replied on the 15th of December, directing her to conform to the tenor of the brief of His Holiness, addressed on the 12th of April, 1782, to the bishop of Brünn.*

The year 1791 began with sadder auspices.

On the 23d of February the pope wrote to cardinal de Brienne a letter blaming his conduct in several points, and urging him to display greater docility in accepting the decisions of the Holy See.

On the 10th of March the pope replied to cardinal de la Rochefoucauld, and the French bishops who had signed the exposition, on the principles of an act passed in France called the Civil Constitution of the Clergy, which really annihilated the Church in that country.

This reply is one of the most important that the Roman court published at that time. We can give only an extract here, for the document in itself would form a small volume.

“Dear sons and venerable brethren, health and apostolic benediction :

“We now reply to your letter of October 10th, 1790, subscribed by a great number of your worthy colleagues. This reply we have been obliged to defer on account of the gravity of the matter, and the great urgency of important affairs.

“Your letter has renewed in us that immense pain that afflicted us, and that no consolation can relieve, since we learned that the Assembly of your nation, met to consider the interests of political economy, had gone so far

* See ante, p. 412.

in its decrees as to attack the Catholic religion. This Assembly, although engaged in conspiracies against itself, yet rushes on the sanctuary.

"From the first, we thought, that with men so inconsiderate, silence must be kept, for fear of provoking them by the word of truth to acts of greater perversity. This silence we put under the protection of the authority of the great Saint Gregory, who says: "We must regulate ourselves discreetly in times of vicissitude, lest when the tongue should be silent, it gives loose uselessly to words." Meanwhile we have spoken to God, and ordered public prayers, to obtain of him for these new legislators a disposition which will recall them from the precepts of the philosophy of this age, back to the laws of our religion, and their practice.

"In this we have followed the example of Susanna, who, as Saint Ambrose says, 'did more by silence than if she had spoken. If she was silent to men, she spoke to God. Conscience spoke where the voice was unheard. She sought not for herself the judgment of men, because she had the testimony of the Lord.'*

"Meanwhile, venerable brethren, we have not neglected to convoke in consistory our brethren of the Holy Roman Church. On the 29th of March, last year, we communicated to them the plots then formed against the Catholics. We imparted to the sacred college the bitterness of our sorrow, and invited them to join their tears with ours, accompanied by prayers to God."

The pope refutes the assertions advanced in the various articles. He cites Saint Athanasius and Saint John Chrysostom. He denounces an article of one of the decrees, which he cites in French: "The new bishop shall not apply to the pope to obtain his confirmation; but will write to him as visible head of the Universal Church, in token of unity of faith and communion to be entertained with him."

Pius VI. justly styles this the abolition of his pontifical primacy and of his jurisdiction. Alluding to the confusion resulting from the suppression and reduction of many archiepiscopal Sees, Pius VI. recalls a letter of Innocent III. to a patriarch of Alexandria, who attempted similar innovations: "*Novo mutationis genere parvificasti majorem et magnum quodam modo minorasti, episcopare archiepiscopum, imo potius dearchiepiscopare præsumens.*"

Alluding subsequently to a bishop who had been abandoned by his colleagues, he thus describes his grief: "So much has our affliction increased, that night or day the pupil of our eye has not closed."

The pontiff proves that the acts of Henry VIII. in England and those of

* Lib. i., De Officiis, cap. iii., num. 9; Tome ii., p. 4. Benedictine edition.

the Assembly are identical; nay more, that the Assembly has imitated Henry VIII. ; and he quotes Bossuet at length on Saint Thomas à Becket, and Cranmer, that other Thomas.

The pope refers with pleasure to the fact that the Chapter in the diocese of the recreant bishop, the Chapter of Autun, declares—1. That they adhere formally to the exposition of principles on the constitution of the clergy, given by the bishop's deputies in the National Assembly, on the 30th of October, 1790; 2. That they cannot, without violating their consciences, take part directly or indirectly in the execution of the plan of the new constitution of the clergy, and especially in what relates to the suppression of cathedral churches; and that consequently the Chapter will continue its sacred and canonical functions, as well as the performance of the various foundations for which the Church was responsible; till reduced to an absolute inability to fulfil them; 3. That as guardian of the property and rights of the bishopric, and by virtue of the spiritual jurisdiction devolving on cathedral churches during the vacancy of the See, it can consent to no new arrangement of the diocese of Autun made solely by the secular power.

Before concluding, the pope mentions the sentence of Liberius,* saying to the bishops who had signed an ancient creed, invented by a heretic, and which they adopted from fear under the menaces of the Emperor Constans:

“If you persevere in error, you must be struck by virtue of the spiritual power of the Catholic Church.” The brief added that Saturninus, a bishop, was driven from the See of Arles as an atheist, on the representations of Saint Hilary of Poitiers.† Then the sentence of Liberius was confirmed by Damasus, and, in a council of ninety bishops, a synodical letter was adopted, stating that the Orientals must repent, if they wished to be thought Catholic.

“The partisans of the new schism plunged into the same peril where those fell who underwent the judgment of Liberius, Hilary, and Damasus; and if they do not revoke their oath, they know what to expect. Finally, the contents of this brief have been drawn, not from the mind of the reigning pontiff, but from the purest source of sacred doctrines.”

The letter closes thus: “Venerable brethren, constantly preserve your steadfast resolution: renounce not your project from fear of danger: resist threats, remember how David fearlessly answered the giant; the intrepid Machabees, Antiochus; Basil, Valens; Hilary, Constance; Yvo of Chartres, King Philip. As for our part, we have recommended new prayers: we have urged your king to withhold his sanction: we have warned two bishops, who are consulted by the king, what to do to disarm and appease,

* *Ep. Liberi ad Cathol. Episcopos.*

† *Sulpitius Severus, Lib. ii., ch. xlv., vol. ii., p. 245. Edition of Verona.*

as far as lies in us, the fury of those called the *Tiers Etat*: we have suspended the payment of the taxes for documents issued to France,—a tax, nevertheless, due our offices by virtue of ancient conventions and uniform usage. This liberality on our part has been met by the blackest ingratitude. Members of the Assembly have given new life to the revolt of the people of Avignon; yet never shall we and the Holy See cease to protest against that act. Moreover, we have refrained from declaring the authors of that baleful civil constitution separated and cut off from the Catholic religion. In a word, we have borne every thing, in order, by mildness and patience, to avoid a deplorable schism, and to restore peace for you and your country. Nay more, firm in the resolve of paternal charity, which you seem to share, as we learn by your exposition, we ask and entreat you to declare and tell us what to do to conciliate minds. Distant as we are from France, we cannot know this. You who see things nearer, may perceive some measure not at variance with Catholic dogma and universal discipline. Propose it for our examination and deliberation.

“We pray the Almighty to preserve pastors as wise, as vigilant as you are, and keep them safe and sound as long as possible. This wish we consecrate with our apostolic benediction, which we send affectionately and from the bottom of our heart to you all, dear sons and venerable brethren.

“Given at Rome, at Saint Peter’s, March 10th, 1791, of our pontificate the seventeenth.

“PIUS, PP. VI.”

This doctrinal brief is reputed one of the best works of Pius VI. Proud of succeeding so many great and learned men, he invokes their example to sustain his cause and theirs. The same courage, erudition, and apostolic zeal are found in the bull *Auctorem Fidei*, issued in 1794.

On the same day, March 10th, 1791, Pius VI. wrote to Louis XVI. After excusing himself for not sooner replying, he mentions the document addressed to the bishops, and adds:

“Your majesty has promised us to live and die in your religion. This promise gave us great consolation. On the other hand, this promise will give you most lively grief, when you understand that, by your sanction, you have cut off from the Church all who have taken the oath prescribed by the Assembly, as well as all who adhere to the pernicious maxims contained in the constitution. In this manner, you have refused the illustrious and glorious praise which you have obtained by defending religion. Thus you have strayed from the example of your ancestors, who maintained it with zeal and intrepidity.”

The pope urges Louis to consult the bishops, and speaks of the bishop of Autun and cardinal de Loménie in severe terms.

On the 2d of April, Cardinal Zelada felicitated the members of the Chapter of Autun in the pope's name, and praises them for their fidelity to their priestly oaths.

On the 13th of April commonitory letters were issued to all the French clergy. The letters of the French archbishops, dated October 10th, are regarded by the pope as worthy of the highest praise. As to those who took the oaths, he gives the names of five archbishops and bishops who had acknowledged the constitution. Finally, he declares the constitution heretical, opposed to Catholic dogma, in other points sacrilegious, schismatical, destructive of the pontifical primacy, contrary to ancient and modern discipline, and imagined and conceived only to abolish the Catholic religion.

The rest of the document shows the sentiments which were to animate the glorious pontiff when he must trace the fearful consequences of this destruction of religion.

On the 16th of April, cardinal de Rohan was congratulated on the determination he evinced to repel the subversive doctrines of the innovators.

On the 23d of April, warm letters were addressed to the inhabitants of the Venaissin, who still continued their efforts to throw off the pontifical authority.

On the 10th of May, 1791, the pope superintended, with his ordinary zeal, the labors at the Pontine marshes. From Terracina, he transmitted to the French episcopate new faculties, to meet, in part, the evils which afflicted religion. These faculties were extended on the 18th of August and 26th of September. The archbishops of Lyons, Paris, and Vienne, with the oldest bishops, are enjoined to seek means to restore peace to the churches.

Loménie had resigned the purple. Pius VI. accepted it before the cardinals, and at once replaced him by a distinguished prelate whom he reserved *in petto*.

New commonitory letters were published, March 19th, 1792, in reply to letters from the intruded clergy.

"This means of defence is known; it belongs to the wicked school of heretics and schismatics. We read that Photius wrote to the pontiff Saint Nicholas,* Luther to Leo,† Peter Paul Vergerio the younger to Julius III.‡ They feigned obedience, submission, and union with the Apostolic See: by their doctrines they disavowed, and at the same time insulted the Holy See, and taught condemned errors."

The pope here alludes to a work entitled, "Agreement of true Church Principles, Morality, and Reason, in the Civil Constitution of the Clergy of

* Baronius, an. 859, num. 61.

† *Works of Luther* (Ed. of Jena, 1612; vol. i., p. 65, 183, 185).

‡ *Opuscula in Italian, sine loco et anno.*

France : by the bishops of the departments, members of the National Constituent Assembly at Paris, 1791."

At the end of this book was inserted a famous letter of Pius VI., said to have been sent by him.

"But to instruct the good and fortify their perseverance, we shall not neglect to point out the poison and pestilence that distil from that perverse work."

One of the means also employed at that time to neutralize the force of the pope's opposition, was to declare that he had written no letter on these matters, and that the briefs published in his name were false. Those cited by us are from copies so well authenticated, as to cover with shame whoever gainsays them.

Blessed be God! the more the new French government endeavored to destroy Catholicity, the more divine Providence protected our worship in other parts of the world.

We have already alluded to the state of Catholicity in the new republic of the United States. The temporary superiority of the Rev. John Carroll prepared the way to the erection of an episcopal See. The clergy feared for a time the appointment of a vicar-apostolic nominated by Cardinal York, as representing the Stuart family ; but the Holy Father had, on the advice of his nuncio at Paris, committed the election of the new bishop, for this occasion only, to the clergy. The episcopal See was fixed at Baltimore, and the Rev. John Carroll having been chosen, received his bulls, and proceeding to London was consecrated, August 15th, 1790, at Lulworth castle, by the Right Rev. Charles Walmesley, bishop of Rama and vicar-apostolic of the western district, the dean of the vicar-apostolies in England.

On his return to Baltimore, Bishop Carroll was accompanied by several French ecclesiastics. His new diocese embraced the whole United States, then including all east of the Mississippi except Florida ; but the scattered Catholics in this vast extent were attended in all by less than fifty priests.

One of the bishop's first acts was to establish a college at Georgetown, and a seminary at Baltimore, under the Sulpitians from France.

In 1791, Bishop Carroll held his first synod, which lasted four days, and was composed of eighteen priests, not including those newly arrived from France. They established various articles of discipline on objects of the highest importance, and remedying abuses that had crept in during the colonial times.

Almost at the same time that Bishop Carroll returned to the United States, the Rev. Charles Neale brought over a colony of Carmelite nuns from the convent of Hogstraet ; and the house they founded at White-marsh, since removed to Baltimore, still subsists, a source of benediction to the country.

It was then a great wonder of Providence, that while in France the decrees of the Assembly closed the asylums of evangelical perfection, America held out the hand of welcome to religious who came with the example of their virtue ; and to the exiled clergy of France, who became under God apostles in the New World, and founders of churches which still revere with unabated respect their early pastors.

It was deemed a prodigy that Pius VI. could bear up under the weight of the thorny occupations that assailed him every moment. The day no longer sufficed for the discharge of his duties, and he spent a part of the night busily engaged, to the great detriment of his health.

On the 5th of June, 1791, the Holy Father beatified the Blessed Mary of the Incarnation, foundress of the discalced Carmelites in France.

On the 26th of September, in the same year, Pius VI. created as cardinal Monsignor Fabrici Ruffo, a noble Neapolitan, born September 16th, 1744. He granted him this elevation to show his gratitude to Cardinal Ruffo, uncle of the new appointee, and an early benefactor of Braschi.

Soon after, Pius VI. created as cardinal Monsignor John Baptist Caprara, a noble Bolognese, born March 29th, 1733.

The agitations in France filled most countries of Europe with inexpressible terror ; even Protestant princes sought consolation at Rome for their Catholic subjects.

On the other hand, Prussia and Russia continued to offer shelter to the Jesuits, who, by a frank conduct, free from all interference with parties at court, had long merited the generous hospitality offered to them in their hour of trial.

The sympathy of Pius VI. for Louis XVI., now languishing in prison, was unceasing ; but it is also a pontiff's duty not to neglect more happy princes, who, still on the throne, can ameliorate the lot of their brethren reduced to bondage.

Francis II., son of Leopold, had just been elected emperor. In 1792 the pope sent him the following brief :

“ Dear son in Christ, health and apostolic benediction :

“ We must defer our reply to your obliging and agreeable letter, written to us by you on the 25th of July last, and handed to us by our dear son, the noble John Nepomucen Clary of Aldringen, prince of the Holy Empire, and by which you announce your elevation to the dignity of emperor of the Romans. This delay has been occasioned by acts, necessary to be drawn up in order to attest the desired event.

“ Meanwhile, as another very grave cause impels us to address you, we shall in the first place express our great joy on learning that you have been raised to that pinnacle of height and power. Thus have your virtues been

rewarded, and your mind inflamed with ardent love for religion, so seasonable, useful, and salutary in these times of trouble. This accession cannot but be profitable to the Church, the Empire, and the Holy See.

“These dispositions and our joy have been recently confirmed by the letter of our venerable brother John Siffrein Maury, archbishop of Nicæa, nuncio-apostolic extraordinary, on the occasion of that solemn ceremony, who witnessed, both in public and private, the excellence of your disposition, when he went to congratulate you on our behalf.

“Your words remain, and will remain, immovably rooted in our heart, words pronounced with singular ardor when you declared that you would defend religion, devote yourself piously to the interests of the Holy See, and requested the nuncio so to inform us.

“Moved by this love and these promises, we wished to send you at once this letter, to express our satisfaction and interpret our congratulations on your new dignity, and our assurance of your exalted virtues. By these praises you may judge what lofty hopes we conceive of you.

“We rejoice to have first seen your august father deeply affected by our grief caused by undeserved injustice, and ready, in his spirit of equity, to take in hand the defence of our cause. This was in regard to the occupation of our possessions in the kingdom of France. We had transmitted a memoir on this subject to the Aulic court, and especially to Cæsar, to excite his just detestation of so grave an insult.

“Cæsar immediately expressed his noble sentiments, which attested the magnanimity of his soul, and he assured us that he would exert all his power to insure the restoration of the wrested province. Nothing could be more just than this restitution, and nothing more interests great princes than that such a usurpation should never by any lapse of time gain any right by prescription.

“We deemed it a duty to thank your father by letter. We commended to him with groans and tears the affairs of religion, overthrown and destroyed everywhere in France, and which your authority and power can restore ; but before he received the letter of March 3d, the prince was carried off by a sudden death.

“His design cannot have been annihilated by death ; it is for you to accomplish it with the aid of God. It is a right transmitted to you by inheritance. You have succeeded to the same kingdoms ; you possess the same forces ; you are excited to put them in motion, having received a declaration of war from those who have already begun to destroy and criminally prevent both sacred and royal rights. You have a courage that must be regarded as inspired by the Spirit of God ; for at the beginning of your reign over the empire and so many kingdoms, you regard it as a duty to overthrow your enemies and those of all powers, to restore religion and

France to their pristine state, and secure the restoration of our possessions violently wrested from us. All these enterprises, the constancy of your mind embraces at once ; you give your care, your wealth, and your arms to success in such projects.

“ Regard as addressed to yourself the letters which we addressed some months ago to your father ; read them, dear son in Christ, read them. All the exhortations we have inserted, consider as addressed to you ; the more so, as what we ask seems to have been already spontaneously granted by you : we have therefore less to repeat our solicitations than to return thanks for what you have done.

“ If there is any thing to add when we see yourself excited spontaneously to win true glory, it remains for us to say to you that it becomes you in the course of illustrious actions, in the desire of redressing so much wrong, in this just war against a common enemy, in the defence of the privileges of all princes, never to separate the rights of religion from any other. Ever remember to regulate your conduct towards yourself and your States, so as ever to respect the integrity of religion, sacred worship, the Catholic faith, its unity founded on the Apostolic See. Be persuaded by the very example of the troubles in France, that the interest of public affairs requires that kingdoms be supported not only by human fidelity, but also by divine fidelity ; and they easily come crashing down when they plunge into tumults raised by mad opinions.

“ Thus, whether in civil or military administration, the best conditions that you can make are those which suit the kingdom of God ; for from him alone proceed the power and vigor of earthly kingdoms.

“ In this manner you will propitiate the King of kings, the Father of empires, the preserver and distributor of victory and all felicity.

“ Meanwhile, dear son, we cease not to offer our vows unto him, for your august house and the people of your vast States.

“ To these we add our apostolic blessing, which, from the bottom of our paternal heart, we lovingly send your imperial majesty.

“ Given at Rome, at Saint Peter's, August 8th, 1792, the eighteenth of our pontificate.”

Meanwhile, the National Convention, which had succeeded the Legislative Assembly in France, as the latter had the Constituent Assembly, prepared, after abolishing religious worship, to overthrow the Holy See. The agitators had, with this view, sent emissaries to bear the spirit of revolution to Rome.

On the 11th of January, 1793, arrived at Rome, Citizen Laflotte, sent by the French ambassador at the court of Naples. Laflotte was attended by Citizen Basville, secretary to that embassy. He proceeded to the pontifical

palace, and presented to Cardinal Zelada, secretary of state, a letter from that ambassador. This letter was accompanied by a memoir full of haughty threats. Both communicated to the cardinal orders of the National Convention, and the French consul was commanded within twenty-four hours to raise the national flag over his palace-door and over the French academy, that the new French republic should thus be recognized by the pope.

The cardinal secretary of state, surprised at such a demand, would give no reply without consulting the sovereign pontiff. Pius VI. then dictated a document which he communicated to all his ministers. He explained by the most convincing reasons, that he could not comply with the request, because such an act would be an undoubted though tacit approbation of all done in France in persecuting religion, and trampling on the rights of the Holy See. The act required would therefore be in direct opposition to what the pope had published in his most recent briefs, and with what he had ordained according to his right as Moderator of the Church.

Pius VI. did not recognize the new government, because that power, by its laws, its maxims, its political notifications, had declared war on religion itself, of which the pope is head. Because that government did not recognize the pontiff, or respect him as temporal sovereign; and because the new French authority was recognized by no other cabinet. It was not becoming in the pope to be the first to recognize the new government. It was not for Pius VI. to offend the monarchs of Europe, and raise up enemies.

As a temporal sovereign, the pontiff could not consent to the raising of the republican flag in his capital. The pope could not forget that his briefs, and his picture even, had been burned in France, and that this had taken place March 3d, 1791. Then the nunciature of His Holiness, having demanded satisfaction and failed to obtain it, had been obliged to leave France.

Nor could he forget the usurpation of the State of Avignon and the Venaissin county, and their incorporation with France by a decree of the Assembly of September 14th, 1791, when no one could dispute the lawful and continuous possession by the Holy See for several centuries. Nor could the Holy Father forget what had occurred in the preceding August at Marseilles. The pope's arms had been taken down from the house of the pontifical consul, been hung up to a lamp-post, then broken to pieces and made the sport of the mob. The pope had demanded satisfaction, which had been refused. He must therefore oppose the erection before his eyes of the republican flag, inasmuch as the pontifical arms were no longer suffered in France, where Pius VI. had ceased to be recognized either as head of the Church or a sovereign. Such was the argument of the pope.

Before long, Rome was aware of the violent language, threats of ruin and

massacre, addressed by Laflotte to the cardinal secretary of state. The Roman people, not forgetting the Marseilles insult, was aroused to avenge the insult to their prince. Pius VI., seasonably warned, ordered all accessible troops to be put under arms, to control the fury of the people, and notified the two Frenchmen, who were invested with no direct diplomatic character for Rome, that it was unwise to provoke the Roman people further. But the Government did not obtain its aim. At twenty-three o'clock (four P. M.) of the 13th of January, 1793, the republican arms were raised at the doors designated. Then Laflotte, accompanied by Basville, appeared in the Corso, the most frequented street in Rome, especially on a Sunday, which it was. Both wore the tri-colored cockade; their servants and coachman had the same insignia; and instead of lamps, two small tri-colored flags floated from the vehicle.

At this new spectacle, which the people regarded as an insult to their prince, the Romans burst out into cries of, "Long live Saint Peter!" "Long live Religion!" "Long live Pius VI.!" The most excited rushed at the carriage of the two rash men. Laflotte fired a pistol. This exasperated the people still more, and they pursued the two, who fled at full gallop to take refuge in the house of Moutte, the French banker. The people, roused to ungovernable fury, could not be quieted. Basville was discovered. Some wished simply to hold him in custody, but the troops came up too late, an unknown assailant stabbed him in the belly. On hearing of this, the pope sent fresh troops to quell the disturbance, which threatened other Frenchmen. He ordered his own surgeon to go and tend the wounded man, but Basville's case was hopeless. He sank under a painful fever, saying that he was the victim of Laflotte, whose madness had sacrificed him. He earnestly implored the succors of religion, which he received with exemplary fervor; and he died detesting all he had done against the laws of the Church.

The glorious testimony of the edifying death of this Frenchman was published by the parish priest of San Lorenzo, in Lucina, who attended him to his last moment, and received the avowals of his sincere confession.

The first tidings of this popular outbreak filled the pope with the greatest alarm. In his wisdom, he foresaw the fatal consequences of this event.

A new tumult broke out against the French on the 10th of February, but was immediately quelled by the firmness of the Government.

Meanwhile the soldiers had protected Basville's wife and son, and Laflotte himself. The pope supplied them with money to enable them to return to Naples.

From motives of prudence, the Roman court published a detailed statement of the affair, and transmitted it to all the cabinets in Europe, with a judicial investigation of the circumstances. Not satisfied with restoring

tranquillity among his people, guilty, as His Holiness expressed it, of a crime against the principles of religion, justice, and humanity, Pius VI. printed an edict severely condemning the excesses committed, as unworthy of a nation brought up amid maxims of moderation, and nurtured with the pure principles of morality, which inculcate peace, meekness, charity to our neighbor, and pardon to all our enemies.

Another edict called upon the people to avoid all occasions of sedition and disorder, ordering respect to property,—reminding them to wrong no man, and insult none, whatever his country, origin, or opinions. This wise edict breathed the true spirit of Christian meekness and paternal love which the common Father owes to all. Yet this very edict supplied the revolutionists with new arms,—its expressions were too benignant, too pacific. They wished an ecclesiastical sovereign, the universal Father of the faithful, to assume the tone of a sectary amid a meeting of madmen.

The Holy Father saw how the anger and malevolence of his enemies advanced; but bound, as a sovereign, to defend his own subjects, he resolved to take measures for the safety of his States, adopting the advice of his cardinals and prelates. The Roman cities were full of emissaries, sent to create trouble. Pius increased the pontifical forces, giving command to the venerable Bolognese general, Count Caprara, who was in the emperor's service. Nothing, however, betokened a hostile movement on the part of Rome, and there was no question of its joining the great league of powers against France. The pope resolved not to go to war, and ordered all French subjects, without exception, to be treated as subjects of the allied powers. While the Holy Father entertained these sentiments, a French brigantine, flying before two Neapolitan xebecs, was driven on the pontifical coast, and the crew, destitute of supplies, were wandering through the forest of Corneto. Pius VI. ordered them to be relieved, their vessel repaired and provisioned. He clothed the crew, and had them escorted a considerable distance.

The revolution in France had now reached that terrible period of the death of Louis XVI. Pius VI. had repeatedly implored the interposition of the powers, especially of Spain, in favor of the unfortunate king of France, and notwithstanding the danger to himself, his language, when the sacrifice was consummated, was so firm and resolute, that it naturally requires a place here. Pius VI. moreover, in an allocution, describes it in detail.

On the 26th of January, 1793, the untiring pontiff issued encyclical letters prescribing measures for assembling in the Roman States French ecclesiastics, both secular and regular, who might take refuge there.

At the same moment England distinguished herself by her spirit of charity, and the priests and other emigrants received succor, which the minis-

istry, the parliament, and the whole nation proposed, voted, and distributed with rare generosity.

The bishop of Luzon had recourse to the pope, who replied, May 28th, 1793, in the most consoling terms. The bishop, he states, will find in the decisions of the Council of Trent a part of the replies proper to be made to his interrogatories. As to the new facts, the articles which contravene the doctrine of the council in regard to marriage, the pope lays down the true laws of the Church. He observes that an act signed before a municipal authority is simply a civil act. All that the wisdom of Pius VI. suggested to the bishop is still executed in France. Never did the prudence of Rome appear in a more brilliant light than in the discussion of this question, one of the greatest difficulties ever submitted to its exalted authority.

Louis XVI. had been executed on the 21st of January, 1793. Pius VI. does not act impatiently; he does not revolt at the habitual slowness of the Roman court. His Holiness, in due time, when official communications reach him, as far as they could under such circumstances, sought antecedents, and permits the announcement of the ceremonies usual at Rome on the death of each Most Christian king, Eldest Son of the Church. Pius VI. could not be in doubt as to the resentment to be felt by the revolutionists: his courage was unshaken; he himself drew up the following allocution, pronounced before the assembled cardinals on the 17th of June:

“VENERABLE BRETHREN:

“Why do not tears and sighs interrupt my words? Should not groans rather than words express the intense sorrow we are obliged to feel, when we announce to you the horrible spectacle of cruelty and violence which Paris witnessed on the 21st of January.

“By a conspiracy of impious men, the Most Christian king, Louis XVI., has been condemned to the pain of death, and the sentence executed.

“What was that judgment, and for what reason was it executed? We will tell in a few words. That sentence was pronounced by the National Convention, without a shadow of authority.

“That assembly, after abolishing monarchy, which is the most natural form of government, had attributed almost all public power to the populace, who follow no wisdom and no counsel, and has no understanding of things. It obeys a vague, inconstant, deceptive impulse; it is easily led to any crime; arrogant and barbarous, it exults in bloodshed; it revels in carnage and death; it applauds around the scaffold of the dying, and gazes on the spectacle with delight, as was done of old in the amphitheatres. The most ferocious part of the populace, not satisfied with destroying the king's authority, resolved to deprive him of life. It bade those who had accused

become judges : they openly declared their hostility to their prince. Nay more, at the very door of the hall, where judgment was to be pronounced, men still more wicked had been summoned, whose threats were to swell the number of *condemners* to a majority over those who would show a more lenient disposition. Yet even so they did not succeed—the king was immolated by a minority.*

“From so many iniquitous and perverse judges, from so many compulsory votes, what infamies, what sad and forever execrable scenes are not to be expected! Still, as the horror of so enormous a crime had diffused a terror among many of the judges, a great dissension arose among the voters, and it was deemed proper to take a new vote, the result of which was declared regular, although it was but a sentence of the conspirators themselves.

“We omit many acts against law, and in their nature null and false, which may be read in the eloquent defence of the advocates, and in the public sheets. Nor do we speak of what the king had to endure before the last penalty ; a long imprisonment in various jails, which he left only to be led before the Convention ; death inflicted on his confessor ;† a forced separation from his family ; a host of ignominious hardships and afflictions, which no man with a sentiment of humanity can hear without a shudder, especially when we think of the mild, beneficent, clement, patient character of Louis, full of love for his people, a foe to all severity and rigor, easy and indulgent to all. It was this disposition that led him to convoke the States of his kingdom, so earnestly sought ; that assembly which subsequently declared against the royal authority, and then caused the circumstances which brought the monarch to the block.

“Nor can we forbear mentioning to you the virtues which dictated his will, written with his own hand, and expressing his heartfelt sentiments. This document has been published everywhere. What was not this prince’s courage, the ardor of his soul for the Catholic faith, the marks of his piety to God, his grief, his repentance, for having, in spite of himself, given his adhesion to acts opposed to the discipline of the true faith. Hence, amid the adversities which besieged him daily, he could say with James I., king of Great Britain : ‘Calumnies are proclaimed against me from the pulpits,

* The Convention consisted of seven hundred and forty-eight members ; one was dead, eleven absent. The majority requisite was three hundred and sixty-nine, and only three hundred and sixty-six voted for the death of Louis XVI., as all the journals show.

† The heroic Irish priest Edgworth de Firmont, it was then generally supposed, was guillotined soon after Louis XVI. He in fact retired to Choisy-le-Roi, and remained there till 1795. Then, after passing from one hiding-place to another, he proceeded in 1796 to England, and joined Louis XVIII. at Blanckenburg. He died May 22d, 1807, while attending French prisoners.

not because I have committed any crime, but because I am a king, and to be a king is the greatest of crimes.'

"Let us for a moment leave the case of Louis XVI. to cite you an example from history, which bears on our argument, and is supported by the testimony of the most sincere writers.*

"Let us speak of Mary Stuart, queen of Scotland, daughter of James V., king of that country, and widow of Francis II., king of France; of that queen who had assumed the title and arms of the kings of England, which the English had already conferred on Elizabeth. How much persecution did not Queen Mary undergo, as many historians attest! What public and covert violence did she not suffer from her rival, from the factions, from the Calvinists! Imprisoned often, often subjected to the judgment of men, she refused to reply, saying: 'A queen gives an account of her life to God alone.' She was, in fine, tortured in so many ways, that she one day did reply; she refuted the charges against her, and proved her innocence. But her judges none the less pursued their design; they pronounced sentence of death, as though that princess was guilty and convicted: and then the royal head fell on the scaffold.†

"Benedict XIV., in the third book of his work on the beatification of the servants of God,‡ thus expresses himself: 'If, what has not hitherto occurred, any question should arise as to the martyrdom of the queen, the sentence itself will be found in direct contradiction to the insults vomited by heretics against the princess. Among these authors must be named George Buchanan, who wrote an infamous libel entitled *Detectio Mariæ*. But if we examine the real ground of her death, decided only in hatred of the Catholic religion, which would have recovered its sway in England, had that queen survived; if we consider the invincible constancy with which she armed herself against any abandonment of that faith; if we contemplate the admirable intrepidity with which she met death; if we examine with due scrutiny the protestations made before and during her execution, protestations in which Mary declared that she had always lived in the Catholic religion, and would willingly die for the Catholic faith;—unless evident reasons are omitted, as they should not be, which prove not only the falsity of the accusations of crime brought against Mary, but also the iniquitous sentence of death, supported entirely by calumnies, proceeded solely from a hatred to Catholicity, a hatred which required that heretical dogmas should remain unshaken in England;—there will lack nothing in the argument necessary to establish the existence of true martyrdom.'

"We know from Saint Augustine that it is not the penalty but the cause that constitutes the martyrdom: hence Benedict XIV., inclining to declare

* See Spondanus, vol. ii., ann. 1587.

† Ibid, iv., 396, note.

‡ Ch. xiii., No. 10.

the death of Mary Queen of Scots a martyrdom, adds these words : ' Is it not sufficient to constitute martyrdom that the tyrant who inflicts death is excited by hatred against the faith of Christ, whatever be subsequently alleged as a motive of the act, either belonging or not belonging to the faith of Christ, or only accidentally connected with it.'

" The sovereign pontiff Benedict XIV. concludes thus, in his reasoning : ' An act receives its true existence from its final cause, and not from the occasion or impulsive cause ; it consequently suffices for martyrdom, that the persecutor inflicting death is moved by his hatred to the faith, although the occasion of death arises from another cause, which under the circumstances does not belong to the faith.'

" Let us now return to King Louis. If the authority of Benedict XIV. is grave ; if we must concede much to his opinion when he announces that he inclined to believe that Mary Stuart suffered martyrdom, why should we refuse to recognize the martyrdom of Louis XVI. ? Here is the disposition, the determination, the acerbity of the fact ; whence we may conclude that there is and must be also merit. Who can doubt but that the king was put to death principally in hatred of the faith, and because he followed the Catholic dogmas ? The Calvinists in France had long since begun to plot the destruction of the orthodox faith. But it was necessary first to prepare the minds, to fill the people with impious doctrines. They were incessantly diffused among the populace by books, already at that time filled with perfidy and counsels of sedition ; in fine, perverted philosophers were associated in this work. In 1745 the general assembly of the clergy proclaimed this pernicious crime of the workers of impiety ; we ourselves pointed out, in the beginning of our pontificate, the detestable industry of some perfidious men. Our encyclical letter of December 25th, 1775, announces the great danger. We say to the bishops of Christendom, remove the evil which is in your midst, that is to say, poisoned books : remove them from the hands of the faithful by force and by stratagem.

" Had our exhortations met with success, we should not now bewail the ruin which menaces kings and kingdoms.

" When these fearful men saw that their plots were succeeding, and that the time to accomplish their design had come, they began to act openly. In a work printed in 1787 is found this assertion of Hugh Rosario and another author : ' It is laudable to make way with a sovereign prince who will not follow the reformed religion, nor serve the Protestant party for that religion.' This opinion was diffused shortly before Louis fell into such deplorable miseries : no one refuses to believe that this was the source of his sufferings. They were soon convinced that the more bad books multiplied in France, as a poisonous sap, the more the bitter fruits appeared in the eyes of all. Then, as it is written in the life of the most guilty Voltaire,

eternal thanks were due him, as the prime author of the public revolution. In fact, he had excited the people to know and exert its strength. It reached the point of destroying the formidable rampart of *despotism*, by which he meant religion and sacerdotal authority. As long as it lasted, the yoke of tyranny never could be shaken off. The priesthood and tyranny support each other ; and one overthrown, the other cannot long subsist.*

“ Those who chanted the triumph over monarchy and religion, declared that the writers of impious books were the leaders of the victorious troops, and proclaimed the lustre and glory of their name. When these artifices had filled the mob with illusions, the better to lure them on by promises, or rather deceive them, they invented the specious name of liberty, and called the mob to rear its insignia and standards. Such is this philosophic liberty, whose aim is to corrupt minds, pervert morals, and overthrow all order in affairs and laws.

“ This is the evil detested by the clergy of France. This the evil which inundated the hearts of the people. We ourselves pointed out this evil in the encyclical already cited. There we used this language : These innovators labor to rend the bonds by which men, to be restrained within the bounds of duty, are united to each other and their superiors. They cry, *usque ad nauseam*, that man is born free, and subject to the authority of none. Society is but a crowd of senseless men, stupidly prostrating themselves before priests who deceive them, kings who oppress them, so that the necessary concord between the priesthood and the civil power is only a cruel conspiracy against the liberty which man should enjoy.

“ To the false and lying name of liberty these vaunted patrons of the human race add another deceitful name, Equality ; as though among men who have formed a civil society with so many diverse affections, uncertain inclinations, subject to the caprice of each, there was to arise no one to prevail by authority and power, who could constrain, moderate, and recall the wicked to the bounds of right. Without this, such a society, swayed by rash impetuosity and the clash of so many conflicting desires, falls into anarchy, and cannot escape a speedy dissolution : it is then with society as with harmony, when composed of the accord of various sounds. But if it has not, as a soul, a suitable accord of chords and voices, it produces only troubled noises and deafening dissonance.

“ When these new preceptors set themselves up, to use the words of Saint Hilary of Poitiers,† ‘ instructors, masters, arbiters of religion—while the work of religion is a duty of obedience,’ they imposed new and unheard-of laws on worship. From this factory came forth the civil constitution which we ourselves refuted on the 10th of March, 1791, with our reply to the ex-

* Pius VI. here paraphrases Condorcet.

† Lib. i. de Trinit, num. xv., p. 775, ed. Paris.

position sent to us by thirty bishops. Here we may apply what Saint Cyprian wrote :* ‘How does it come to pass that heretics pass sentence on a Christian, the sick on him who is well, the wounded on him who is whole, the fallen on him who is upright, the guilty on their judge, sacrilegious on the priest? What remains, but that the Church yields to the capitol?’

“Those who in the various ranks of life remained faithful still, refusing to bind themselves by oath to the new constitution, were at once doomed to misfortune and even to death. Then carnage began; persecution raged against numbers of ecclesiastics; bishops were massacred. Yet our Lord Jesus Christ has taught us with what devotion and respect ecclesiastics should be honored. According to Saint Cyprian: ‘God till the day of his passion preserved the pontiffs and priests in their honors, although they had not preserved either fear of God or knowledge of Christ.’†

“This was not all, numbers of men of all ranks were then immolated. Those who met a lighter doom were driven from their homes, without distinction of age, sex, or condition, to foreign lands, although it was decreed that every one might practise the laws of religion as they chose, as though all ways led to eternal salvation. The Catholic religion was alone proscribed; the blood of its doomed children ran red in the public squares, the streets, the houses. If they fled abroad and were retaken by treachery or perfidy, they were at once put to death. Such is the nature of heresy; such the custom of Calvinists, who force men to follow their errors by threats and violence.

“Hence came this uninterrupted stream of impiety among the French. It is easy to see that these machinations, which now agitate and convulse Europe, sprang from hatred to religion, and therefore have required the death of King Louis.

“These same men sought to bring together against him many charges of a political character. Among these crimes figures the firmness of soul with which he refused to approve and sanction the decree condemning the French priests to exile.‡ They included among the crimes a letter of the king, in which he declared that as soon as he could he would restore the Catholic worship in France.

“Is not this sufficient to prove that it is no rashness to think and say that Louis was a martyr? In like manner the sentence pronounced on Mary Queen of Scots was based on accusations of enterprises and conspiracies to destroy the commonwealth, and yet only her zeal for religion was cited at length.§

“Nevertheless, Benedict XIV., despising the motives expressed in the

* Ep. 55, ad Cathol. de Fortunat. et Felicissim. contra hæreticos.

‡ Deseze, *Defence*, pp. 29, 30.

† Ep. 65, ad Rogatian.

§ Jebb, ii., pp. 153, 613.

sentence, deemed the true cause of condemnation to be an inveterate hatred against religion, and concluded that there was ground to recognize Mary as a martyr.

"But, as you have heard, we are assured that there is an obstacle to the declaration of the martyrdom of Louis. That obstacle is the fact that the prince approved the Civil Constitution of the Clergy, refuted by us in our reply already cited. Some think the thing passed otherwise. They declare that when the constitution was brought to him to sign, he hesitated and remained pensive, and that he refused to sign, because he feared that his signature would stand as an approbation. Then one of his ministers, who is named, and in whom the king reposed confidence, told him that this signature simply attested that the roll containing this constitution was true and authentic; and that he only attested it to us, to whom it should be transmitted, that we might not deem it in any way spurious. The king accordingly, easily led by this simple view, as it appeared, signed; and he indicated by a movement of his head, in announcing his last will, that he signed against his will. In fact this was not so, and he could not contradict himself, just as he refused to sign the decree for banishing priests who refused the oath; and on the other hand, in his letter to the bishop of Clermont, he declared his wish to restore the Catholic worship in France.

"But whatever the facts, and we do not assume to decide, let us concede that, led away either by levity of mind or some error, Louis approved by signing, should this change our opinion as to the question of martyrdom?

"We are prevented by that positive royal retractation, and by that death inflicted in hatred of the Catholic religion. It therefore seems difficult for us to detract aught from the honor of martyrdom. Saint Cyprian entertained erroneous opinions as to the baptism of heretics. Yet he says that God, by the glorious sickle of martyrdom, cut off a fruitful branch that it was necessary to cut off. Saint Augustine says the same thing in many places in as many words.*

"The question was treated in this way in the Congregation of Rites, when it was asked whether the declaration of martyrdom of John de Britto, of the Society of Jesus, could be opposed, because he had approved, in the Madura Mission, the Chinese rites,† which were prohibited at Rome. The members of the congregation did not hesitate to adopt the negative, and declare that this servant of God had retracted by his subsequent martyrdom the use he had made of these Chinese rites. The judges differed only in deciding whether a favorable decree could be issued. Some feared to

* Ep. 93, ad *Vincent Rogatist*, num. 40; epist. 1082, ad *Macrob.*, num. 9, tom. ii., Oper. col. 247, 309; and *Contra Gaudent. Donatist*, lib. ii., num. 9, col. 671. Bened. ed., Paris.

† The rites here in question were properly the Malabar rites, but the whole subject, as regards China and India, was generally treated of as the Chinese rites.

give rise to reports that they had desisted from the repeated proscription of those ceremonies. But Benedict XIV. removed all difficulty, by pronouncing that from the decree to be issued it could not be concluded that the Holy See wished to desist from the constitutions of his predecessors, prohibiting those rites; and he admits the retraction of the venerable John, made, not in a writing traced with ink, but in his blood. He thus decided the opposition to be groundless. He commanded the cause of the venerable servant of God, John de Britto, to advance, and that they should proceed to discuss the doubt as to the martyrdom and the cause of martyrdom; and another doubt, as to the signs and miracles wrought through the intercession of the venerable John. We consider ourselves, consequently, as instructed by that decree. We hold the retraction of Louis as proven; it was written at once in ink and in his generous blood. We think that we should not depart much from the judgment of Benedict XIV., not to the point of rendering at this moment a similar decree, but to prove that we persist in our opinion on the question of the martyrdom of King Louis, notwithstanding any approbation given by him to the Civil Constitution of the Clergy.

“Ah, France, France! called by our predecessors *the mirror of Christendom, the immovable support of the faith*; thou, in fervor of Christian belief, and thy devotion to the Apostolic See, didst not follow others, but preceded.* How art thou now become our enemy? How arrayest thou thyself against the true religion, taking thy place among those who never defended it? And yet thou canst not forget, try as thou wilt, that the religion of faith is the head and solidity of kingdoms. She represses the abuses of the ruler and the license of the subject; and hence every foe of royal power, in a sentiment of envy, aspires to crush them, in order to annihilate the Catholic faith.

“Ah, France! who didst ask for a Catholic king—because the fundamental laws of the kingdom would suffer none but a Catholic king†—lo, now that thou hadst a Catholic, thou hast slain him solely because he was a Catholic!

“Such was thy fury towards thy king, that thou wast not satisfied with immolating him. Thou wouldst insult him dead, and raged against his lifeless body! Thou hast buried his corpse in an unhonored tomb. After the death of a Mary Stuart, her royal dignity was respected. ‘Her body was carried to the citadel and embalmed; placed in a vault ready to be interred. Her domestics and attendants were ordered to remain beside her,

* Gregory XI. spoke thus to the canons of Rheims and Paris (Raynaldi, ann. 1227, num. 9). Alexander III. used the same language to Louis VII. (Duchesne, tom. iv., p. 595); and Innocent III. to Philip Augustus (Ep. 64, tom. i., ed. Baluze, p. 717). •

† Natalis Alexander, *Hist. Eccl.*, xv. et xvi. sæc., art. 2, tom. ix., p. 229. (Ed. Venice, 1778.)

to preserve their former dignity and attitudes, to deviate in any thing from custom till the body received the last rites.*

"France! what has thy sated anger gained thee? Dishonor, infamy, insult, the indignation and maledictions of kings and princes. These sentiments have been expressed more harshly against thee than they were of yore against Elizabeth of England.

"Oh, day of triumph for Louis! God gave him courage in persecution and victory in torture. We have the confident assurance that for him God has happily changed the true royal crown and lilies that soon fade, for the eternal diadem, formed of immortal lilies by the angels in heaven.

"We will now learn from Saint Bernard what remains for us to do to fulfil our apostolic ministry. He writes in these terms to his Eugene:† 'That he must use all his influence that the incredulous be converted, that the converted be not turned away, and that the misguided return.‡

"We have also before our eyes the example of our predecessor Clement VI. He sought constantly to avenge the death inflicted on Andrew, king of Sicily. We read in his apostolic letters that this pope inflicted severe penalties on the conspirators who had assassinated that prince.

"But what utility, what advantage can we derive from this for a people which not only despises our counsels, but has also insulted us by grievous offences, usurpations, insults, and calumnies, and carries its audacity and infamy so far as to compose forged letters in our name adapted to their errors?

"Let us leave it then, such as it chooses to be, obstinate in its depravity. Let us hope that the innocent blood of Louis will rise in some sort, and pray that this people may know and condemn its stubbornness in amassing on his head so many accusations, and at last consider the terrible kinds of punishment that God, the just avenger of crime, is wont to inflict for less offences.

"We have desired to speak to you thus in order to obtain some consolation in the acerbity of such circumstances and grief. To bring what more we have to say before you to a close, we end by inviting you to the solemn funeral which, according to usage, we celebrate for the late king.

"These funeral offices of our prayers may appear superfluous, as they relate to one who has, we think, acquired the name of martyr; for Saint Augustine says:§ 'The Church does not pray for martyrs: but rather commends herself to their prayers.' Still, this very sentence of Saint Augustine must not be applied absolutely only to him who is regarded as a martyr, not by virtue of human persuasion, but by the judgment of the Apostolic See.

* Jebb, 166. † Eugene had been his disciple. ‡ De Consideratione, lib. iii., ch. 1., n. 3.

§ Sermon 284, num. 5, tom. v.; Opera, col. 1145 (ed. Paris.)

"In consequence, on the day which we will indicate, we shall according to usage celebrate with you, venerable brethren, and in our pontifical temple, the solemn obsequies in honor of Louis XVI., the Most Christian King."

Thus spoke Pius VI., announcing the regicide to the cardinals. The monarch's obsequies were celebrated in the pontifical chapel, in presence of the princesses Victoria and Adelaide, aunts of the late king. Monsignor Paul Leardi, a Piedmontese prelate, pronounced the funeral eulogy on Louis; and Pius VI. was seen repeatedly shedding copious tears on hearing the virtues of the good prince praised.

This was not the only royal head to fall. Marie Antoinette, that august princess, born of so illustrious a family, languished with her son, her daughter, and sister-in-law in the Temple prison: she, too, was to be led forth. The queen was transferred to the Conciergerie on the 2d of August, 1793, and from that moment negotiations began, to induce the great powers to save the life of the daughter of the Cæsars by concessions, treaties of peace, surrender of provinces. Honor, family obligations, just recriminations, noble prejudices of rank, for this once all were forgotten, to treat with the assassins of Louis XVI. They endeavored to interest Pius VI. in this matter, in which the revolutionary party did not, however, act in good faith. However, they consented to treat if the republic received new territories and alliances. Encouraged by Cardinal Zelada, Pius VI. wrote to Spain: that court had already made noble and generous offers to save Louis. A Spanish agent, although it was not known for months, had actually asked Danton how much he required to prevent the death of Louis XVI. At the close of 1792, Spain offered all the money she could furnish in so short a time: she even offered a settlement of boundaries, which was equivalent to the cession of provinces. The Spanish agent hoped to induce Danton to accept the offers which flattered at once his vanity and avarice.* The amount offered to Danton was four millions; the agent had them in drafts on various parts of Europe. Danton demanded gold. All this paper had to be negotiated; but the bankers at Paris concealed their gold, and only eight thousand louis could be obtained, which Danton refused as insufficient. The letter of the Spanish king was dated early in January. Danton saw and read it on the 12th, and sent it to the Assembly on the 20th. On the 21st of January the king was executed. On the 7th of March the republic declared war against Spain, but this did not prevent the efforts of Charles IV. to save Marie Antoinette.

The great Prince Kaunitz, still prime-minister at Vienna, was eighty-

* Mary Louisa, queen of Spain, and Charles IV., stated these facts to Monseigneur de Presigny, in the presence of the Chevalier Artaud, at Rome, in 1814.

three : Thugut did not possess all the power he subsequently exercised. Francis II., urged by Pius VI., and still more by unwavering respect and affection for his aunt, encouraged his ministers to press the negotiations. But Francis was inexperienced : he had, so to speak, no cabinet, war was at hand, and the august prisoner could not raise her voice.

The Convention, after offering up the first victim, whose life it so basely offered for sale, waited two months. In October, despairing of obtaining the price of its treachery and perfidy, it ordered her death.

Among other infamies, she was accused of having corrupted her son. It was the final charge. The queen, questioned again and again as to the point, was filled with indignation : her face, hitherto pallid, was suffused with blood ; and with an expression impossible to describe, which drew sobs from her defenders, she cried : " If I did not answer, it is because nature refuses to reply to such a charge brought against a mother." Then recollecting herself a moment, she turned to the audience, and addressing them directly, she added : " I appeal to every mother who hears me." At these words a confused tumult arose, and marks of unmistakable interest were shown. After two days' debate, she was condemned to death. When asked whether she had any protest to make, she shook her head and left the hall without a word. This was on the 16th of October, at half-past four in the morning. She was taken to the Conciergerie and shut up in the condemned cell. She then sent for a dress for the scaffold, and wrote her last letter to Madame Elizabeth.

A constitutional priest came to attend her. She refused his ministrations. He dared to tell her to offer her life to God in expiation of her crimes. " Say my faults," replied the unfortunate queen—" crimes never." Left alone, she slept calmly. At seven the troops were under arms, and at eleven she was led out of the Conciergerie, dressed in white. Though surprised at not being conveyed to the scaffold like her husband, in a close carriage, she mounted the tumbril with her executioner, his attendants, and the constitutional priest.* She had herself cut her hair. Her hands were tied behind her back. Her last wish, as she wrote to Madame Elizabeth, was to die as firmly as her husband : and never did she show more grandeur and majesty. The cortege took the longest route. The scaffold was erected in the Place Louis XV., where her husband had been executed. Marie Antoinette ascended it with a firm step. She took one long look at the Tuileries, and before the axe descended exclaimed : " Lord, enlighten and touch my executioners ! Farewell, my children, forever ! I go to meet your father." Thus died on the 16th of October, 1793, the daughter of a line of emperors,

* A faithful priest, it is said, found means to reach her and fortify her with the last consolations and succors of religion.

the queen of France. Her body, deposited in the cemetery of the Madeleine, was consumed with quicklime. However, a part of her remains was found in 1815, and transferred to Saint Denis.

Pius VI. had scarcely communicated to the cardinals the catastrophe of Louis XVI., when he was constrained to shed new tears for the august princess, who, questioned as to the scenes of October 6th, at Versailles, replied: "I knew, I saw, and have forgotten all." Funeral services were ordered for her in the different churches of Rome, and private marks of sympathy given, but the terror inspired by the Convention prevented public obsequies.

The close of the year 1793 was remarkable for a number of apostolic labors concerning the missions in the Indies, at Saint Domingo, and in Egypt.

On the 21st of February, 1794, Pius VI., in his twenty-second promotion, appointed as cardinals—1. Anthony Dugnani, born at Milan, June 8th, 1793, nuncio at Paris; 2. Hippolytus Anthony Vincenti Mareri, born at Rieti, January 20th, 1738, commander of the Hospital of the Holy Ghost; 3. John Siffrein Maury, born at Vauréas, near Avignon, June 26th, 1746, nuncio extraordinary to the Diet of Frankfort at the coronation of Francis II.; 4. John Baptist Rossi de Pretis, born at Urbino, September 22d, 1721, president at arms; 5. Francis Mary Pignatelli, born at Rosardo in Calabria, February 19th, 1744, chamber master to the pope; 6. Philip Lancelotti, of the princes of Lauro, born at Rome, August 14th, 1742, major-domo of the sacred palace; 7. Aurelius Roverella, born at Cesena, August 21st, 1748, auditor to the pope; 8. John Rinuncini, born at Florence, July 22d, 1743, governor of Rome.

The cabinet of the revolutionists protested against the elevation of Cardinal Maury; but that orator had shown so much courage in defending the rights of the clergy, that his reward astonished none. This was not the only complaint. Pius had granted a refuge to one hundred and sixty fugitives from Toulon, who reached Italy in English and Spanish vessels. The Convention pretended to consider this act a declaration of war. It was accordingly necessary to make military preparations in the Pontifical States. Commander Gandini, superseding General Caprara, was sent to visit the frontier of Romagna and review the garrisons, which required to be increased.

It was known that there existed in the Roman States a host of ill-intentioned men, excited by secret emissaries, who sought to corrupt the soldiers and intimidate the government.

Ricci, bishop of Pistoia, continued to set a most pernicious example, and would not submit to the pacific decisions of the Holy See. Pius VI. accordingly published the bull *Auctorem Fidei*, dated August 28th, 1794. After

invoking the Holy Ghost, the pontiff pronounces a solemn judgment and a formal condemnation of eighty-five propositions of the Synod of Pistoia ; seven are qualified as heretical, the others declared schismatical, erroneous, subversive of the ecclesiastical hierarchy, false, rash, capricious, insulting to the Church and its authority, leading men to condemn the sacraments and practices of worship, offensive to the piety of the faithful. Other propositions disturbed order in various churches, the ecclesiastical ministry, the quiet of Christians ; they were opposed to the decrees of the Council of Trent, they wounded the veneration due to the Mother of God. Lastly, they had already been all condemned in Wickliff, Luther, Baius, Jansen, and Quesnel.

The justice, exactness, precision, admired in this pontifical sentence, entitled it to the approbation of the whole Church.* The general adhesion of the bishops to this decision of the Holy See, as the learned Gerdil wrote at the time, is no longer a problem. The authority of Cardinal Litta comes to corroborate the judgment of Gerdil. "In the bull *Auctorem Fidei*, Pius VI. renewed all the acts of his predecessors, and, moreover, condemned the adoption of the declaration of 1682, an adoption made by the Council of Pistoia. The bull *Auctorem Fidei*," he adds, "was formally received by a great part of the bishops of the Catholic world, and tacitly by the rest. It is then, even according to the Gallicans, a rule of faith and doctrine, from which it is not lawful to swerve. Now this bull condemned as rash and scandalous the adoption made by the Council of Pistoia. Nor let it be imagined that this censure does not reach the declaration of 1682, except in so far as the synod presents it as containing doctrines of faith ; for the sovereign pontiff recalls, moreover, the decrees of his predecessors, who condemned it and declared it null and void ; and he even here confirms them. Now, by the admission of all Catholics, a dogmatic bull accepted, we do not say by the majority of bishops only, but by all the bishops, is a decree of the Universal Church beyond appeal. Let each one then look into his own conscience and answer this question, the only one to resolve : Is it lawful to maintain a doctrine which the Universal Church declares to be sovereignly injurious to the Holy See, a doctrine which it reproves and condemns, and which it expressly orders us to reprove and condemn ?" †

In 1795 a new danger seemed to impend over the pope. The Executive Directory, which succeeded the Convention, violently menaced the provinces of the Holy Father. General Colli, a Piedmontese, was appointed by the pope commander-in-chief of the pontifical forces.

Meanwhile the State needed money. In the course of twenty years paper-money had been issued to the amount of eight million scudi or Roman

* Jauffrat.

† Letter of Cardinal Litta, Paris, 1826, p. 11.

dollars. According to calculations made, this exceeded the total specie in circulation. It was necessary to devise means to call in and cancel this paper-money. The Apostolic Chamber sold various parcels of property. The proceeds of these sales were to diminish the paper, as all received was at once cancelled. This lessened indeed the amount of paper, but did not increase the circulation. It was then resolved to borrow half a million of scudi ; and this gave the treasury a slight relief.

Meanwhile, England was evidently protecting the States of the Holy See. Pius VI., learning that the Catholic worship enjoyed greater freedom in England, under George III., than before, wrote to the bishops, vicars-apostolic in that kingdom, to inculcate obedience to that monarch. "The good-will of George III.," said His Holiness, "makes this virtue a duty. He is the best of sovereigns ; his authority is full of mildness to Catholics. They no longer bear so hard and heavy a yoke ; they have been delivered from a part of the severe laws and hard conditions to which they were subjected. They now possess privileges ; our brethren may serve in the army, and have obtained Catholic schools for youth. Nor has the beneficent monarch shown his goodness only to the Catholics of his kingdom ; he has favored and supported Catholics in the vast Indian realms subject to his authority."

We now come to the twenty-third promotion, the last of this pontificate. On the 1st of June, 1795, the pope raised to the purple Julius Mary della Somaglia, a Placentia noble, born July 9th, 1744.

The brilliant triumphs of Bonaparte in Italy lent new terrors to the French name : his conquests extended daily. Pius sought by negotiation to ward off from his realm the miseries of war.

Spain had signed a treaty of peace with France. Chevalier Azara, minister of the Catholic king at Rome, was requested to proceed to Milan with words of concord from His Holiness ; but he had no sooner reached Milan than he had to return to Bologna, because Bonaparte, invited by the Bolognese, had entered that city on the 19th of January, 1796, at the head of seven thousand men. He had seized Fort Urbino and declared Bologna a free city, independent of the Holy See.

Rome was thunderstruck at the tidings of this unforeseen insurrection, and showed still greater affliction when Adelaide and Victoria, aunts of Louis XVI., Prince Augustus of England, and Prince Xavier of Saxony, precipitately left Rome.

Amid all these indications of coming evils, Pius VI. fervently implored the divine assistance ; and at the least expected moment, a courier came in from Bologna, dispatched by Azara, to announce that on the 23d of June an armistice had been signed between Bonaparte, general-in-chief, Salicetti and Garrau, commissaries for France, and the Chevalier Azara and Marquis

Anthony Gnudi for the Holy See. The articles were at once submitted to the Congregation of State, and hard and cruel as they were, there seemed no course but to ratify them. As to peace, that was to be treated of at Paris; and the Abate Count Pieracchi was sent there as plenipotentiary, with the Abate Evangelisti, employed in the department of state, as companion. This same Roman had accompanied Azara to Milan and Bologna to effect the armistice.

The millions imposed by this melancholy negotiation had to be paid. The pope held a consistory, and thus set forth the troubles of the Church:

“The fate of Italy is to all appearance in the hands of the French; new victories daily assure their conquests. If the well-appointed armies of the empire had to yield to the impetuosity of the conqueror, and if the strongest powers are now in his hands, what resistance or defence can this capital make? What success can we expect from the courage of our subjects? We should but shed innocent blood were we to think of defending it. Of two evils we must choose the least, and the God of mercy will bless this resignation to his inscrutable decrees. But if necessity has compelled us to submit to such hard conditions, duty requires us to fulfil them exactly. How are we to provide for the payment of such enormous sums, when the public treasury is absolutely empty, and the resources of the State exhausted? We believe it indispensable to revert to the treasures laid up in the castle of Saint Angelo by our glorious predecessor Sixtus V., and destined by him for the most urgent necessities of the State. Since the deposit was made, nearly two centuries ago,* these necessities have never been so imperious; for religiously faithful to treaties signed, we must pay the French the stipulated contribution. All the treasures in the world cannot restore the life of even one single man. Let us then sacrifice a part, to avoid exposing to massacre millions of devoted subjects still left to us.”

To this proposition of the Holy Father, the sacred college, forced by the exigencies of the case, yielded. The amount necessary to meet the first French instalment was taken from the castle of Saint Angelo. The pope also dispatched the banker Torlonia to Genoa to effect a loan of a million scudi, hypothecating the revenues of the whole Pontifical States.

All *pious places* were ordered to send to the mint the gold and silver in their possession, except the sacred vases. Private individuals were to make the same sacrifice; only the gold and silver belonging to goldsmiths was exempted. The persons appointed to receive these deposits, which were to be reimbursed, were Rezzonico, senator of Rome, Prince Chigi, the marquises Massimo and Patrizi, who all enjoyed the public confidence. The pope did not seek to free himself from the law; his own plate was pub-

* See reign of Sixtus V. ante, vol. i.

licly transported to the mint to be coined, and this generous example was imitated by the cardinals, prelates, and princes of Rome. Prince Doria alone sent to the mint plate to the value of half a million of scudi.

This call for precious metals, which included table-plate, and extended to the whole State, produced two million nine hundred thousand pounds of silver. Other sacrifices were made, and this sacred collection was so abundant that it will be a perpetual honor to the Romans.

Miot, one of the French commissaries, soon arrived, having been minister at Florence. His conduct at Rome was wise, and won the esteem of Pope Pius.

Meanwhile, Torlonia returned from Genoa, bringing the sum borrowed by the Apostolic Chamber from that republic. On the 28th of July, the first instalment, amounting to one million two hundred thousand scudi, was forwarded to Milan, to be delivered to a French commissary.

On the other hand arrived commissaries, dispatched by the Directory to receive the contribution of works of art stipulated in the convention; they were selected and delivered for shipment to Paris, according to the tenor of the eighth article of the treaty.

All hoped that peace was about to be restored, when a courier from Count Pieracchi, at Paris, arrived, without bearing any allusion to the desired treaty. In his first interview with Talleyrand, minister of foreign relations, Pieracchi had learned that the Directory required the pope, as a preliminary article, to retract the briefs by which he had condemned the Civil Constitution of the Clergy of France. A formula of retractation was handed to the Roman plenipotentiary. The minister pretended that so long as His Holiness declined to consent to this retractation, there was no means of commencing a definitive treaty of peace with the Roman court. The grief experienced by the pope at this unexpected news was so violent that he fell sick. Notwithstanding his suffering state, he assembled the congregation of cardinals appointed to examine French affairs, to ask the opinion of those faithful counsellors. In the first place, notice was taken of the strange notification presented by the very one so justly accused in the new monitory letters. Then the cardinals unanimously declared that he could not grant such a demand, because it completely overthrew religion. It was necessary for the good of the Catholic world, that His Holiness should expose himself to martyrdom, rather than betray his honor, his duty, his constancy, and thus violate the maxims constantly observed by the Church.

No decision could be more conformable to the intentions of Pius VI. and his sentiment of piety. He accordingly approved with apostolic frankness, saying: "We find the martyr's crown more brilliant than that we bear on our head." Constant in this resolve, which he signed on the 14th of Sep-

tember, he sent back the courier to Paris with a most formal refusal. Then Pieracchi and Evangelisti were obliged to leave Paris, under pretext that they had not sufficient powers to treat of the cession of the two legations of Bologna and Ferrara.

Pius VI. would not sacrifice the spiritual good of the Church to the cares necessary to be taken to secure temporal peace. Meanwhile he endeavored to try other ways, in order to surmount the obstacle in the limits of conscience. For this end he requested Azara to come to an understanding with Monsignor Caleppi and Father Soldani, a man well versed in a knowledge of the sacred canons. The last-named Roman plenipotentiaries set out for Florence, where they were to treat with two French commissaries. The conference began; but the two Frenchmen were ordered to uphold the pretensions of the Directory. Monsignor Caleppi, after several fruitless voyages to Rome, after asking more explicit instructions, after even bestowing presents to the negotiators, without having concluded any thing, and preserving no hope of concluding any thing, returned definitively to Rome to give an account of his commission. Then all began to suspect that they were exacting propositions of impossible execution, because they wished to retain war at any rate, and keep open pretexts for invading the Roman States. A more numerous congregation was assembled. The pope there announced that he would never consent to declare unjust his briefs on the affairs of France; that they were in all respects conformable to the decisions of the councils and the opinions of the Fathers; that the Holy See could not approve the excesses committed by France during the last seven years; that he in consequence protested that he preferred to perish rather than abandon the rights of Christ's vicar.

Preparations were then made, not to attack but to defend. A national guard of fourteen thousand men was organized at Rome, and the command confided to Senator Rezzonico, with princes Aldobrandini, Gabrielli, and Giustiniani, and the Marquis Massimo as colonels.

The Constable Colonna equipped a regiment of infantry at his own expense, and gave twelve bronze cannon from his fortress of Palliano. The banker Torlonia, unsolicited, raised a squadron of cavalry.

Cardinal Busca had succeeded Zelada as secretary of state. He sent out new orders, requiring all to bring in uncoined silver. The presents made to the treasury at this period amounted to a considerable sum.

Meanwhile the unfortunate French priests were not abandoned; sufficient and charitable relief was distributed to them; and Pius VI., magnanimous in every thing, seemed, although almost octogenarian, to exceed himself, and reaped from all good citizens the most heartfelt blessings. Ever ready to show his good faith, Pius VI. addressed to all the sovereigns, and to his own subjects, a declaration, at the end of which he printed all the docu-

ments of Caleppi's negotiation at Florence, with the commissaries Salicetti and Garrau; and he ended by announcing, that if he was attacked, he would make every possible defence for the good of his subjects.

The sovereigns of Europe, occupied with their own dangers, promised no efficient aid to Pius VI.—he was abandoned to his own forces. Insults and threats were redoubled daily. He accordingly countermanded the convoy of the first instalment of one million two hundred thousand scudi, already sent forward under the conditions of the armistice.

In order to complete the military organization, now become more necessary than ever, especially on account of the projects of many of the disaffected, excited by emissaries, a military congregation was appointed to act in concert with General Colli. It was composed of Cardinal Busca, secretary of state, president; Monsignor Consalvi, assessor; Lieutenant-General Galdi; Colonel Colli; and the Marquises Massimo, Patrizi, and Ercolani. This congregation was invested with extraordinary powers.

Bonaparte, general-in-chief, then believing that the pope would accept all the conditions proposed, endeavored to employ as mediator Cardinal Mattei, archbishop of Ferrara, whom the pope esteemed, and to whom the general himself had shown many marks of consideration. But this cardinal having been subsequently designated as the Roman subject who most fomented troubles, and as an enemy of the French republic, Bonaparte had ordered him to be held as a state prisoner in the citadel of Brescia. The general having visited him, rendered justice to the virtues of the cardinal, whom he felt able to appreciate. In consequence, Bonaparte sent Cardinal Mattei to Rome, and when his eminence was on the point of setting out, he said to him: "I offer you the fairest and most glorious commission that a good citizen can ever receive in life. Represent to the pope and his ministers the dangers which menace them; urge them not to rush to destruction by a useless and impotent resistance."

The cardinal wished a letter from the general to justify the mission. Bonaparte handed it to him, and at the same time gave him one for the pope, in which he pressed His Holiness to yield to what the Directory required in regard to the retractation of the briefs on the Civil Constitution of the Clergy. Yet this obstinate persistence was merely to humiliate the pope, and gratify a feeling of vanity: the Directory was entirely alienated from religion, and cared nothing either for old clergy or new. The Civil Constitution was no longer a law in France. The Directory, with its well-known antipathy to religion and its ministers, cared nothing for that constitution or the old discipline of the Gallican Church. The persistent demand made on the pope was made simply because they wished a pretext for refusing peace, and proceeding to greater lengths against the pope.

Pius VI., full of hope in God, and after a time reassured by the cabinet

of Vienna, which recalled the letter to Francis II., and promised aid, showed once more a spirit of firmness. He replied, through Cardinal Mattei, that the pope in the cause of the faith feared no danger, and disregarded the menaces daily uttered against him.

In one reply to Bonaparte, made by Cardinal Mattei, we read this :

“General, the success of your army in Italy has blinded you. By an intolerable abuse of prosperity, not satisfied with shearing the sheep to the skin, you wish also to devour them. You insist on the pope sacrificing his soul and that of his people committed to his care. You ask the entire destruction of the fundamental basis of the Christian religion, the Gospel, morality, and Church discipline. The Holy Father, shocked at this insupportable pretension, has cast himself into the bosom of God, to beg him to enlighten his servant as to his conduct in the circumstances.

“The Holy Ghost has without doubt enlightened his servant, and recalled to him the example of the martyrs.

“After begging the Directory to grant him reasonable conditions, the Roman court is compelled to prepare for war. Europe must decide who gives the provocation. Death, general, which you hold up to us in terror, is the commencement of eternal life, the term of the seeming felicity of the impious, and the commencement of their punishment, if remorse does not prevent them. Your army is formidable, but you know not that it is invincible. We will oppose our efforts, our constancy, the confidence inspired by a righteous cause, and above all, the aid of God, which we hope to obtain. I agree with you that the war you are about to make on the pope will bring you little glory : as to the dangers, which you believe you will not find in it, our trust in God does not permit us to believe that there is absolutely no peril for you or yours.

“I now return to the object of your letter. You desire peace ; we still more. His Holiness on his side, to obtain it, will make every sacrifice not incompatible with his duty.”

General Bonaparte wrote another letter to Cardinal Mattei, dated at his headquarters, Verona. He announces his determination to march on Rome, not to punish the pontiff and his people, but those only who advised the pope, and to whom he ascribed the measures adopted for continuing hostilities. The general said, moreover : “Happen what may, cardinal, I beg you to assure His Holiness, that he may remain at Rome, without any disquietude. As chief minister of religion, the pope will obtain, in that capacity, protection for himself and the Church. Say likewise to all the inhabitants of Rome, that they will find in the French army friends, who will deem victory valueless if it does not ameliorate the condition of the people.”

It was soon known that the French army at Bologna was receiving re-

enforcements. Cacault, minister at Rome, seeing this renewed activity in the preparations for war, endeavored to dissuade the pope from such a project, and failing, left the capital with his secretary, Bernard, to proceed to Verona.

At this time Bonaparte intercepted a letter of Cardinal Busca, secretary of state, to Monsignor Albani, nuncio at Vienna. In this letter, his eminence showed little inclination for the French, and seemed to conceive hopes of seeing the Emperor Francis II. come to the relief of the Holy See, as he had promised of his own accord at Frankfort, in 1792. This letter was not written in cipher. It became the signal for new steps. Bonaparte, who had proceeded from Verona to Bologna, there issued two manifestoes, on the 31st of January and 1st of February, 1797. In the former he declared that his army had in six months taken one hundred thousand of the best troops of the emperor of Germany prisoners; captured four hundred pieces of artillery, one hundred flags, and annihilated five armies. In both manifestoes he declared that the pope had formally refused to carry out the provisions of the armistice of Bologna, and it was therefore necessary to continue operations against him. He then, without delay, pushed forward General Victor's division, the van of which met, on the banks of the Senio, the pontifical troops. At the first moment, betrayed by some officers in concert with the French, they lost courage and took flight. General Victor marched on Faenza, which he took with little difficulty, and then occupied Forli and Cesena.

On hearing of this repulse, the congregation of cardinals on the affairs of France met, and decided by a plurality of votes to continue the war. New dispositions were ordered, but they were rendered of no avail by the rapid march of the republican troops, which had occupied Sinigaglia, Ancona, and even advanced to Macerata. Nothing was now left to the pope except Sabina, the patrimony of Saint Peter, and the Roman Campagna; and he was not exempt from fear that he would lose these provinces also.

General Colli had been unable to prevent this precipitous march, nor could he prevent the profanation of the celebrated sanctuary of the Santa Casa of Loretto. Commissaries carried off the precious offerings left in this sacred depository of the piety of the whole Catholic world,—precious stones, gold and silver votive offerings were found. Except the gold and silver sent to Rome under the edict of contribution, all was carried off. Even the statue of the Blessed Virgin was sent to the Directory at Paris, who placed it in the museum, not as an object of devotion, but merely as a profane curiosity.

Rome was in most terrible consternation. Frequent congregations of cardinals were held, and in one it was resolved that the Holy Father, for

his personal security, should leave Rome. As he was preparing to set out for Terracina, two English officers arrived at Foligno with dispatches from General Colli, announcing to the Holy Father that he was in an advantageous position for his troops, and that in case of any danger for Rome, His Holiness should receive timely warning. This information calmed the pope's mind, and deferred his departure. Nevertheless, precautions were taken to save the precious jewels in the Vatican palace, the Pio-Clementine Museum, the Monte di Pietà, and the castle of Saint Angelo. All these were sent to Terracina, to be thence transferred, if necessary, to Sicily.

The hostile troops kept advancing on Rome. To retard their march there was no alternative but to solicit peace. A courier was sent to General Bonaparte. Some time elapsed after his departure, and as he did not return, the policy adopted by the general was unknown, and the conqueror, as it was supposed, would not listen to peace at any price. To put an end to this uncertainty, Pius sent to Bonaparte a deputation composed of Cardinal Mattei, Duke Braschi, Monsignor Caleppi, and the Marquis Massimo. They bore a letter addressed to the general. It authorized these envoys to fix, as plenipotentiaries, the bases of a durable and reciprocally satisfactory peace. The pope said: "Assured by the tokens of good-will manifested in a letter to Cardinal Mattei, we have refrained from leaving Rome, and this alone will convince you of our confidence in you."

The Holy Father, in his distress, had implored the mediation of Ferdinand, king of Naples, and of the grand duke of Tuscany; he had also asked the support of the Chevalier Azara, who had retired to Florence. The Romans believed that this Spanish plenipotentiary had at the armistice of Bologna sacrificed their interests.

The pope's ministers met the pontifical courier with Bonaparte's reply. In a letter of that general to Cardinal Mattei, he announces to his eminence that he granted the Roman court an armistice of five days, before the expiration of which a minister was to be sent to Foligno to treat of peace. This letter calmed the pope, but measures for a vigorous defence were still continued. The plenipotentiaries proceeded to Tolentino, whither Bonaparte had transferred his headquarters, and there the treaty of Tolentino was signed, on the 19th of February, 1797,—Cardinal Mattei, Monsignor Caleppi, Duke Braschi, and the Marquis Massimo, representing the pope, and General Bonaparte and Citizen Cacault the Directory.

The same day, Cardinal Mattei briefly informed the cardinal Secretary of State: "The treaty of peace is signed. The conditions are very hard, and in all respects like the capitulations of a fort, as the conqueror repeatedly remarked. I have trembled till now for His Holiness, for Rome, for the whole State. Now Rome is saved, religion is saved, by the great sacrifices made."

In this treaty, among other points, the Holy Father renounced the sovereignty of Avignon and the Venaissin county, and ceded to France the three legations of Bologna, Ferrara, and Romagna. He promised to pay fifteen million livres tournois, to furnish eight hundred draught-horses, eight hundred others to remount the cavalry, and, moreover, all the cattle required for the French army. The paintings, statues, and manuscripts stipulated in the armistice of Bologna, were to be given up. The assassination of Basville was to be disavowed at Paris. In the course of the year the pope was also to give three hundred thousand livres to be divided among those who had suffered by that catastrophe.

An aide-de-camp of the general soon after arrived in Rome, together with Citizen Cacault. The latter was to see to the execution of the clauses of the new treaty.

The congregation of cardinals, which examined such affairs, was required to give its opinion on this negotiation. The conditions seemed violent and cruel, but were approved and ratified, as containing nothing contrary to the maxims of religion. This had not been the case in the articles proposed at Florence by Salicetti and Garrau. It must be observed that, before the troops approached Rome, they demanded the ignominious retractation of the Civil Constitution of the Clergy. It was due to Cardinal Mattei for excluding from the treaty of Tolentino this outrageous pretension, which the Directory ordered its general to impose on the Roman court. Cacault pointed out the absurdity of the demand.

When the fear of an invasion passed away, the various precious objects sent to Terracina were brought back and temporarily deposited in the castle of Saint Angelo.

After seeking to obtain all resources necessary to fulfil the treaty, two million in gold and silver ingots were delivered to Cacault, and dispatched to Foligno in fifty-four wagons, with the sixteen hundred horses required by the eleventh article of the treaty.

It must be remarked that the conditions of this peace, which was but a continuation of the state of war; without danger to the enemy, had gradually irritated the people on all points of the pontifical territory. Revolts broke out, isolated Frenchmen were cut off; but the actors in these troubles had to repent their violence, which the republican garrison left at Ancona came down suddenly to repress.

To meet the exactions of the treaty, the sums at command were not sufficient; but new efforts were made, and the whole was paid.

Then Cacault went to the Holy Father and proposed to restore all the jewels which formed part of the pontifical tiara. They had been valued at a sum regularly fixed upon by dissenting commissions. Cacault restored them for two million less than the stipulated value. The pope, desiring to

preserve these precious monuments of Catholic piety, consented to the arrangement, and Torlonia the banker, with Sartori, jeweller of the palace, were sent to Milan to conclude the affair. But the commissaries at Milan were far from sharing the generous and religious feelings of Cacault: they raised their pretensions so high, that the pope was able to ransom only an inconsiderable portion of the jewels.

Pius had accomplished all his duties as a sovereign in the ratification of a ruinous treaty to save a part of his States. He continued to show the same magnanimous sentiments. Cacault never presented himself at the pontifical palace without being welcomed by the Holy Father with tokens of esteem and consideration. The pope cheerfully granted his requests in all that was just and reasonable.

Pius VI., ever generous, to convince the French that he felt no resentment on the score of the treaty, ordered Cardinals Mattei and Chiaramonti to return to their dioceses of Ferrara and Imola. He ordered the governors remaining in the cities to be restored to the Holy See under the eighth article, to maintain the most complete concord and good understanding with the republican commandants.

His desire to propitiate the French went still further. As they showed a distrust of Cardinal Busca, in consequence of the intercepted letter, showing his hostility to them, Pius VI., resolved to maintain peace at any cost, deprived himself of Busca's services and appointed in his stead Cardinal Joseph Doria, who had been nuncio at Paris, and was agreeable to the French.

Meanwhile the Marquis Massimo had proceeded to Paris as ordinary ambassador of the Holy See, and Cacault had been removed to Florence, the French embassy near the Holy Father being intended for Joseph Bonaparte, brother to the general. With the Marquis Massimo the pope dispatched to Paris the advocate Gorirossi, as envoy extraordinary. Conformably to the treaty of Tolentino, he was to disavow the death of Basville, an event in which the pontifical government had no share, and could not foresee, as no one could have anticipated the length to which Laflotte had carried his insults to the feelings of the people, on a Sunday, by a revolutionary display beyond all bounds.

At this juncture was announced the death of Victor Amadeus III., king of Sardinia. The pope himself presided at the royal funeral, celebrated in the Pauline chapel of the Quirinal palace. The funeral oration was pronounced by Monsignor Tiberius Testa Piccolomini.

Since the 9th of July, General Bonaparte had united into one the two Italian republics, called the Cispadane and Trispadane,* under the name of the Cisalpine Republic.

* Meaning this side of the Po and beyond the Po.

The Directory wished to carry out a long-desired project, the annihilation of the temporal power of the pope. Joseph Bonaparte seemed not to enter with sufficient complacency into the views of the emissaries sent to Rome, to organize the revolution ;* and the Directory ordered two generals, Duphot and Sherlock to proceed to that capital. They were to try and foment troubles, and make the people demand the expulsion of the sovereign pontiff. They began by exacting from the pope the liberation of all political prisoners,—that is, of all who publicly showed the desire of seeing a new government succeed that actually in existence. When these men were set at large, the agents of the Directory, to encourage them still more in their evil designs, distributed a considerable sum of money among them. Towards the close of December, 1797, more than a thousand conspirators could be reckoned ready to take up arms to effect a revolution. These innovators, although born subjects of the pope, under various pretexts, wore the French cockade, insulted peaceful citizens, and even the troops stationed to preserve the tranquillity of the city.

On the 28th of December, 1797, more than three hundred of these conspirators assembled in the Villa Medicis, at the Trinità de' Monti. There a banquet had been prepared, and in the intoxication of such gatherings they cried, "*Vive la liberté !*" Duphot and Sherlock presided at this orgie. They waved their hats and invited the Romans no longer to defer their revolution. Troops sent by the government entered the apartments of the villa and dispersed these malcontents. They retired to meet again beyond the Tiber, in the Corsini palace, then occupied by Joseph Bonaparte, the French ambassador, and there they excited one another to plant the tree of liberty on the piazza of the capitol.

The Roman Government, weary of beholding the sovereign pontiff so grossly insulted in his very capital, ordered the civic troop to march and compel the rebels to respect the laws. This guard was ordered, however, to show the greatest forbearance to those who seemed merely misled. Several pickets advanced towards the *Lungara*, gently advising the factions to disperse. But they, more arrogant, resisted. Numbers of assailants surrounded the troops, who were obliged to fire. Then the rioters instantly fled, and escaped to the palace occupied by the ambassador. In an instant they filled the court, staircase, and a part of the library. Many of the insurgents then fired from the windows and wounded the young sub-lieutenant Duroni, who died two days afterwards. This success emboldened these fanatics, who continued to vomit on the troops the most opprobrious epithets,

* Napoleon in his letters to Joseph was very explicit. A revolution was to be excited : and in case of the pope's death an election prevented, if possible ; if not, Cardinal Albani was to be excluded.

and every insult that the vocabulary of the revolution and impiety could supply.

At that moment, General Duphot, who was engaged to a sister of Joseph Bonaparte, drew his sabre, and following only a rash impulse, rushed down the staircase of the palace, and throwing himself into the midst of the insurgents, animated and encouraged them to repel the troops. The dragoons, attacked, called on the general to retire, but he followed and encouraged the rioters. Within a short distance of the palace, while beating down with his sabre the musket of a soldier, who was not threatening him, he was shot and died almost instantly.

The French ambassador, whom Azara, the Spanish minister, and Angiolini, the Tuscan ambassador, had hastened, to protect against any popular fury, addressed a complaint to Cardinal Joseph Doria, secretary of state ; at the same time he refused to accept the satisfaction proposed, and resolved to leave Rome on the spot.

The Chevalier Azara sought to divert him from this project. Angiolini, unable to shake Joseph Bonaparte in his resolve, obtained for him during the night the necessary passports from the secretary of state ; they were accompanied by a letter from the cardinal, saying : " This government will be ready to give the French republic such satisfaction as it shall demand for what has occurred, although it has committed no fault in this matter."

It was not till next morning that the pope was informed of the catastrophe. He was convalescent, but obliged to keep his room. The announcement of this new misfortune caused a grievous relapse. The theatres were at once closed, and prayers offered up in the churches, and care taken to prevent the troubles breaking out anew. The government proclaimed the penalty of death against any one who insulted a foreigner.

The ambassador had left Rome. The same day the cardinal Secretary of State announced the sad event to the Marquis Massimo, minister of the Holy See at Paris. He gave no details, and declared that he referred him for the whole matter to the ambassador Joseph Bonaparte, who was returning to Paris : " I refer you to him, to be informed of the facts and circumstances which accompanied it. So convinced am I of his uprightness and veracity, that I cannot nor should doubt of the truth of what he will report to the Directory. The object of this letter is to request you to proceed to the Directory, to express to them that the Holy Father feels the most poignant grief at these events, which he could neither foresee nor prevent. You will offer no satisfaction for this unhappy event, at which His Holiness and myself are inconsolable. You must ask the Directory to demand what satisfaction it will. To ask and obtain will be identical, because neither His Holiness, nor I, nor the Roman court in general, will ever be tranquil till we are assured that the Directory is satisfied."

At the same time the pope dispatched Cardinal Braschi, his nephew, to Naples, with Monsignor Caleppi, to solicit the mediation of the king of the Two Sicilies, in so terrible a crisis. That monarch then sent the Chevalier Micheroux, to give important orders on the frontiers ; and he assured the Holy Father by letter, that he guaranteed with all his troops the sacred person of the pope, his whole people, and the patrimony of Saint Peter.

Pius VI. thought, too, to refute the calumnies spread against him. He was accused of having himself excited the movement of December 28th. He ordered an authentic juridical statement of all the facts to be drawn up, inserting the most trifling circumstances tending to make known the complete innocence of the pontifical government, which had merely discharged its sovereign duties against an attack of insurgents. The various agents residing in Rome were invited to sign this, in order to attest the sincerity of the fact, and to transmit a copy to their respective courts.

It was in vain. The ruin of Rome had been decreed by the Directory. Had Duphot not fallen in the outbreak, the Roman government was doomed to fall. Without examining whether Duphot's death resulted from his own imprudence, it was declared that he had been assassinated, and that the national dignity was compromised till signal vengeance was taken. The Directory ordered a member of the municipality to arrest the Marquis Massimo in his own house ; to put seals on all his papers, hoping that a search would furnish a new pretext for war against the pope. The Directory not only read the dispatches and diplomatic minutes, but also the letters of Massimo's private friends. Nothing, however, was found to ground any accusation against the ambassador, whose orders were all pacific, and executed with sincere fidelity.

General Bonaparte had left Italy to attend the negotiations between the emperor of Germany and the Directory, at Rastadt. Alexander Berthier, who succeeded Bonaparte, was ordered to declare war on Pius VI. Berthier at once put his troops in motion to invade the Roman territory. They entered in triumph without firing a shot, taking Sinigaglia, Fano, Recanati, and Macerata. At the last place the gates were closed, and for that reason solely the houses of the chief inhabitants were given up to pillage ; Monsignor Celano, the governor, and Colonel Grassi were declared prisoners of war, and sent to Ancona under a guard of hussars. Berthier, on arriving in that city, published, on the 29th January, 1798, two proclamations : in the first he declared that his march had no object beyond punishing the assassins of General Duphot, and that the innocent Roman people had nothing to fear from the French troops ; that they would only avenge Duphot's death, the insults to the Ambassador Bonaparte, and punish the government of Rome.

The pope had ordered his troops to retire without making any resistance,

as the republicans advanced. The courage of the revolutionary partisans increased, and on the 3d of February, 1798, they attempted to effect a revolution. The pontifical troops repressed the sedition; but the pope would resort only to negotiations and prayers, so far as the Directory was concerned.

From a more than octogenarian sovereign no ardent activity could be expected to arouse the courage of his subjects; he thought only of saving them and avoiding bloodshed. He sent the cardinal-vicar della Somaglia, Prince Giustiniani, and two prelates, to meet Berthier and endeavor to discover the general's intentions. Prince Belmonte Pignatelli, minister of the court of Naples, had also been sent to meet Berthier, whom he found at Foligno. He could not induce him to receive the pontifical deputation. Berthier protested that such were his instructions, from which he could not swerve. While pursuing its projects, the Directory distrusted its own generals. Berthier added that he could not treat with the pope till the French troops arrived in the piazza of Saint Peter's.

A second deputation from Rome, headed by Monsignor Arrigoni, could not obtain an audience. The bailli Pignatelli then requested Berthier to encamp in the vicinity of Rome, but the French general was obstinately bent on entering the city.

Finally, lest they might, on such an occasion, think of putting the person of the pope in safety, when the Directory wished absolutely to have him in its hands, and to prevent the removal of any thing from the museum, library, and galleries, Berthier said that all was generally guaranteed by the loyalty of his nation, and, though he refused to receive deputations, he continued to repeat that the Directory had ordered the government, religion, property, both public and private, to be respected. The general would confine himself to punishing the individuals guilty of the assassination of Duphot. We shall see the result of these protestations, made from Ancona to Monte Mario.

Pignatelli, returning to Rome, announced to the pope the inflexibility of Berthier, and it is impossible to describe the terror and confusion that ensued. As the pope had more to fear, perhaps, from seditions than the French, he directed Cardinals Borgia, Rinuncini and Roverella to watch over the public tranquillity.

Meanwhile, the French van, commanded by General Dallemagne, approached Rome; it occupied Baccano and la Storta, ten miles from the capital. Pius VI. wished to make one more endeavor to move Berthier, and sent some cardinals with the Chevalier Azara. Berthier repeated the same words. He said, moreover, that, to avoid bloodshed, it became His Holiness to issue an edict fitted to calm the people. Berthier himself gave a draught of such an edict to be sent to the cardinal Secretary of State. Pignatelli and Giustiniani again besought the general not to enter Rome. Berthier replied, that if the pope resisted the pacific intentions of the army he would

not answer for the consequences, because he had orders to employ force and to take possession of Rome and all the Pontifical States.

It was necessary to yield to the law of the strongest. Azara returned to the city, after concerting measures for the entrance of the troops. Then the pope published an edict, in which he exhorted the people to respect them, assuring them, on the commandant's promise, that they did not come as enemies.

On the 10th of February a proclamation of Berthier was published, dated at Storta, in which, to the surprise of all, he disavowed as apocryphal the two proclamations he had issued at Ancona. In these proclamations he had declared that he came to avenge the death of Duphot, and punish the Government of Rome.

Subsequently, that no obstacle should be raised to their entrance, and to convince all that he had in entering no design except to punish a small number of soldiers who had insulted his nation, he declared, in a proclamation, issued just before he entered, that he would in no way attack religion, and throw no obstacle in the way of entire liberty of worship.

Pius VI. was then advised by several prelates attached to his service, to abandon Rome and retire to Naples. He replied: "We are thoroughly convinced that General Berthier, bound to carry out the instructions and orders of his Directory, will not maintain the promises so publicly made, but our honor and our character require us to give him seeming credit."

For the same reason he would not conceal the most curious and valuable articles in the museum, so as to show that he relied on Berthier's word.

The army had arrived near the city. The general and his staff were encamped on Monte Mario, in face of Saint Peter's. According to the agreement made with Chevalier Azara, four commissaries entered Rome, escorted by the pontifical Colonel Berwick. They immediately took possession of the castle of Saint Angelo, the garrison of which returned to the convent of Saint Augustine. A corps of five hundred French was then introduced; then fifteen hundred more arrived under the command of General Cervoni: in fine, the city was occupied by nine thousand men. Yet the commissaries had exacted provisions for sixteen thousand, in order to receive supplies for that number, while there was only an effective force of nine thousand men.

General Berthier still maintained his headquarters on Mount Mario, waiting for his friends and partisans to come and invite him to advance towards the city. There were novelties to be established, but they were to be granted only to the entreaty of the Roman people. This pretendedly popular invitation was soon made: few persons of high rank, but many known for their corrupt life, besides bankrupts, thieves, escaped galley-slaves. In fine, a host of bad men, or men of ill repute, most of them implicated in the riot at Joseph's palace, proceeded tumultuously on the 11th of

February to Berthier to invite him, in the name of the Roman people, to take possession of Rome. Then the general, escorted by his staff and several squadrons of cavalry, made a solemn entry into the capital of the Catholic world. He took up his quarters in the pope's palace at Monte Cavallo, and the better to cloak his designs, which he still pretended to be pacific, he had no sooner entered it than he dispatched General Cervoni, appointed commandant of the city, to inform the Holy Father that he had nothing to fear, either for his own person or his sovereignty. But this authority was soon to be annihilated. With as little sincerity Berthier cut down the liberty trees which his partisans had planted in several places, and expelled from his army Lauters, inspector of artillery, for profaning, with unbecoming acts and sacrilegious words, the august temple of Saint Peter's, to the great scandal of the people.

The old system was still respected. Divine worship was freely offered. The cardinals, prelates, and those holding pontifical offices, had no affront to complain of, except that they began to be gradually excluded from all power in the government. Provisional commissions were appointed for the treasury, courts, political and military departments, although many officials were retained in place. But gradually, when the French felt sure that the whole Pontifical State was in their hands, and that emissaries had disposed men to second the projected republican system, things were absolutely changed. Edicts imposed a contribution of one million two hundred thousand scudi, ordered a requisition of three thousand horses, and required a review of all those in Rome. Prince Pallavicini sent twenty-two, which constituted his stud; they returned only one, because it was vicious and injured those placed near it. Nay more: by virtue of an edict, which monsignor della Porta was obliged to sign on February 14, all property belonging to English, Portuguese, or Russian subjects, was sequestered as belonging to enemies of France. It was ordered that in case of incomplete declarations and concealment of the part of the effects indicated, a fine, oftentimes the value, should be paid to the commissaries discovering the fraud.

All this did not satisfy the enemies of the pope and the friends of the French. The last wished an absolute change of government, that under the names of liberty and equality they might change condition and obtain the reward of their felonies. They conjured the general to *democratize* the Pontifical State and Rome at the same time; but the promises made by the general-in-chief to respect the government prevented Berthier from accepting these propositions too eagerly, or executing the orders of the Directory, until some event should arise which would ostensibly justify an act proper to cover the Directory itself with shame.

Such a circumstance soon happened. On the morning of the 15th of February, 1798, at the moment when they were singing the pontifical Mass

in the Vatican, in presence of the cardinals and the whole papal court, to celebrate the anniversary of the exaltation of Pius VI., who was entering on the twenty-third year of his pontificate, a crowd of four hundred revolutionists, bearing a huge tree, assembled in the Campo Vaccino, and, amid cries for liberty, raised the tree in the capital-square before the statue of Marcus Aurelius. To give authenticity to the act, and pass it off as the will of the Roman people, who assuredly had no thoughts of revolting against their sovereign, they called five notaries to legalize this revolutionary frenzy by formal notarial acts. They next dispatched a deputation to General Berthier, who was in concert with them, asking his support. Then, accompanied by his whole staff, by four hundred dragoons, and a band, he rode to the capital, pronounced a short address, and declared the liberty of Rome and the installation of the new administration.

Thus arose the ephemeral Roman Republic, which lasted eighteen months. It was divided into eight departments, bearing the names of rivers and localities—Cimino, Circeo, Clitunno, Metauro, Musone, Tevere, Trasimene, and Tronto.

A system of political organization was then published. At the head of affairs, as consuls, were placed Duke Pio Bonelli, Francis Riganti, and Charles Louis Constantine, lawyers,—the latter defender of the poor, a distinguished post at Rome; Liborius Angelacci, a surgeon; Anthony Bassi; Joachim Pessuti, editor of the Literary Ephemerides; and John Francis Arrigoni.* As secretary there was assigned to them a Frenchman named Bassal, once parish priest at Versailles, then an apostate, married, and a regicide in the Convention. He was, however, soon recalled to France. They elected, as ministers of the government, Francis Maffei, Francis Pierelli, Lamberti, Ennius Quirinus Visconti, and Doctor Corona. Offices were distributed to others, who were not less protected by the republican authority of France.

The new consulate ordered that within a week all armorial bearings should be defaced in the city and throughout the Pontifical State. Rome was suddenly covered with scaffolds, on which stone-cutters ascended to accomplish this task, and destroy the most glorious monuments of history, even those dating back to the old Roman republic. A decree also suppressed all titles of baron, count, marquis, prince, noble, and knight,—the simple title of citizen being substituted in all cases. Yet the Roman republic, which they pretended to revive, had its nobles, its knights, and its senators.

All persons, servants of foreign ministers excepted, were ordered to wear on the hat the Roman tri-colored cockade—white, red, and black.

* Novaes, xvi., part 2, p. 112.

The consul subsequently, provoked at receiving no attention from the diplomatic body, ordered the confiscation of the property possessed by several persons at Rome, and especially the Farnese palace, belonging to the king of Naples.

Till the moment that the tree of liberty was planted at the capital, Pius VI. enjoyed at the Vatican the fulness of his spiritual power, and his authority over his guards ; his ministers still, to appearance, exercised their functions. But as soon as Rome was declared a republic, the persecution against the Sovereign Pontiff became more violent and criminal.

Haller, a Swiss Calvinist, son of the celebrated physician of that name, commissary of the republican army, was chosen in preference by General Berthier to announce to the pope that the Roman people had declared their independence ; that they no longer recognized him as sovereign ; that his reign was thus ended and completely annihilated.

Haller found the pope surrounded by the members of the sacred college, and he fulfilled his commission with the greatest insolence. It needed a vile, uneducated soul, devoid of all religious feeling, to act with such baseness. Then Pius VI. raised his eyes to heaven, and adored the decrees of Providence, who wished to try him by so painful a vicissitude of fortune.

The pope's Swiss and Roman guards were disbanded, and replaced by five hundred soldiers from the army.

At this moment General Cervoni went to the pope, to present to him the national cockade. Vile disregard of all courtesy, and of the respect due a sovereign betrayed by fortune ! Cervoni urged the pope to show himself with the republican sign ; and said that if he did it voluntarily, a pension would be assigned, to enable him to live at his ease ! At this offer Rome beheld the great and imperturbable soul of the magnanimous Pius rise in majesty. He replied with the same power of voice, but yet with a serene countenance : " We know no insignia but those with which the Church invests us. You have all power over our body, but none over our soul ; a staff and the coarsest garment will be enough for him who must soon, in defence of the faith, expire on a bed of ashes."

Pius thus showed himself, at all times, superior to the fast-crowding misfortunes which overwhelmed him at every instant.

These heroic sentiments, uttered with energy, did not move the envoy of the Directory, who, taking an air of feigned compassion, dared to counsel the pontiff to renounce his state and all temporal authority, assuring him, the wretch, that it was the only means of preserving his spiritual authority, and obtaining from the republic a pension of three hundred thousand livres : otherwise he was in danger of losing all—his liberty even. At this new outrage, Pius VI., who, resigned to the divine will, no longer considered human considerations, replied with an accent of heroic constancy : " Our

power, by virtue of a free election, comes from God, and not from men ; and for this sole reason we cannot, nor should, renounce it. We approach our eighty-first year. We have nothing to fear at your hands. We permit our body to be subjected to every violence, indignity, torture, according to the will of whoever wields the power. But believe it well, our soul is still so free, so strong, and so full of courage, that it will face death a thousand times rather than offend honor and our God. Withdraw."

The new police showed a desire to arrest the cardinals, to secure, they said, the public tranquillity ; but the members of the sacred college marked out as the first victims had left Rome. These were Cardinals Albani, York, Busca, and Maury. The last was, at the moment, the object of special persecution. All his property, of every kind in this diocese of Monte Fiascone, was at once seized.

In a council held at headquarters it was decided to remove all the pontiff's kindred, and the persons most attached to him. He was then completely isolated amid his enemies.

The general ordered the doors of the museum and gallery to be sealed up. The same measure was adopted at the Vatican, Quirinal, Castel Gandolfo and Terracina ; and all was confiscated, not for the benefit of the Roman, but of the French, republic.

The property of the Braschi and Albani families was confiscated.* They did not even respect the private library of the Holy Father. In vain one of his intendants represented that the pope intended them as a present for Cesena, his native place, where a building was already prepared for their reception. The books were all carried away and sold at a sacrifice, realizing only twelve thousand scudi.

One morning the commissaries entered the cabinet of the unfortunate pontiff, and compelled him to witness their unbecoming search.† They opened all his drawers and desk, but without finding any thing to gratify their avidity. Seeing an urn, and supposing it full of sequins and precious things, Haller seized and asked the pope what it contained. The pope calmly replied : "Spanish snuff." This was not what they were in search of. The box contained the annual gift of snuff sent to the pope by the king of Spain.

Haller tried the snuff, and finding it excellent, told one of his followers to take it to his quarters. The pope asked : "Will you even deprive me of snuff?" "Yes," said the commissary ; "it is good, it pleases me, and I

* The Albani was persecuted as devoted to Pius VI. John Francis was dean of the sacred college. The prelate Albani was nuncio at Vienna, and there warmly supported the interests of the Holy See. Napoleon held Cardinal Albani responsible for the death of Basville.

† Duppe, an English painter, is said by Artaud to have given details in a work published in London.

am going to take it." Such was the purity of conscience of this official. We need not go further in the details of these spoliations.

The fanaticism of the imitators of Brutus increased daily, and the republic seized all authority, leaving not a vestige of the papal power. The arms of Pius VI. and the inscriptions engraved in his honor were effaced. The next step was to exile the pope, whose presence at Rome, it was said, had no longer an object.

On the 18th of February, at the moment when the pope was dining attended by a few domestics, Haller entered, with his hat on, and said to the pope: "I have come to take all your treasures, which the Roman Republic has orders to deliver to me." "We have already," said the pope, "surrendered all we had to purchase the peace of Tolentino; we have nothing else to give you, and you know it better than we do." Haller replied with new insolence: "You have two rich rings—give them to me." The pope drew one from his finger and handed it to him, saying: "We can give you the one that belongs to us individually; but the other is the Fisherman's ring, it passes to our successor." Full of presumption, Haller replied: "I will not suffer it, hand it to me at once, or I shall employ force." Not to expose himself to violence, Pius VI. handed it to him; but as it was of trifling value, it was soon after handed back to him. During the same visit, Haller, after securing the two rings, cast his eyes on the table where the pope was dining, and seeing a little box, seized it eagerly, crying: "Yes, yes, we shall find your jewels." But on opening it he found only some biscuits;* nevertheless he took it, and without saying more, retired, there being nothing more to take.

On reaching the ante-chamber, Haller said to some prelates of the papal court who were there: "We do not know what to do with the pope. I order you to inform him to prepare to set out to-morrow morning at six o'clock."

The prelate,† surprised at this barbarous order, replied with dignity: "Go yourself to impart this sad news; I cannot nor will be the instrument of your cruelties to my sovereign."

Haller then re-entered the pope's room, and abruptly bade him prepare to leave the palace. To this iniquitous order, the pope replied with intrepid courage: "We are more than eighty years old; we are broken by age and

* The pope always ate a few at the close of his dinner, dipped in Malaga wine.

† This is the account of Novaes, vol. xvii., part 2, p. 119. The person addressed was not, however, a prelate. It was Baldassari, secretary to Caracciolo, master of the chamber, who hearing that Haller had forced his way to the pope's rooms, had hastened to the ante-chamber. See his history of the carrying off of Pius VI., of which a French translation appeared in Paris in 1839. Haller said to him: "You will do a good work and render the pope a great service if you persuade him to leave the palace and Rome of his own accord."

by infirmities which have afflicted us for more than two months : this moment should, it seems to us, be the last of our life. We do not know whether we can bear the hardship of this journey. Our duty requires us here, and we cannot without crime abandon our ministry or our people. We will die here." Haller replied with his usual arrogance. "As for dying, men die everywhere. We want no reasoning or pretexts : if you do not go willingly, you shall go by force. Take your choice."

Left alone with his domestics, Pius seemed oppressed with grief. He entered his cabinet, knelt before his crucifix, and sought in prayer fortitude to resist such persecution. A quarter of an hour after he reappeared with his ordinary calm and serene countenance, saying tranquilly : "God wills it : His holy will be done ! Let us resign ourselves to his just decrees !"

Still absorbed with his ecclesiastical ministry, he employed the forty-eight hours he was still to pass in Rome, in regulating and putting in order the affairs of the Church.

On the 28th of February a detachment of soldiers appeared before the Vatican, sent to drag the pontiff from his palace. Fearing a revolt, they resolved to get him out of the city before sunrise. Two officers had orders to convey the pontiff to Sienna. Before starting he asked permission to hear Mass, but the soldiers fearing it might be long, replied with blasphemies, and forced him to set out. Deprived of every thing, a trifling sum was handed to him totally insufficient for his travelling expenses. He could descend the stairs but slowly, yet the brute Haller cried out : "Come, hurry !" Supported by some domestics, with faces bedewed with tears, he advanced to enter the carriage that awaited him. Then, to augment the opprobrium and bitterness of his position, a disloyal subject of the pope, formerly exiled from Rome for manifesting his hatred in the vilest form, but subsequently recalled by the clemency of his sovereign, audaciously came up and with unheard-of frenzy cried : "See, tyrant, your reign is over !" Pius merely replied : "Were we a tyrant, you would not now be alive."

Thus was Pius VI. compelled to leave his palace. It is useless to enter upon long reflections. Protestants must deplore the rage and ignoble madness of their co-religionist, the Catholic will bow down and remember that God's chastisements, when he wishes to punish his people, are sometimes severe.

The pope was permitted to take with him in his carriage Monsignor Innico Caracciolo, his chamber-master, and Joseph Marotti, his secretary, whom he had taken into his service only a few hours before.

Before starting, the pope wished to take with him a Latin secretary, and Marotti, a member of the late Society of Jesus, was proposed to him. "Do you feel courage enough to accompany us to Calvary ?" said the pope. He replied : "Holy Father, I am ready to follow the steps and the destiny

of my sovereign, the vicar of Christ." He had but two hours to prepare, yet he went, nor did he leave Pius till his death at Valence.

Baldassari adds, on the authority of an unpublished account of Marotti, that Pius added : " Surely, Signor Marotti, circumstances are not alluring, but we trusted that a son of Saint Ignatius would not refuse to gratify the desire of the head of the Church."

Two other carriages followed the pope's, containing his attendants.

On the evening of the 20th the pope entered Monterosi, where he spent the night. He reached Viterbo on the 21st, and visited the body of Saint Rose, which has escaped corruption, and is still entire and unaltered, except the color of the face, which has assumed a darker tinge than in life.

On the 22d February, 1798, he slept at San Lorenzo Nuovo, and on the 23d at Radicofani. He had, shortly before, had the consolation of meeting, at Ponte Centino, his nephew, Duke Braschi, who had just been stripped of his palace, furniture, lands, in fact of every thing.

From Radicofani, Pius VI. proceeded to San Quirico, where Zondadari, archbishop of Sienna, came to pay him homage. After five days' journey, during an inclement season, the pope entered Sienna and was conveyed to the convent of Saint Augustine.

During his stay at Sienna, Pius VI., by the care and foresight of the archbishop, preserved a shadow of his dignity. Although the French endeavored to keep the pope's journey from Rome to Sienna a secret, yet the roadside was everywhere lined with Romans and Tuscans of all ranks, who stretched out their arms towards their Father, to ask his apostolic blessing.

At that very moment, three Romans, exiled from their country for their treasonable schemes, were returning in triumph. They insulted their sovereign's exile. The first was a pontifical officer, who, convicted of exciting a riot, had endeavored to debauch the guard at the castle of Saint Angelo. Tried by court-martial, and degraded, he had been confined in the castle of San Leo, till the Cisalpines set him at large. The second was a Roman physician, who had joined a conspiracy against the government. Condemned to death, his punishment was commuted by the clemency of Pius to exile. The third was an ecclesiastic, a former secretary of a cardinal, in the ministry, a man who, after receiving many favors and pensions from the government, had, with infamous ingratitude, betrayed an important secret confided to him. The vile insults poured out by these wretches, when they met the pope, were alleviated by the welcome which the Siennese gave the sovereign pontiff. The whole city poured forth to meet him : all, kneeling, implored his blessing ; and the pope, with his finger on his lip, made them a sign to raise no cry, then blessed them with an emotion which

drew tears from all. As soon as the grand duke, Ferdinand III., learned of the pope's arrival at Sienna, he sent his major-domo in chief, the Marquis Manfredini, to compliment His Holiness, and offer him the necessary means to render his stay in Tuscany as comfortable as under the circumstances it could be made. The prince at the same time dispatched couriers to Vienna, Spain, and France, to consult the governments as to the course to be pursued by him under the circumstances.

The pope showed his appreciation of the offers of service by the young grand duke, a brother of the Emperor Francis II., and said cheerfully to Manfredini: "Our misfortunes begin to make us believe that we are not utterly unworthy to be the vicar of Christ and successor of Saint Peter. The position in which you see us recalls the primitive ages of the Church, the years of its triumph." He then offered him a beautiful gold-mounted cornelian snuff-box, begging him to preserve it as a souvenir, as he had nothing better to offer. The minister gratefully placed it in the Manfredini palace at Rovigo, with an inscription commemorating the fact so honorable to him.

The English minister at Florence also came to offer his respects to the Holy Father.

The people of Rome, on learning that the pope had been carried off, and seeing that, in spite of the pretended republic so loudly proclaimed, the revolution was only a general spoliation for the advantage of a few wretches who held the chief offices, began to utter cries of rage and grief. On the 25th of February a terrible uprising ensued. Isolated Frenchmen and republicans were massacred even in the environs of Rome. Estimable and honorable ecclesiastics accused of this riot were arrested, and a general persecution ensued that it was easy to foresee.

Many cardinals and prelates who might have escaped to Naples were thrown into prison. They even imprisoned cardinal della Somaglia, who had traversed the streets and visited the churches to exhort the people to peace, and who had in fact alone restored tranquillity. But in a revolution every thing is a crime, often the very services rendered to those who goad the people to frenzy.

Cardinals Antonelli, Joseph Doria, Borgia, Roverella, della Somaglia, and Carandini were conveyed to Civit  Vecchia, and there allowed to embark for Tuscany; as most of them did, in any vessels they could find, at the imminent risk of shipwreck. The French also carried to Civit  Vecchia, Monsignor Crivelli, governor of Rome, and the prelates Consalvi, Sperandini, Celano, Onorato, Borrom i, Ginnasi, Puccetti, Nuzzi, and Barberi.

The Directory at Paris sent orders relative to those who had held high offices under Pius VI. They wished to force the cardinals to abdicate the purple, and arrested those who refused to obey.

All ecclesiastics were summoned to swear eternal hatred to monarchy and anarchy, and promise an indissoluble attachment to the republic and its constitutions.

Among the cardinals who refused to renounce the purple, Cardinal Antonelli was distinguished. An officer urged him to renounce, but his eminence replied: "Your proposition, sir, surprises me, and you yourself furnish me an answer. You are a soldier; now I ask you, if after enjoying tranquilly for years your prerogatives, and the privileges becoming your rank, the honors due your condition, and the favors of your prince, you would be vile enough to renounce his service and uniform, which honors you, and that just as the enemy is approaching and a battle at hand? Judge then yourself of my opinions by those I presume in you, and learn to know better those who have sworn, at the feet of the head of the Church to defend the Roman purple to the shedding of their blood. The color of the purple alone is enough to remind us of our duty, should we unhappily forget it. The great moment of trial has come, and we hope with God's grace to be faithful to our vocation unto death."

Cardinal Rezzonico alone was spared, because, broken down by years, sickness, and the disasters of the Church, he lay at the point of death, and in fact expired soon after. He was the only prince of the Church who died at Rome during the republican rule, and the funeral honors usually paid to cardinals were refused to him.

Two cardinals alone, alarmed by threats, abdicated the purple. The first was Cardinal Antici, who, in the time of Pius VII., sought to reclaim it. The second was Cardinal Altieri, who was addressed by an officer with a drawn sabre: "Renounce the cardinalship, or be conducted to prison." The cardinal, already sick, yielded, rather from want of strength than the act of voluntary consent.

At the same moment, Cardinal Mattei, one of the plenipotentiaries at Tolentino, while at his See of Ferrara, was, by order of the Cisalpine director Containi, his diocesan, driven from his archiepiscopal residence, because he had courageously refused the oath required of him at Milan.

The same result, and perhaps a greater misfortune, would have befallen Cardinal Albani, who was hotly pursued, had he not fled, leaving his property and that of his family exposed to certain ruin.

These miseries were not unknown to Pius VI. On the morning of March 26 he wrote to Monsignor Minucci, archbishop of Fermo: "The present time requires assurance and courage; and six cardinals, taken as hostages, and then transferred to Civita Vecchia, have shown it, and show it still, for they do not know their destiny. But they are honored and applauded by all wise men."

From Sienna Pius VI. addressed two briefs to the emperors of Germany

and Russia on religious matters, without betraying, by a single word, any complaint on his position.

At the same time he conceived the project, which he afterwards carried out in the Carthusian monastery of Florence, of drawing up a bull to prevent, in case of his death, a schism, which there was ground to fear, from what he could discern of the sentiments of the government at Paris. By this bull, which a chamberlain of Caracciolo carried in profound secrecy to the cardinals who remained at Naples and Venice, the Holy Father suspended the ancient laws and usages of conclaves, for the time when it should be necessary to elect his successor. He urged them to make an election with all possible celerity, even without awaiting the ten days prescribed by custom.

He had scarcely been a month at Sienna when a terrible event compelled him to leave it. On the 26th of March, Whitsun-eve, an earthquake, lasting more than five seconds, ruined a great part of the city, especially the magnificent cathedral, regarded as a masterpiece of Gothic architecture.

In the monastery of Saint Augustine the Holy Father resided, where only the apartments actually occupied by him were spared.

Archbishop Zondadari immediately proceeded to put the pope in a safe position, and conducted him to the palace of the Venturi-Gallerani family, where he could escape to a garden, if the earthquake was renewed. The divine office could not be celebrated in any church; all had been injured by the repeated shocks. The pope advised the archbishop to erect an altar in the Piazza de la Lizza, in the centre of the city. Here a solemn Mass was celebrated, and the pontiff gave the papal benediction to an immense crowd gathered around him.

The Grand Duke Ferdinand, learning these sad tidings, sent his majordomo, Major Manfredini, to General Saint Cyr, then commanding the French troops at Rome. There it was agreed that the pope should pass from the palace Venturi-Gallerani to the Villa Sergardi, called Torre Fiorentina. But on the 1st of June he was forced to leave it, to be conducted to the Carthusian monastery of San Casciano, two miles from Florence, beyond the Roman gate.

The Holy Father was attended by his little court. His nephew, Duke Braschi, had, however, been taken from him. Happily, they did not deprive him of the attentive care of Monsignor Caracciolo, his chamber-master, of Monsignor Spina, whom he soon after consecrated as a bishop in the monastery, or of his secretary Marotti.

Cardinal Lorenzana, archbishop of Toledo, rather from the impulse of his own heart than in accordance with orders from his court, was also the faithful companion of the pontiff's hardships.

The Grand Duke Ferdinand III. came to visit his august host. The

pope went to the door of his apartment to receive him, and when the prince wished to kiss his feet the pope raised and embraced him warmly. Both wept together over the common disaster of their subjects and all Italy, and reciprocally undertook to bear with courage the miseries which seemed still in reserve.

In his new asylum the pope led a most retired life, so as not to compromise Ferdinand III., who showed him the most sincere attachment. The Holy Father was subject to a regimen which would prevent his health failing more; he retired early and rose late, and spent almost all his time in writing or in dictating to his secretary, Marotti, decisions concerning exclusively the spiritual interests of the Church.

To this wretched life he had to resign himself. Two French commissaries almost always forbade all persons approaching the Father of the Faithful, even priests and bishops, who asked permission to see him.

Ferdinand visited him secretly. Pius VI. one day said to him: "Cease, prince, to visit us in our sad exile. We do not wish our miseries to drag you into the abyss. Live for your family, preserve your health for the good of your people. We, too, have been a sovereign, and ever sought to lighten the miseries of our people. But the times, the circumstances, and the desolation introduced by a new irreligious system of philosophy have rendered our vigils sterile; and those whom we have treated as sons have become our most cruel torturers. O prince, let our fate serve you as an example! We wish not that the interest in our welfare, manifested by your highness, should draw down on you new displeasure and disgust. It is painful to us, as you may believe, to keep away from you, in whom we have ever found a most obedient son, religious prince, a true and sincere friend. But it would grieve us to the bottom of our hearts, if, for our sake, you become as unhappy as ourselves."

Ferdinand accordingly renounced the frequent visits, but did not diminish any of his attentive care to alleviate so deplorable a condition.

A singular fact is mentioned at this time. The pope had manifested to Gustavus III. all his interest in the Catholics of Sweden. From his exile His Holiness recommended them anew to Gustavus IV., who had succeeded his father, and the Swedish monarch replied that he would himself furnish the necessary sums to maintain the Catholic college founded in his capital.

Nor were marks of good-will reserved to this Protestant monarch. A petty Mahometan prince also sought to show his regard and veneration. The Bey of Tunis wrote to Pius VI. a very respectful letter, in which, declaring himself protector of the Catholic mission in his States, he besought the Holy Father to raise to the dignity of vicar-apostolic a Capuchin father attached to that mission. The letter was accompanied with a silver chalice, taken, doubtless, on some French ship, for the *fleurs-de-lis* were evident on

the base. The bey apologized for the poverty of his gift, by saying that he possessed no other object which could be becomingly offered to a pope.

Florence was this year a refuge of several dethroned princes. Piedmont, having been occupied by the French troops, Charles Emmanuel IV., king of Sardinia, surprised in his palace, was forced to abandon his country, his subjects, his throne, and his States. He was conducted, amid a large detachment of troops, to Parma, and thence to Florence, where he awaited permission to embark for Sardinia.

This unfortunate monarch, being so near the pope, wished to visit him. Permission was given, with great reluctance, by Reinhard, the French minister, and the visit took place on the 28th of January, 1799.

The king was accompanied by his queen, the venerable Mary Adelaide Clotilda of Bourbon, sister of Louis XVI. and Madame Elizabeth. Ferdinand came at the same time as the court of Sardinia.

It is easy to conceive the painful nature of this interview between three sovereigns, two of them exiles and driven from their thrones. The grand duke of Tuscany was soon to meet the same fate, and he knew it. Pius VI. rallied all his strength to receive the king and queen of Sardinia. He met them, supported by his domestics, at the door of his room. They fell at his feet, and would not rise till he had given them his blessing. And then, before rising, they said: "We forget, at this moment, Holy Father, our own too well-deserved miseries, because we enjoy the presence of the common Father of the Faithful." The pontiff replied: "O princes, dear to our hearts, this world is all but vanity, and there is no one who can say it better than we: yes, all is vanity, except the happiness of loving and serving the Giver of all good gifts. Let us raise our eyes to heaven, where we expect thrones that man cannot take from us."

During the interview the king repeatedly urged the pope to follow him to Sardinia, where he offered him the palace of Cagliari. Queen Clotilda joined her entreaties to those of her husband, saying, with the greatest emotion: "Come with us, most Holy Father; we will comfort each other, and your Holiness will find in his sons all the respectful care due to so loving a Father and so exalted a dignity."

Pius VI. was moved by the solicitations of these pious sovereigns, and, choked by his tears, exclaimed: "God wills it, beloved princes! But you do not know the views of the Directory in our regard; we must be the victim of our persecutors. It would be impossible, even did our tottering health permit it, to follow you to Sardinia. There we should regain our liberty; here our servitude is a settled point. This government, which now has us in its power, cannot possibly let an old man of eighty escape, for they regard him as one of their greatest trophies. It is too late to deceive

ourselves ; our sentence has been passed, and death alone can terminate our hardships."

When the princes had conversed sufficiently, they invited the French officer, who had never left the king since their departure from Turin, to enter the Holy Father's cabinet ; but the officer said, that he had every reason to suppose that the mere sight of his uniform would be displeasing to the pope.

Meanwhile, at Rome an oath of fidelity to the French republic was exacted. Pius VI. sent two briefs, one dated January 16th, the other January 20th, and addressed to Monsignor Passeri, vicegerent of Rome. As this prelate was banished before the briefs arrived, they were received by Monsignor Buoni, who, disregarding the danger he incurred, courageously published them, with a declaration under his own hand. The sentiments of Pius VI. as to this oath were the same that he had expressed on similar occasions. Before leaving Rome, in reply to Monsignor di Pietro, secretary of the commission of cardinals, appointed to examine whether men could lawfully swear hatred to monarchy and anarchy, His Holiness had declared such an oath illicit.

Rome had been delivered by the Neapolitans ; but, in consequence of the battle of Terni, it had again fallen into the hands of the French. Then this oath was exacted more rigorously of ecclesiastics. The first called upon to take it were the professors of the two universities, the Sapienza and Roman college, that their example might induce others to follow. Some professors at the Roman college, and still more at the Sapienza, were men not to be intimidated by threats, or seduced by promises ; they refused to take the oath.

Meanwhile, the pope, to avoid persecutions and disorder, had proposed another form of oath, substantially conformable to the orders of the new democratic government, and differing only in expression. It did not offend religion or wound conscience ; but the government would not accept it.

Then the professors protested their willingness to obey ; and to escape all peril and all prejudice, they declared that the obstacles were raised by Monsignor Buoni. At that moment the prefect of studies wrote to the prelate, assuring him that, by virtue of this second instruction, the professors had taken the oath, and that they should probably ask his permission to declare their motives in thus acting, and that they would publish them, as they in fact did subsequently.

Pius VI., informed of the sad consequences that might result, would not delay the remedy an instant. He at once sent to Monsignor Buoni a warm brief, signed with his own hand, to give it greater weight. In this document he expressed his surprise at what had occurred ; he warned the professors of the Roman college of the error into which they had fallen, relying on an instruction not issued by the authority of the Holy See.

He ordered them to be written to, by virtue of the obedience due to their bishop, the head of the Church, lest they should augment the scandal by publishing their pretended justifications. This brief, from the difficulty of communication, arrived too late, the justifications having already appeared.

When Monsignor Buoni informed them of the tenor of the brief, they appealed to the personal and renewed decision of the sovereign pontiff. They sent one of their number to the Carthusian monastery, but the deputy found in Pius VI. that firmness which, for so many centuries, has formed the divine character of Holy Church. This deputy explained, or rather sought to explain, the conduct of his colleagues. He then handed the pope a petition, setting forth that they had fallen into error by a misunderstanding as to the instructions of Monsignor Buoni, and they solicited a decision which would enable them to repair the scandal they had given. The pope would not receive this deputy, and his final reply, transmitted through Monsignor Odescalchi, nuncio at Florence, conformed to what was laid down and prescribed in the brief.

Six of the professors, convinced of their error, sent in their retractation; others had taken the oath with restrictions, but these the new magistrates refused to receive, and the Holy Father had no difficulty in persuading these that they were bound to retract, under penalty of being cut off from the communion of the faithful.*

The Directory deemed the pope too near Rome, and requested the grand duke to compel His Holiness to leave Tuscany. That prince accordingly consulted with his brother, the emperor of Germany, as to the means of securing His Holiness an asylum in the vicinity of Vienna, at the Benedictine abbey of Molck. But a new rupture between the Austrians and French defeated the execution of this project.

Then Reinhard, minister of the Directory, called upon the grand duke and begged him to think of other means of removing so dangerous a guest. The prince courageously replied: "I never wished the pope in my States; on the contrary, I desired his stay at Rome. You French brought him here without advising me, and if now he must leave Tuscany, I will give suitable orders to effect his departure. But France must undertake to transport him elsewhere, for I shall never be so cruel as to send him away, or give that good old man orders to leave the Carthusian monastery." Ferdinand, knowing too well the laws of hospitality and the rights of an independent State, would not order him to go.

The Directory then proposed to convey the pope to Sardinia. The two directors most bitter against the Holy Father hoped that he would there fall into oblivion, and give no further trouble, communication with Rome

* Novaes, xvi., p. 138, etc.

being so difficult. Reinhard opposed this project, on the ground that English vessels might carry him off and deliver him from his captivity.

Soon after, as the war went on, Ferdinand was driven from his States, and on the 27th of March, two days after the grand duke had left Tuscany, the pope received orders to start. After a stay of one year and seventeen days in Tuscany, he was obliged to leave the monastery of the Carthusians.

At Bologna, Pius VI. rested at the Spanish college, an institution founded by Cardinal Albornozy in the fourteenth century, and which claims to have welcomed, as a poor pilgrim, the great Saint Ignatius Loyola in 1535. The cardinal archbishop at once came to pay homage. The pope asked leave to remain a few hours longer in this city, but this favor was refused. He was dragged down a narrow staircase to his carriage, the manner being too violent to say conducted. The very soldiers who were to be his escort were moved to tears, and smote the earth with their muskets.

The pope was then conducted to Modena and Parma. Mangin, an aide-de-camp of General Gauthier, having endeavored with much delicacy to alleviate the hardships of this journey, Pius VI., to show his gratitude, had a fine horse purchased and given to this officer.

Meanwhile, Ferdinand I., duke of Parma, sought an interview with the pope; and the affecting scene which occurred between His Holiness and the king of Sardinia was renewed. The duke hoped to be able to entertain his guest for some days; and his request had been granted, but on the 15th of April a new French commissary appeared, and said that by orders from the Directory the pope must at once resume his journey. It was feared that some Austrian hussars, who had approached Parma, might dash in and carry off the pope.

To the remarks of the commissary Pius VI. made no reply. The physicians stated positively that neither friends nor enemies could move the pope, whose strength did not permit him to rise, and he must be allowed to end his days at Parma. The commissary abruptly dragged the sheets from the bed, to see whether the pope's body was in fact covered with ulcers, as was said.* He saw enough to dispel any doubts he might have entertained. Then he pretended to see the necessity of a delay, and said that if they would give him five hundred louis he would go to Paris in person and persuade the Directory that the pope must be left at Parma.† The sum was paid, the duke of Parma supplying the money, and the pope hoped that his lot would be less cruel; but four days after the commissary reappeared, and said that he could not keep his promise, that he must take the pope dead or alive. He made no remark, however, as to restoring the money.

* Baldassari, *History of the Captivity of Pius VI.*, vol. i., p. 417. French translation. Cardinal Pacca in his *Memoirs* supposes the scene to have occurred at the Carthusians.

† Novaes, xvi., p. 152.

The pope did not wish to go ; but he was told that if he did not go, the duke of Parma, his family, and the whole State, would be exposed to the fury of the republicans. Then he replied : " Let us go, as force so decides. But we must be carried, we cannot take a step."

Pius VI. did not know even the names of the cities where he stopped ; yet everywhere people crowded around his carriage, and he saw that he was still passing through Catholic States. Meanwhile, not a murmur passed the lips of the persecuted pontiff.

Turin would, he hoped, be the term of his journey, but the commandant again ordered him to proceed. Pius VI. said only these words : " God's will be done ! let us go, even with joy, whither they will go and conduct us."

The pope had been dragged to his carriage, and they were about to start, when it was perceived that the commander of the escort was not ready. All awaited him, and regard was shown for his convenience that was refused to the Holy Father.

The terrible Mount Genevre was to be crossed. All the pope's retinue shuddered at the sight of these mountains. He alone retained his calmness, and said to those around him : " We regret that we pass twenty leagues from Mount Saint Bernard. You know that it is the spot where in the tenth century Bernard de Menthon, a Savoyard gentleman, founded a hospice where canons of Saint Augustine entertain travellers gratuitously for three days. These religious, in time of fog and storm, follow the traces of travellers whose cries and lamentations they hear. They carry travellers to their hospice, unnerved as they are by fear and cold. Dogs, accustomed to that beneficent solitude, run about and by their barking encourage the hopes of those who lose their way, and are often almost buried by the snow in these wild parts. These dogs guide to the hospice travellers still able to walk. These venerable religious are continually doing for humanity what the most loving Father does for his children ; and now they would have done for us—and how lovingly !—what sons should do for a father. We would have conversed so pleasantly with them ; we would have paid them the tribute their virtue deserves ; we would have caressed their dogs, and then we would have asked our guards to continue our painful journey to Briançon."

The pope travelled almost impassable roads without any complaint. The Piedmontese officers who escorted him, several times offered the aged pontiff of the Christian world their fur coats to protect him from the cold. He replied with heavenly tranquillity : " We do not suffer. The hand of the Lord preserves us amid all these disasters. Courage, dear sons, beloved friends ! let us put all our trust in God." And yet he who triumphed in Rome, in the *sedia gestatoria*, who had seen kings and emperors at his feet,

displayed no less majesty in these frightful solitudes, than amid dazzling ceremonies in the sumptuous temple of Saint Peter's.

Another spectacle interrupted and mitigated these manifold sufferings. The mountaineers flocked from all sides to ask his blessing, which a half frozen hand never refused.

Briançon was the first city of France to receive the captive. Here he remained fifty days.

The sovereign of the Vatican and Quirinal was reduced to three petty chambers, and had to use the same room as a chapel, dining-room, and place for the sad and lamentable conversation in the evening.

Amid all these multiplied miseries, inflicted by fiends rather than men, by brutal creatures in whom we can no longer recognize the courteous and chivalric sons of France, who outdid all the worst enormities that so constantly stain the pages of English history ; amid all these outrages, Pius VI., like the sheep led to the slaughter, uttered no complaint.

The commissary appointed by the Directory would have confined the pope in the citadel, had he not found it destitute of doors and windows ; but while confining him in a wretched hovel, he prevented all intercourse with the people of the town, who would have alleviated the captive's lot. More patient than his own attendants, the holy pontiff had no consolation except his perfect resignation to the will of God.

Since his last illness at Florence, Pius VI. had been unable to say Mass ; he heard it however regularly, and had the happiness of knowing that good Catholics gathered beneath the windows of the little room we have described, to hear the same Mass.

Yet the Holy Father did not experience sufferings enough to gratify the malice of his persecutors. New and more excruciating evils were still in reserve. His attendants were accused of being in secret intelligence with the enemies of France, and of having transmitted plans of fortresses, as though these attendants were engineers capable of drawing such plans ! Absurdity here outstripped malice itself.

Without further delay, most of these attendants were sent away, and only three or four left near the pontiff, men who were thought unable to conspire. When this order was declared, the prisoner exclaimed : " We are ready to sacrifice ourselves, rather than see torn from us the only persons in whom we can place confidence. We cannot be a moment without these persons, their services are necessary and indispensable to us."

Then, although in a state of indescribable paralysis, he had the courage to rise and show his readiness to go rather than submit to so bitter a separation. But these demonstrations were useless. The faithful Caracciolo, Spina, Marotti, Baldassari, and others of the court, had scarcely been a month at Briançon when orders came to convey them to Grenoble. The

pope wrote himself in a trembling hand ; the municipality drew up a formal and ingenuous petition, that the pontiff and those foolishly accused of an impossible conspiracy, should be left in peace. All despotisms are alike, and those erected in the name of the people are generally the more odious, as brutal hypocrisy too often masks its villainy with the veil of justice and virtue. Pius VI. had to part with attendants who had become beloved friends. He sought strength in prayer, and obtained consolation that alleviated his grief. At this juncture hardened and malicious men audaciously sought to visit the pontiff, hoping to find him overwhelmed and broken down by the accumulated evils ; but these very men only strengthened the idea entertained by all good Catholics, that in the vicar of the Man-God all was supernatural and worthy of the highest admiration.

Twenty-five days elapsed. The tide of war brought the contending armies near the frontiers of France. The Directory resolved once more to remove their prisoner. They ordered him to be transported to Valence, in Dauphiny. The physicians unanimously declared that he could no longer bear any journey whatever. The prelates carried off from Briançon, learning this new order, wrote to the commandant of the place begging him to suspend this new order, till they could send at their own expense a convenient carriage, which might lessen the pain of this new removal ; but the commissary of the executive power, at the central administration, declared that there must be no delay, and he added : "The pope will leave here instantly, dead or alive."

A wretched mail-wagon was found, and in this the unfortunate pontiff was thrown with his confessor, Father Peter of Placentia. The rest of his domestics were placed in a similar wagon.

Thus did Pius VI. leave Briançon on the 27th of June ; they moved towards Grenoble, where he hoped to see his friends once more. The roadside was lined with people, who awaited his coming in respectful silence ; and when he appeared unbounded acclamations rose, braving all the powers of hell, to ask with liveliest faith his holy benediction.

That night he rested at Saint Crispin. Embrun could not obtain the honor of lodging the pontiff, and being blessed by his failing but still unparalyzed hand. They proceeded the same day to Savines, where he put up in a peasant's cot. Madame de Savines, by her most pressing entreaties, could not induce them to let the pope proceed to her chateau. They would only suffer her to send a sofa for their prisoner to rest upon, after the jolting along a wretched road in a cart. Some time after the carriages sent from Grenoble arrived, and the journey might have been begun in them but for the inhuman impatience of the commissary of the Upper Alps, who was cursed by all, by the inhabitants of all classes, and even by their guards and officers. The pontiff alone said that the commissary did his duty.

His entrance into Gap was, notwithstanding the threats of some madmen, a real triumph. The citizens threw themselves in front of the horses, to hail the pope and receive his blessing. Among the inhabitants was the wife of one of the commandants of the escort. The women everywhere showed their reverence for the pope, and even Protestant women joined; but here, this lady, profiting by her husband's authority, twice entered the carriage to kiss the feet of the pope. He remained three days in this city, which seemed for a time restored to Catholicity.

This delay was not caused by any feeling of good-will on the part of the authorities. On the contrary, they spread the report through Dauphiny, that the pope would go no further; but this audacious falsehood was not credited. Almost all Dauphiny left their chateaux and villages to line the road to Grenoble; and when, three days after, the journey began again, the route was lined with pious Catholics. Notwithstanding the heat, and the exceptional hatred of some mayors, the prisoner, ignobly surrounded, like a malefactor, seemed a sovereign who needed but to utter a word to be delivered from his brutal jailers.

On the 2d of July the Holy Father reached Cors, and the next day Lamur; by the 5th he was at Vizille. The lady of the place came from Grenoble, to receive the pope at her chateau. On all sides rose cheers for this pious lady, public congratulations spontaneously offered by the crowd. The farmer of the estate, a Calvinist, at the sight of the pope was, as it were, stupefied, and when people of every age and sex rushed forward to kiss the pontiff's feet, this man, wondering at this religious homage, cried: "What firmness, what ardent courage, light up the countenance of this august old man! what goodness, what virtue!" When the people urged him to go nearer, he said, regretfully: "Ah! I cannot enjoy the honor of paying him my homage."

Even more than Gap, if that were possible, Grenoble distinguished itself in its welcome to the Holy Father, when he entered it on the 6th of July. He was brought in at night, to avoid any great assembly of the people, but the inhabitants met the cortege more than a league from the city: they were ranged in double lines, and fell on their knees as the carriages appeared. There, indeed, his entrance was that of a conqueror, rather than that of a prisoner.

The marechale de Vaux had the honor of receiving him into her house, and she paid a considerable amount to obtain this consolation.

The central administration, instead of seconding these good intentions, ordered the city gates to be closed, to prevent the country people from participating in the common joy; but the people within crowded round to ask his benediction, and this concourse lasted the whole day.

The unfeeling commissary, servilely obedient, thought of closing the win-

dows, and ordered the pope to remain in his armchair ; but this lackey of the vile Directory was told that he assumed a great responsibility : " You are provoking a revolt, and may be the first victim : If you escape, protected by some good Catholic, your own government will displace you, and perhaps punish you cruelly, for your misguided zeal, so fatal in its results. Remember, you risk your own life."

Then, convinced that his own interests were involved, he besought the pope to show himself. Streets, windows, roofs, were filled with the faithful. The applause was so vehement that the pope, after appearing for a moment, imposed silence by a sentiment of prayer and affection, and retired, apparently closing the window.

There was a moment of anxiety and alarm on the route. The guards forbade the people to advance ; some used violence and insult. Then the people attacked and disarmed the guards, who fled to the pope for protection. Pius VI. caused a halt, addressed the people and then the soldiers, and harmony was at once restored.

The stay at Grenoble lasted five days. The chief ladies of the city, disguised as servant girls, made presents to the guards and officers, in order to get entrance into the house. They asked permission to minister to the prelates, if they could not serve the pope himself.

The Holy Father found his prelates at Grenoble. This favor, though he did not know it, was due to the urgent representations of Don Pedro de Labrador, the envoy of the Spanish king, near the unfortunate pontiff, and instructed especially by his court to alleviate all the evils of that inconceivable slavery.

We have described the day of his entrance into Grenoble ; but we cannot depict the transports which ensued, and which ill-disposed officials beheld themselves unable to arrest.

The soldiers, and officers of the guards even, expressed their opinion, unawed by commissary and commandant. They extolled the amenity of the pontiff, and saw that consideration for his age, infirmity, and dignity was required by a higher law, a local impulse, superior to all orders that might have come, or might come, from Paris. In fine, these soldiers, and their officers also, wished privileges, and would not begin their service till they had entered the pope's room to kiss his feet. Some presented crucifixes and medals to be blessed, another ardently solicited indulgence for his mother and sister, not daring yet to ask them for himself ; another wished a special benediction for himself. The pope smiled, replied always in French, and yielded to this violence, which cheered his heart amid his trials.

He also conceded to his prelates the faculties necessary to console and gladden so many pious souls full of faith and fervor.

During his stay at Grenoble an event occurred well calculated to convince the Directory of the superhuman importance of the powers they affected to despise. A religious question, arising in the diocese of Paris, was laid before the pope, who examined it, and at once gave a decision, evincing his ordinary presence of mind and profound ecclesiastical science.

The commissary decided that the pope should depart on the 10th of July. He was besought to stop before the prison, where many ecclesiastics were confined for refusing the oaths, and whose zealous labors to prevent any outbreak of the people had induced the pope to thank them for their noble conduct. The drivers stopped of themselves before the prison, and the triple benediction was given with deep emotion by the captive pontiff to those confessors who were suffering for the faith. As he left Grenoble, crowds of people, Protestants with Catholics, lined the roadside. New marks of affection and devotedness were observed. When the carriage could move more freely, a woman in widow's weeds was seen with her two daughters, who, having come too late to kiss the pope's feet, followed the carriage as fast as the horses went. She naively addressed the pope: "Hear us; we are apostolic Roman Catholics; do not repulse us." Pius VI. noticed the perseverance of these women; he durst not ask his guard to stop; but at the first place where he was to rest, he had the women brought to him. He saw all the three, wiped their reeking foreheads, covered them with praises and blessings for their lively faith.

Further on, as they were informed of the passage of His Holiness, groups of young ladies, dressed in white, offered him flowers. It was necessary at every moment to prevent these devoted maidens from rushing to the carriage to kiss the hand which blessed them.

When they reached the department of la Drôme, all admired the complacency of the gendarmes of the escort. Whenever the people asked it, they permitted the carriage to stop, with the pope's consent; and these soldiers would say to the people: "Look well; there he is, dressed in white on the right." Notwithstanding the sun, the pope had the carriage open. Some of these *imprudent* gendarmes, as the pope called them, made the people take their hats off.

On the confines of the department a whole municipality came forward to meet the pope, and addressed him in terms of respect, as they would have done of old to a king of France. As a cardinal remarked: "The deep roots of religion are not so easily torn up from the hearts and minds of a great kingdom." The nation was withdrawing from its government, which was soon to perish.

At Valence, the Directory, consummating its work of iniquity, had made its preparations. The scum of Paris had been sent. On the 14th of July,

the central administration published a decree declaring the Holy Father a prisoner of state, and detained as such.

In fact, there Pius VI. became a prisoner. The gates of the fortress where he was guarded opened only for the service of the place. Sentinels kept their eyes fixed on the ramparts, for fear of any gathering of the peasantry in the plains. The pontiff was, however, at times, permitted to take the air in the garden, to which he was conveyed in a wheeled chair, for the paralysis began to affect his arms and legs, and he was almost incapable of movement.

One of the great satisfactions of the declining pontiff was to receive Labrador, the minister of Charles IV. The countenance of the captive became radiant when he beheld that young envoy, whose words of veneration breathed the pure old Catholicity of Spain.

Rigorous orders increased; a warlike demonstration was kept around a most pacific octogenarian, when there was not the least fear of invasion. The people of Valence could not refrain from censuring these causeless rigors. Some of them succeeded occasionally in being introduced to the pope, notwithstanding the strict regulations. One of those most frequently introduced was Madame Championnet, mother of the general who had just taken Naples.* She sent articles for the pope's room; among the rest a painting of our Lord, which was hung at the foot of his bed. Those who gained access to the pope went to afflict their friends by informing them that the precious life could not be prolonged, the palsy having extended to his whole attenuated body, and it being almost impossible to give him any nourishment.

One day Marotti and Labrador said to the Holy Father that they admired his courage, and that this epoch of pain and captivity became the fairest moment of an already celebrated pontificate. Pius VI. replied: "This may all be; but what afflicts us is to see the cardinals dispersed and persecuted. How is our poor Rome, so dear to our heart? What has become of our beloved people? What is the future of the Church of God, which we are about to leave so rent and tossed?"

While Pius VI. groaned beneath this fatal captivity, in all the provinces of France, as in Europe at large, men spoke of him and his oppressors. It was said that these, in dragging the pope from exile to exile, from city to city, had no object except to degrade the Catholic worship in the person of its Head; and to degrade him, so to speak, by afflicting him with incalculable hardships, and overwhelming him beneath his fetters. Yet the representative of Jesus Christ never appeared so great on the throne of the Vatican, surrounded by all its splendor.

* This lady, born in humble life, had acquired, by her alms, her generosity, her true spirit of religion, a distinguished place among the ladies of the city.

The captive pontiff could give no political embarrassment in his prison at Valence, for Provence and Dauphiny were not invaded. But the Directory thought probably that another removal would kill the pope, and it ordered him to be transferred to Dijon. Perhaps, too, they hoped something from the effect of a cold climate, which he would be unable to endure? The journey to Dijon was to be at the pope's expense. Labrador, in behalf of his king and of Catholics individually, had, it was known, offered money to a considerable amount. Hence avarice played a part in the new order as well as brutality. There was a formal order not to stop at Lyons, a city known for its attachment to religion.

On learning this cruel measure, Pius VI. could not overcome his grief. He exclaimed to his prelates: "It will be true that this time they will not spare us. We cannot, then, die in peace in our prison! This does not suffice to satisfy the Directory. Let it rage against us, let them load us with fetters, if there is aught to be dreaded from a broken old man who cannot escape them; but at least let them grant him the favor of spending calmly the few hours he has yet to pass in life."

The authorities of Valence made some efforts to endeavor to obtain the pontiff's continuance in their city, but their request was disregarded. One obstacle, however, met the will of the Directory. This was the physical impossibility of removing the pope, whose condition became daily more critical. It was shown that he could scarcely be removed four steps from the fortress.

Before he was torn from his capital, Pius VI. had dictated a will to Father Fantini, his confessor. Removed to Valence, he thought only of reviving his faith, redoubling his acts of noble resignation, and his ordinary practices of piety. Every day was a preparation for the passage to another life. He fervently recited the Litany of the Blessed Virgin, whose picture he devoutly kissed, as he did that of some saints to whom he had a special devotion. Every evening he recited the Rosary with his suite. Although he spent the little time left him, after his occupations, in earnest prayer, he was heard at night reciting psalms, making most judicious application to his own position.

From time to time the commissary spoke of Dijon, and they were about to undertake the journey, or rather the murder, when the paralysis, rising from the legs to the bowels, brought on a crisis which banished all hope.

On the 13th of August he had one of those deceitful rallies which are the last sign of dissolution. The commanding officers, fearing a revolt, besought the pope to show himself to the people, and Pius, more confident in his docility than his strength, was carried in his attendants' arms to the balcony of his room, attired in his pontifical garments; and showing him-

self to the people, he cried, in a sonorous voice: "*Ecce Homo*—Behold the Man," and then affectionately gave his last benediction.

On the 19th of August, at five o'clock in the evening, he was seized with a violent vomiting, and was unable to use the bell at his bedside. His domestics, running in, found him insensible. He gradually recovered his faculties, and the first use he made of them was to call his confessor and to prepare to receive Holy Viaticum.

That day the dying pontiff wished to be aided to rise and be placed in a chair. Then, in presence of all his priests, clad in sacerdotal vestments, he made the profession of Roman Catholic faith, usually pronounced by sovereign pontiffs when they see death draw nigh. He united with Monsignor Caracciolo, who recited the profession, and he confirmed it by placing one hand on his heart and the other on the gospel.

Before receiving our Lord, he begged God to restore the chair of Peter to Rome; and to France, religion, prosperity, and peace.* When Monsignor Spira approached to give him Communion, he asked the pope whether he willingly pardoned his enemies. At this the sublime pontiff raised his eyes to heaven; then he looked upon the crucifix which he held in his hand, and replied: "With all our heart." He had always pardoned them; he had blessed them on entering the French territory; he pardoned them on leaving the world to go to a mansion where his repose would be no longer troubled by past bitterness.

On the morning of the 28th he received Extreme Unction. After thus regulating all the affairs of his soul, he wished to add a codicil to his will, to show to the best of his ability his gratitude to the companions of his slavery and his faithful domestics. The will was confirmed and its execution confided to Monsignor Spina. Then Pius VI. extended a hand to each of them, and grasped their hands successively without uttering a word.

The Holy Father having thus, so far as a poor prisoner could, paid his debt of gratitude to all his good servants, once more made to the Almighty the offering of his life, and showed by the most tender ejaculatory prayers his desire of being reunited to his Creator, repeating at every instant verses of the Psalms best fitted to sustain faith and hope.

On the 27th, at the first rays of dawn, he blessed a great number of beads, crucifixes, and pious pictures, sent to him from all directions.

* VI. cal, sanctissimum viaticum adfertur; quod ut proximum aspexit, altiore quâ potuit voce. Domine Jesu Christe, ecce tibi vicarius tuus, catholicique gregis extorris captivus ac lubenter moriens pro ovibus suis. A te clementissimo parente ac magistratu meo duo hæc ad extremum precor et opto. Unum ut inimicis hostibusque meis singulis et universis veniam amplissimam des; alterum ut Petri cathedram, propriumque solium Romæ, Europæ pacem et Galliæ præsertim, mihi carissimæ semperque de Christiana ecclesia optime meritæ, tuam religionem, restituas in integrum."—*Nodari, Vit. Pii. VI.*

On the 28th, at noon, the symptoms of the disease became more alarming: they were accompanied with spasms and palpitations. He again wished to see the companions of his sufferings and dangers: he called them all around him and embraced them, as well as he could, one after another. All knelt in tears and received his last blessing, which he gave with all his heart. His companions should be here named again. Monsignor Caracciolo, chamber-master, who had accompanied him from Rome; Monsignor Spira, declared by His Holiness, at the Carthusian monastery at Florence, archbishop of Corinth, and consecrated as such in his presence; Marotti, his secretary from the moment that he was torn from his throne; Father Jerome Fantini, Mercedarian, his former confessor; and Father John Peter of Placentia, a Franciscan Recollect, and his chaplain since his departure from Rome: both of these had been secularized by the pope during his painful journey; and finally, the Abate Baldassari, secretary to Monsignor Caracciolo.

He was at his request arrayed in his pontifical habit: he even asked to be laid on the floor, but he soon fell into his agony. The august sufferer received the papal benediction usually given at the article of death.

Pius VI. died at half-past one, during the night of the 28th–29th August, a day dedicated to Saint Augustine, at the age of eighty-one years, eight months, and two days, after a pontificate, the longest since that of Saint Peter, of twenty-four years, six months, and fourteen days.*

Thus died Pius VI. in the faith. He was, it cannot be repeated too often, a man admirable for the virtues of his heart; a generous and magnanimous prince, who deserved a better fate.

“Such,” says Picot,† “was the end of this virtuous pope, destined to so many reverses, successively exposed to the persecutions of misled sovereigns and the fury of frenzied republicans, and in all his misfortunes a model of moderation, courage, and resignation.

“He was the first pope for centuries who had died in exile.”

He had created seventy-two cardinals, the names and chief acts of most of whom we have noticed in the course of this work.

Raised to the throne in times of tempest, Pius displayed throughout the whole course of his administration qualities which never wavered, and displayed the most exalted views in the art of governing, as also a rare meekness, an angelic mildness, and at the same time a fortitude which held firm against the spirit of vertigo which during his reign seemed to seize almost every nation in Europe.

What will strike future ages is this slow and cruel death, supported with

* Adrian I. reigned twenty-three years, ten months, and twenty-seven days.

† *Histoire Ecclésiastique du 18e siècle*, iii., p. 352.

truly Christian constancy; that dolorous agony ushering in so holy a death; that chalice of bitterness drunk constantly in deep draughts; that endless chain of adversities accumulating on each other, from his exaltation to the throne to the last instant of his life. This unparalleled series of evils, misfortunes, calamities, will give eternal renown to Pius VI. in the annals of Christendom.

After the death of Pius, his enemies were forced to confess him *great* on the throne, *greater* when torn from it, *greatest* in the glory he merited in heaven.* Steps were at once taken to embalm his body. It was placed in a leaden case, and his vestments, a purse with silver coins struck during his reign, a scudo. a half-scudo, two papetti, and one grosso were put beside it. The leaden coffin was inclosed in another made of wood, and then transferred to the end of the government chapel. His heart was inclosed by itself in an urn.

The prelates wrote to the Directory for permission to convey the body to Rome, in accordance with the last wishes of Pius. To give no offence, they had confined themselves to placing on the coffin this simple inscription: "*Body of Pius VI., Sovereign Pontiff. Pray for him.*" But the Directory harshly refused the permission necessary for its removal, and this privilege was obtained only at a later date, when Napoleon came into power.

The following epitaph was composed at the time by Father Marotti. It was inclosed in a leaden pipe, and escaped the eyes of the commissary:

HIC SITVS EST
PIVS SEXTVS PONTIFEX MAXIMVS
OLIM IOANNES ANGELVS BRASCHIVS CÆSENNAS
VI DIVTVRNITATE PONTIFICATUS
CÆTEROS OMNES PONTIFICES PRÆTERGRESSVS
ECCLESIAM REXIT ANN. XXIV MENSES VI DIES XIV.
DECESSIT SANCTISSIME VALENTIÆ
DIE XXIX AVGVSTI ANNO MDCCXCIX
IN ARCE IN QVA OBSES GALLORVM CVSTODIEBATVR
DVM ANNOS AGERET LXXXI MENSES VIII DIES II.
VIR ADMIRANDA ANIMI FIRMITATE
IN LABORIBVS MAXIMIS PERFERENDIS
CLARISSIMVS.

* Such was the eulogium published soon after in Paris: PIUS VI. IN SEDE MAGNUS, EX SEDE MAJOR, IN CÆLO MAXIMUS. Novaes, xvi., part 2, p. 186. A happy modification of this was proposed by the abbé de Bologne for his monument:

PIO SEXTO SUMMO PONTIFICI
SEDE MAGNUS VIRTUTE MAIOR MORTE MAXIMUS.

"Here rests Pius VI., Supreme Pontiff, formerly John Angelo Braschi, of Cesena. He surpassed all others in the length of his pontificate, and ruled the Church twenty-four years, six months, and fourteen days. He died most piously at Valence, August 29th, 1799, in a citadel, where he was detained as a hostage by the French. He was eighty-one years, eight months, and two days old. A man illustrious for his admirable firmness of soul, in enduring the greatest toils."

The prelates celebrated the ceremony of the *novendiali*, but on account of the circumstances, *ad uso ac' poveri*, after the manner of the poor.*

Nothing was left to the pontiff of his former splendor but a shabby wardrobe and a few clothes. These he had left to his domestics; but the authorities of Valence declared even these miserable tatters to be national property. Labrador in vain protested against avidity so foreign to French politeness and generosity.

Some time after, General Bonaparte passed through Valence on his way back from Egypt. Spina sought him, and obtained his promise that the things given the servants should be restored.

Having been created Consul on the 9th of November, Bonaparte published a decree, in which he declared that the Directory had sought to crush and trample under foot the aged and venerable pontiff, who, by his misfortunes and the elevated dignity which he held on earth, was entitled to the most luminous testimonials of public consideration. He ordered that new funeral honors should be rendered to the pope on the 28th of November. After these ceremonies the remains of Pius VI. were placed under the chapel in the citadel, where of old were interred the holy martyrs Felix, Fortunatus, and Achilleus, sent to Valence by Saint Irenæus, bishop of Lyons, to preach the gospel there.

On the 30th of December, 1799, the consuls of the republic held the following deliberation in regard to Pius VI. :

PARIS, 9th Nivose, Year Eight of the French Republic,
One and Indivisible.

Whereas, the body of Pius VI. has been deposited in the city of Valence for the last six months without the honors of sepulture being extended to it; and whereas, if this aged man, venerable for his misfortunes, was, for a moment, the enemy of France, it was only when seduced by the counsel of men who surrounded him in his age;† and whereas, it becomes the dignity of the French nation, and is conformable to its sensitive character, to give

* Novaes, xiv., part 2, p. 191.

† Pius VI. was never led. The acts of his pontificate are peculiarly his own.

marks of consideration* to a man who held one of the first ranks on earth :† it is DECREED—

1st. The Minister of the Interior will give orders that the body of Pius VI. be interred with the honors usual to those of his rank.

2d. A simple monument shall be erected over his grave, to show the dignity with which he was invested.

The First Consul,

BONAPARTE.‡

On the 2d of January, 1800, Lucien Bonaparte, Minister of the Interior, proceeded to execute the decree of the consuls. He wrote as follows to the Administration of the Department of la Drôme and the Central Commissary :

CITIZEN ADMINISTRATORS—I forward to you the decree of the Consuls of the Republic, ordering that the body of Pius VI., now deposited in the Commune of Valence, be interred with honor, and that a monument be erected over his grave. The preamble of the decree will sufficiently explain its spirit. The soil of liberty is hospitable, and it is enough that an institution has been, or is, enveloped with the veneration of a great number of men, to render it worthy of respect.

You will, therefore, have the body of Pius VI. transferred with all military honors to the spot destined for his burial. The public authorities will form part of the procession. That day they will discharge a national function ; they will doubtless, in concert with you, blend regard and dignity. You will erect a marble monument over the pontiff's tomb. The monument should be plain, and bear this inscription : AU PAPE PIE VI.

For this purpose I place to your credit thirty thousand francs, from the credit of ten millions allotted to my department for the year eight, by the law of 27 Frimaire (December 18, 1799). You will be pleased to transmit to me the plan of the monument and the device, as well as a statement of the ceremony.

Health and fraternity,

LUCIEN BONAPARTE.§

On the 30th of January the following document was drawn up : “ On the 10th Pluviose, year eight of the French Republic, in conformity to the decrees of the Consuls of 9th Nivose, the letters of the Minister of the Interior set forth in the programme, or order of ceremonies to be observed in the burial-service of Pope Pius VI., who died in the Commune of Valence,

* The body lay in the chapel without any pomp.

† The Concordat of 1801 is in embryo in this pompous phrase.

‡ Register of the Declarations of the Republic.

§ Lucien Bonaparte died, in the States of the pope, a prince of a pope's creation !

12th Fructidor, year eight, and in conformity with the decree of the Central Administration of the Department of La Drôme, the said interment took place, and the order of the funeral was observed as follows :

“ At seven A. M. a salvo of seven pieces of artillery was fired and the general signal given. At nine A. M. the citizens of the National Guard, infantry and cavalry, under the orders of their respective commanders, proceeded under arms to the Citadel Square, to escort the convoy, protect the march of the procession, and concur in the funeral pomp and military honors for the interment of the deceased pontiff of Rome.

“ At ten o'clock precisely the civil and military authorities, in full dress, wearing black crape, met in one of the Department Halls, to proceed thence, escorted by a numerous detachment of the National Guard, and preceded by a band, to the government palace, where the body of the pope lay, to transfer it to the place of burial.

“ The cannon having announced the moment of departure, and the commissaries appointed to direct the ceremonies having placed the members of the different authorities in the positions they were to occupy, the cortege left the government palace to proceed to the spot set apart for the burial of the pope, some kilometres outside of the Commune of Valence, in the following order :

“ A detachment of cavalry, preceded by two trumpets, followed by the pieces of artillery, opened the march. The band and drum corps, playing funeral marches, followed.

“ The body of Pius VI., inclosed in a leaden coffin, and that in an oak case, was carried on an antique car, draped in black, and drawn by eight horses, similarly caparisoned.

“ Then came the four presidents of the administrative and judiciary authorities, placed at each angle of the coffin, which was covered with a pall of gold cloth, with pendants of violet cloth : each held a gold ball attached to the ends of the coffin.

“ After the coffin followed the staff of the corps, composing the garrison of the place, mounted, comprising the members of the extraordinary military commission. After them came two pieces of artillery ; then all the members of the constituted authorities, preceded by a tri-colored flag, trimmed with crape, marching two by two ; after them all the citizens who had assembled at the government palace to attend the said funeral. The National Guard and infantry, appointed as escort to the convoy, were placed on the wings of the cortege, with arms reversed. A detachment of cavalry and gendarmes closed the line.

“ In this order the convoy, crossing the esplanade of the citadel, was saluted by seven cannon, in quick succession, by the artillery of that place, and a volley of musketry by the infantry.

"Cannon were fired every five minutes during the march, and the convoy, passing through La Roderie and Saint Felix streets, Grande Rue, Liberty Square, the Saunière Gate, and the Boulevards, as far as the place called Saint Catharine's, consecrated to the burial of Pius VI., received full military honors from all the posts situated in its line of march.

"On arriving at said place the convoy entered in the same order by the chief gate, before which was placed a sepulchral lamp announcing the entrance to a tomb. Proceeding in, the constituted authorities and citizens in the procession formed a circle around the vault prepared and destined to receive the pontiff of Rome, and at the same instant the infantry, in a square battalion, fired a volley of musketry in that position.

"The commissaries appointed to superintend the obsequies having had the coffin containing the body of Pius VI. at once removed from the car, it was forthwith deposited in the grave; and during the inhumation mournful music befitting the occasion gave it that sombre character which constitutes the pomp of a funeral solemnity.

"The gloomy silence was succeeded by the terrible sound of cannon and a volley of musketry from all the infantry as they defiled by the grave, which added to the effect of the ceremony. Orders having been given to close the sepulchre in which the body of Pius VI. had just been laid, its opening was at once, in the presence of the authorities, closed by workmen ready for the purpose, so that the remains of the pope are sheltered from any attempt, and perfectly safe.

"For this purpose the cortege, escorted by all the troops, returned in the same order to the department where the present official account was drawn up, signed, and attested, the day, year, and month above written, at noon, all the members of the civil and military authorities present at the interment subscribing it."

No religious ceremony could then be performed. Many priests had, indeed, left prison; but in France, with its Most Christian king, what Pius VI. had foreseen, said, and written so often during his pontificate, not a trace of Catholic worship remained.

Here the body of Pius rested for a time in the common cemetery. Notwithstanding the high-sounding words of the decree, the only monument was a small vault of masonry, made by a Protestant, and walled up so as to identify the place of burial. The rise of Napoleon induced greater favor, and when, after the Concordat of July 15, 1801, had been signed, Monsignor Spina again solicited the body, the following replies were given:

PARIS, 2d December, 1801.

Mr. Spina having requested the First Consul, on behalf of the pope,

that the body of Pius VI., interred in the cemetery of Valence, should be given to him to transport it to Rome ; and the First Consul having consented, you will, when Mr. Spina next passes through Valence, deliver to him the remains of the late pontiff, with all suitable decency, without any pomp. I salute you.

“CHAPTAL.”

At the same moment Talleyrand, Minister of Foreign Relations, wrote on the same subject to the same prefect :

“CITIZEN :

“Mr. Spina, archbishop of Corinth, after discharging the commission confided to him, passed through your department on his way to Rome. You will please give him, for his voyage, all desirable facilities for his journey. Mr. Spina, by the manner in which he has discharged his mission, has gained at once the good-will and esteem of the government, and he has obtained a decree from the First Consul that, on his passage to Valence, the body of Pius VI. should be put in his hands to reconvey to Rome. I invite you, then, to dispose things in such sort that all pass on the occasion with decency, *but without any pomp.*”

“CH. MAUR. TALLEYRAND.”

The heart of Pius VI. was not, however, removed from Valence. That city still retains this relic of a pontiff who closed his sufferings there.

The Catholic world was filled with emotion as the tidings of the death of Pius VI. reached it. Funeral obsequies were celebrated in all cities where religion was free. At London, though the government had been separated from the Church for two hundred and seventy years, and no homage had been paid to the popes, Monsignor Erskine celebrated public obsequies in Saint Patrick's Church. The absolution was given by three French bishops and the Bishop of Waterford, in the presence of the Archbishop of Narbonne and eleven other French bishops, refugees in England.

The same ceremonies took place at Saint Petersburg, Warsaw, Vienna, Madrid, Lisbon, and generally in the capitals of the States not subject to the authority of the Directory.

As may be supposed, there are many biographies of Pius VI.

1. The *Mémoires, Historical and Philosophical*,† attributed to the Spanish envoy Azara, is a violent attack on Pius VI. Novaes says : “If this work is really by the one to whom it is generally attributed, it is not astonishing that he so well fulfilled the task he took in hand. Yet it seems strange that he has blackened the character of Pius VI. to that extent, when the pope had in his lifetime accorded him the most sincere confidence. This pope had

* These words in both letters were added by Bonaparte.

† It is also in English.

chosen him to treat an affair to which the Holy See attached the highest importance. The Roman people accused him of disregarding their interests, and forced him to leave Rome, abandoning a residence which he liked, and in which he had spent many years." Artaud shows that there is no ground for attributing the work, as some have done, to a French diplomatist.

2. Another life of Pius VI. was published at Milan by Hyacinth Ferrari. Tavante says (vol. 1, p. 222) that it is written without critical discernment. It is a history of the year copied from the newspapers; the most important events are passed over in silence, because they were not mentioned in the papers of the day.

3. A third life appeared under the title of "Impartial History of the Pontificate of Pius VI., Braschi, now reigning Poschiavo, year sixth of the French Republic, and one of the Cesalpine Republic." This work is a tissue of absurdities, falsehood, and enemies of religion.

4. At Avignon, in 1801, appeared A Civil, Political, and Religious History of Pius VI., composed from authentic documents, by a Roman Catholic. 1801. This is written in a spirit of candor and skill. The style is clear and precise, and the work one highly worthy of interest.

5. One of the most esteemed lives is that published by Francis Beccatini, under the title of "Storia di Pio VI., Pont. Ott. Mass. Venice, Anthony Zatteo, 1801, 4 vols., 12o." This author had already written the lives of several sovereigns of his time. Novaes acknowledges that he drew much from this fine work, which is impartially written. It contains a number of important documents.

6. A Latin life appeared at Padua, in 4o., in 1802, entitled "Vita Pii VI. Pont. Max. auctore Joh. Baptista Ferrari, in Seminaris Patavino Studiorum Prefto." A member of the suppressed Society of Jesus, Ferrari enjoyed a high reputation as a writer. His work met with eulogy from men of taste, and good Catholics could not read it without profit.

7. We cannot forget the life of Pius VI. published at Florence by Doctor John Baptist Tavanti: "Fasti del S. P. Pio VI., con note critiche, documenti autentici, etrami allegorici Italia. 3 vols., 4o, 1804;" a work to which Novaes was under great obligations, and which served him, he says, as a guide and aid. His life is rich in documents, especially in regard to the differences between Pius VI. and Joseph II. on ecclesiastical reforms, and the correspondence with France as to the innovations decreed by its Assemblies. The work is written in a tone of admirable sincerity, and it is to be regretted that the proper names suffered so much in the printing.

8. Baron Henrion, in the eleventh and twelfth volumes of his History of the Church, gives details of great interest as to Pius VI. They are drawn from the best sources, and constantly animated by the true spirit of our religion, both in the facts and the opinions passed upon them.

9. The Abbé Marchaud, a Bachelor in the Sorbonne and parish priest at Saint Hippolyte, in the diocese of Lisieux, published at London in 1801 : "Précis Historique de la Vie et du Pontificat de Pie VI." The object of this worthy ecclesiastic was to meet the prejudiced assertions of the *Mémoires Historiques et Philosophiques*. His replies are always well considered, lively, and elegantly expressed. The work consists of eleven letters addressed to a friend of the author. His motto is the following lines by which the French poet Delittle shows his sentiments of love for Pius VI. :

Pontife révéré, souverain magnanime,
Noble et touchant spectacle et du monderet du ciel,
Il honore á lafois, par sa vertu sublime
Le malheur, la vieillesse et le trône et l'autel.

The following works, relative to Pius VI., may be also mentioned here :

10. Historic Political Eulogy on the Sovereign Pontiff, Pius VI. Rome : 1799. 8o.

11. Historical Eulogy on the Life of Pius VI. Venice : Zatta, 1799. 8o.

12. Brief Sketch of the Life and Acts of Pius VI. Venice : Gatti.

13. Life and Acts of Pius VI. Milan : 1800.

14. Quinquennials for the Health of Pius VI. Composed in lapidary style, by Father Henry San Clementa, a Camaldulensian, and published every fifth year of the pontificate, by Monsignor Fabricius Locatelli.

15. *Viaggio del Peregrino Apostolico*.^{*} Rome : 1799, by one of the personages who followed the pope to Valencia.

16. *Les Mémoires de l'Abbé d'Hesmivy d'Auribeau, &c.* 1794, 1795, 1796, 1800, 1801, 1814.

17. *Les Martyrs de la Foi*. By the Abbé Aimé Guillon. This is a very full account of the last moments of Pius VI., abounding in most interesting details.

18. *Vita Pii VI.* By Anthony Nodari. Padua : 1840. This volume contains also abridged lives of Pius VII., Leo XII., Pius VIII., and Gregory XVI. It is written in exquisite Latin, Nodari having the highest reputation for classical purity.

Various other works have mentioned the virtues and sufferings of Pius VI. Novaes, among others, merits mention for his life of the pope. The last portion of this General History of the Popes, which we owe to that member of the Society of Jesus, is not one of the least important parts of his noble work.

The chief events of the long pontificate of Pius VI. may be thus given :

^{*} This is the title that fills to Pius VI. in the prophecies, so called, attributed to Saint Malachy

1. *His conduct to the Jesuits on succeeding Clement XIV.* This displayed his gentleness and consummate ability, both in 1775 and subsequently, in his relations with Frederic the Great and Catharine.

2. *The Pontine Marshes.* The labors of Pius VI., by the admission of modern engineers, gives this pope the highest claims to glory, if not for complete success, at least for achieving results beyond what any previous century of the Christian era had effected.

3. *His visit to Vienna.* This was by no means fruitless to religion. The brief to the bishop of Brünn taught Pius VI. his own strength, and forced the Austrian ministry to restrain its reforming policy in the circle already marked out, without attacking new points. The bull *Unigenitus* was not pursued with the same violence, and ere long Joseph II. was imploring the assistance of the pope to regain that power in the Netherlands, of which his mad spirit of irreligious interference with the discipline and rights of the Church had forever deprived the house of Austria.

4. *His correspondence with France* will ever be a model of prudence and caution, of patience and compassion, ever seeking to postpone the day of collision, and avoid every thing tending to provoke frenzied men to further acts of madness.

5. *The treaty of Tolentino** displayed his zeal for peace and for the lives of

* We give here the text of the Armistice of Bologna, and the treaty of Tolentino.

I.

ARTICLE PREMIER.

Voulant donner une preuve de la déférence que le gouvernement français a pour le roi d'Espagne, le général en chef et les commissaires du directoire executif accordent une suspension d'armes à sa Sainteté, à compter d'aujourd'hui, 5 messidor, an IV de la république (23 juin 1796) jusqu'à cinq jours après la fin des négociations qui vont être entamées à Paris, pour la conclusion de la paix définitive entre les deux Etats.

ARTICLE II.

Le Pape enverra le plus tôt possible son plenipotentiaire à Paris, pour obtenir du directoire executif la paix définitive, en offrant les réparations nécessaires pour les outrages et les pertes que les Français ont essuyés dans ses Etats, et notamment le meurtre de Basseville et les dédommagemens dus à sa famille.

ARTICLE III.

Tous les individus détenus dans les Etats du Pape à cause de leurs opinions politiques, seront mis sur-le-champ en liberté, et leurs biens restitués.

ARTICLE IV.

Les ports des Etats du Pape seront fermés aux batiments des puissances en guerre avec la république, et ouverts aux batiments Français.

ARTICLE V.

L'armée Française continuera de rester en possession des legations de Bologne et de Ferrare, et elle evacuera Faenza.

ARTICLE VI.

La citadelle d'Ancone sera remise dans six jours entre les mains de l'armée Française, avec son artillerie, son approvisionnement et ses vivres.

his subjects, as well as their spontaneous spirit of self-sacrifice in surrendering private means for the wants of the State.

6. *His conduct during the French occupation* shows that dignity which scorned to believe in treachery, but confided fully in the assertions of Berthier.

ARTICLE VII.

La citadelle d'Ancône continuera de rester sous le gouvernement civil du Pape.

ARTICLE VIII.

Le Pape livrera à la République Française cent tableaux, bustes, vases ou statues, au choix des commissaires qui seront envoyés à Rome, parmi lesquels objets seront notamment compris le buste en bronze de Junius Brutus, et le buste en marbre de Marcus Aurelius, tous les deux placés au capitole, et cinq cents manuscrits au choix des mêmes commissaires.

ARTICLE IX.

Le Pape payera à la République Française vingt-un millions de livres, monnaie de France, dont quinze millions cinq cent mille livres en espèces ou lingots d'or ou d'argent, et les cinq cent mille livres restants en denrées, marchandises, chevaux, bœufs, d'après la désignation qu'en feront les agents de la République Française. Les quinze millions cinq cent mille livres seront payés en trois termes, savoir : cinq millions dans quinze jours, cinq dans un mois, et les cinq millions cinq cent mille livres, en trois mois.

Les cinq millions cinq cent mille livres en denrées, marchandises, chevaux, bœufs, seront au fur et à mesure des demandes qui seront faites, livrés dans les ports de Gênes et de Livourne, et autres endroits occupés par l'armée, qui seront désignés.

La somme de vingt-un millions, portée dans le présent article, est indépendante des contributions qui sont ou seront livrées dans les légations de Bologne, de Ferrare, et de Faenza.

ARTICLE X.

Le Pape sera tenu de donner passage aux troupes de la République Française, toutes les fois qu'il sera demandé ; les vivres qui leur seront fournis, seront payés de gré à gré.

Arrêté à Boulogne, le 5 Messidor, an IV de la République Française (23 juin, 1896).

BONAPARTE, ANTONIO GNUDI,
SALICERI, GARREAU, LE CHEV. AZARA.

II.

TREATY OF TOLENTINO.

Le Général en chef Bonaparte, commandant l'armée d'Italie, et le Citoyen Cacault, agent de la République Française en Italie, plénipotentiaires chargés des pouvoirs du Directoire executif ; Son Eminence le Cardinal Mattei, Monsignor Louis Caleppi, le Duc Braschi, le Marquis Massimo, plénipotentiaires de Sa Sainteté, sont convenus de ce qui suit.

ARTICLE PREMIER

Il y aura paix, amitié et bonne intelligence entre la République Française et le Pape Pie VI.

ARTICLE II.

Le Pape révoque toute adhésion, consentement et accession par écrit ou secrète, par lui donnée contre la République Française, à tout traité d'alliance offensive ou défensive avec quelque puissance ou Etat que ce soit. Il s'engage à ne fournir, tant pour la guerre actuelle, que pour les guerres à venir, à aucune des puissances armées contre la République Française aucun secours en hommes, vaisseaux, armes, munitions de guerre, vivres et argent, à quelque titre, et sous quelque dénomination que ce puisse être.

ARTICLE III.

Sa Sainteté licenciera dans cinq jours, après la ratification du présent traité, les troupes de nouvelle formation, ne gardant que les réglemens existants avant le traité de l'armistice signé à Bologne.

7. His bulls issued at the Carthusian monastery are as eloquent as those from the throne. Pius VI. was a Latinist of superior excellence. These briefs, drawn up by the skilful Marotti, are not addressed, as of old, to Catholic powers only. A Mohammedan prince who honors Rome and her fettered pontiff is addressed in one of them.

ARTICLE IV.

Les vaisseaux de guerre ou corsaires des puissances armées contre la république, ne pourront entrer et encore moins demeurer pendant la présente guerre dans les ports et rades de l'Etat Ecclésiastique.

ARTICLE V.

La République Française continuera à jouir, comme avant la guerre, de tous les droits et prérogatives que la France avait à Rome, et sera en tout traitée comme les puissances les plus considérées, et spécialement à l'égard de son ambassadeur et ministre, et des consuls et vice-consuls.

ARTICLE VI.

Le Pape renonce purement et simplement à tout les droits qu'il pourrait prétendre sur les villes et territoire d'Avignon, le Comtat Venaissin, et ses dépendances, et transporte, cède, et abandonne les dits droits à la République Française.

ARTICLE VII.

Le Pape renonce également à perpétuité, cède et transporte à la République Française tous ses droits sur les territoires connus sous les noms de Légations de Bologne, de Ferrare, et de Romagne ; il ne sera porté aucune atteinte à la religion Catholique dans les susdites Légations.

ARTICLE VIII.

Les villes, citadelles et villages formant le territoire de la ville d'Ancône, resteront à la République Française, jusqu'à la paix continentale.

ARTICLE IX.

Le Pape s'oblige, pour lui et pour ceux qui lui succéderont, à ne transporter à personne le titre de seigneurie attaché au territoire par lui cédé à la République Française.

ARTICLE X.

Sa Sainteté s'engage à faire payer et délivrer à Foligno, avant le 15 du mois de ventose courant (le 5 mars, 1797), la somme de quinze millions de livres tournois de France, dont dix millions en numéraire, et cinq millions en diamants et autres effets précieux, sur celle d'environ seize millions, qui reste dû suivant l'art. 9 de l'armistice signé à Bologne le 5 Messidor, an IV., et ratifié par sa Sainteté le 27 juin, 1796.

ARTICLE XI.

Pour acquitter définitivement ce qui restera à payer pour l'entière exécution de l'armistice signé à Bologne, Sa Sainteté fera fournir à l'armée huit cents chevaux de cavalerie enharnachés, huit cents chevaux de trait, des bœufs et des buffes et autres objets produits du territoire de l'Eglise.

ARTICLE XII.

Indépendamment de la somme énoncée dans les deux articles précédents, le Pape payera à la République Française, en numéraire, diamants ou autres valeurs, la somme de quinze millions de livres tournois de France, dont six millions dans le courant du mois de mars, et cinq millions dans le courant d'avril prochain.

ARTICLE XIII.

L'art. 8 du traité d'armistice signé à Bologne, concernant les manuscrits et objets d'art, aura son exécution entière et la plus prompte possible.

ARTICLE XIV.

L'armée Française évacuera l'Ombrie, Pérogia, Camérino, aussitôt que l'article 10 du présent traité aura été exécuté et accompli.

While the project of sending him to Sardinia was still under consideration, Pius VII. wrote thus to his nephew Cardinal Braschi. This letter, the last probably in which Pius VI. could freely express his ideas in full, is curious from its being dated in the twenty-fifth year of his pontificate.

“ MOST BELOVED NEPHEW :

“ No one any longer doubts the capture of Corfu. We shall now know

ARTICLE XV.

L'armée Française évacuera la province de Macerata, et la réserve d'Ancône, de Fano et de leur territoire, aussitôt que les cinq premiers millions de la somme mentionnée à l'art. 12 du présent traité auront été payés et délivrés.

ARTICLE XVI.

L'armée Française évacuera le territoire de la ville de Fano, et du duché d'Urbino, aussitôt que les cinq seconds millions de la somme mentionnée à l'art. 12 du présent traité, auront été payés et délivrés, et que les art. 3, 10, 11, et 13 du présent traité auront été exécutés ; les cinq derniers millions faisant partie de la somme stipulée dans l'art. 12 seront payés, au plus tard, dans le courant d'avril prochain.

ARTICLE XVII.

La République Française cède au Pape, tous ses droits sur les différentes fondations religieuses Françaises, dans les villes de Rome et Lorette, et le Pape cède en toute propriété à la République Française, tous les biens allodiaux appartenant au Saint Siège dans les trois provinces de Ferrara, Boulogne, et la Romagne, et notamment la terre de la *Mesola* et ses dépendances. Le Pape se réserve cependant, en cas de vente, le tiers des sommes qui en proviendront, lesquelles devront être remises à ses fondés de pouvoirs.

ARTICLE XVIII.

Sa Sainteté fera désavouer par un ministre à Paris, l'assassinat commis sur la personne du secrétaire de la légation, Basseville. Il sera payé par Sa Sainteté et par elle mis à la disposition du gouvernement Français, la somme de trois cent mille livres, pour être répartie entre ceux qui ont souffert de cet attentat.

ARTICLE XIX.

Sa Sainteté fera mettre en liberté les personnes qui peuvent se trouver détenues à cause de leurs opinions politiques.

ARTICLE XX.

Le général-en-chef rendra la liberté de se retirer chez eux, à tous les prisonniers de guerre des troupes de Sa Sainteté, aussitôt après avoir reçu la ratification du présent traité.

ARTICLE XXI.

En attendant qu'il soit conclu un traité de commerce entre la République Française et le Pape, le commerce de la république sera rétabli et maintenu dans les Etats de Sa Sainteté, sur le pied de la nation la plus favorisée.

ARTICLE XXII.

Conformément à l'art. 6 du traité conclu à la Haye le 27 floréal de l'an III. (16 mai, 1795) la paix conclue par le présent traité entre la République Française et sa Sainteté, est déclarée commune à la République Batave.

ARTICLE XXIII.

La poste de France sera rétablie à Rome, de la même manière qu'elle était auparavant.

ARTICLE XXIV.

L'école des arts instituée à Rome pour les Français, y sera rétablie et continuera d'être dirigée comme avant la guerre ; le palais appartenant à la république, où cette école est placée sera rendu sans dégradation.

whether the English will deliver Malta, as they have said. Three days ago, in consequence of an order from the Directory, I was to have been transported to Cagliari; but the French ambassador opposed it, and was unwilling to have me start, saying that as the king of Piedmont was at Cagliari, I ought not to go there.

"The Abate Tosi has come on from Sicily, and directly from Palermo; why, is not known. He has been four days in Florence, but has not presented himself.

"I have heard with pleasure that the noble Pesaro does himself honor by purging your city of Jacobins; but although I have thought the matter over and over, I cannot recollect that his brother ever was ambassador at Rome. The Marquis Manfredini, prime-minister of the Grand Duke, has been to Mantua to prevent the execution of the order of the Directory, which sent us to Sardinia. We shall see whether he succeeds in what he desires, as that appears probable. Thanks be to God, we have, for some days, felt better than before, although we are still troubled by weakness in the knees, for we cannot walk without a support.

"We send you the apostolic benediction with all our heart.

"Given at the Carthusian monastery of San Casciano, near Florence, March 22, 1799, of our pontificate the twenty-fifth.

"PIUS PP. VI."

8. His arrest and deportation from Rome to successive places of captivity, till he died at Valence, just as a new order had come for another brutal removal.

9. His death was in all its circumstances sublime.

Allison, an English historian, thus describes the life of Pius VI., from the first French intrigues at Rome, to the close of his eventful career:

"The Ecclesiastical States were the next object of attack. It had long been an avowed object of ambition with the republican government to revolutionize the Roman people, and plant the tricolor flag in the city of

ARTICLE XXV.

Tous les articles, clauses, et conditions du présent traité sans exception, sont obligatoires à perpétuité, tant pour sa Sainteté le Pape Pie VI. que pour ses successeurs.

ARTICLE XXVI.

Le présent traité sera ratifié dans le plus court délai possible.

Fait et signé au quartier général de Tolentino, par les susdits plénipotentiaires, le 1er ventose an V. de la République Française, une et indivisible (19 février, 1797).

BONAPARTE,
CACAUT,
LE CARDINAL MATTEI,
LOUIS CALEPPI,
LE DUC BRASCHI ONESTI,
LE MARQUIS CAMILLE MASSIMO.

Brutus,* and fortune at length presented them with a favorable opportunity to accomplish the design.

The situation of the pope had become, since the French conquests in Italy, in the highest degree precarious. Cut off, by the Cisalpine republic, from any support from Austria; left, by the treaty of Campo Formio, entirely at the mercy of the French republic; threatened by the heavings of the Democratic spirit within his own dominions, and exposed to all the contagion arising from the complete establishment and close vicinity of republican governments in the north of Italy, he was almost destitute of the means of resisting so many seen and unseen enemies. The pontifical treasury was exhausted by the immense payments stipulated by the treaty

* The resolution of Napoleon and the Directory to revolutionize Rome, and effect the overthrow of the papal government, was adopted long before the treaty of Campo Formio. On the 12th of February, 1797, the Directory wrote to Napoleon, "The possession of Tyrol and Trieste, and the conquest of Rome, will be the glorious fruits of the fall of Mantua." On the 19th of May, 1797, Napoleon wrote to the Directory, "The pope is dangerously ill, and is eighty-three years old. The moment I received this intelligence I assembled all my Poles at Bologna, from whence I shall push them forward to Ancona. What shall I do if the pope dies?" The Directory answered, "The minister of foreign affairs will inform General Bonaparte that they trust to his accustomed prudence to bring about a Democratic revolution in the Roman States with as little convulsion as possible."* The prospect, however, failed at that time, as the pope recovered. Meanwhile, the pillage of the Ecclesiastical States continued without intermission; and, having exhausted the public treasury, and drained the country of all its specie, the French agents laid their rapacious hands upon all the jewels and precious stones they could find. The value of plunder thus got was astonishing. "The pope," says Cacault, the French ambassador at Rome, to Napoleon, "gives us full satisfaction in every thing regarding any errors in accounting, weight, etc., that may occur in the payment of the thirty million francs. The payments in diamonds amount to eleven millions two hundred and seventy-one thousand francs (four hundred and fifty thousand pounds). He has paid four million in francs, of contributions levied since the treaty of Tolentino. But it is with the utmost difficulty that these payments are raised; the country is exhausted; let us not drive it to bankruptcy. My agent, Citizen Haller, wrote to me the other day, 'Do not forget, citizen minister, that the immense and unceasing demands of the army oblige us to play a little the corsair, and that we must not enter into discussions, as it would sometimes turn out that we are in the wrong.' I always supported a mortal war against the pope, as long as the papal government resisted; but now that it is prostrated at our feet, I am become suddenly pacific; I think such a system is both for your interest and that of the Directory."† On the 25th of May, 1797, the same ambassador wrote to Napoleon: "I am occupied in collecting and transporting from hence to Milan all the diamonds and jewels I can collect; I send there also whatever is made the subject of dispute in the payments of the contributions. You will keep in view that the people here are exhausted, and that it is in vain to expect the destitute to pay. I take advantage of these circumstances to prostrate at your feet Rome and the papal government."‡ On the 5th of August, 1797, he again wrote to Napoleon: "Discontent is at its height in the Papal States; the government will fall to pieces of itself, as I have repeatedly predicted to you. But it is not at Rome that the explosion will take place; too many persons are here dependent upon the expenditure of the great. The payment of thirty million, stipulated by the treaty of Tolentino, at the close of so many previous losses, has totally exhausted this old carcass. We are making it expire by a slow fire; it will soon crumble to the dust. The revolutionists, by accelerating matters, would only hasten a dissolution certain and inevitable."§

* Hard., iv., 387, 393.

† Corresp., Conf., iii., 274, 275.

‡ Ib., iii., 246, 249.

§ Ib., iii., 515, 516.

of Tolentino; while the activity and zeal of the revolutionary clubs in all the principal towns of the Ecclesiastical States was daily increasing, with the prospect of success. To enable the government to meet the enormous demands of the French army, the principal Roman families, like the pope, had sold their gold, their silver, their jewels, their horses, their carriages—in a word, all their valuable effects; but the exactions of the republican agents were still unabated. In despair, they had recourse to the fatal expedient of issuing a paper circulation; but that, in a country destitute of credit,* soon fell to an inconsiderable value, and augmented rather than relieved the public distress.

Joseph Bonaparte, brother to Napoleon, had been appointed ambassador at the court of Rome; but as his character was deemed too honorable for political intrigue, Generals Duphot and Sherlock were sent along with him, the former of whom had been so successful in effecting the overthrow of the Genoese aristocracy. The French embassy, under their direction, soon became the centre of the revolutionary action, and those numerous ardent characters with which the Italian cities abound flocked there as to a common focus, from whence the next great explosion of Democratic power was to be expected.† In this extremity, Pius VI., who was above eighty years of age, and sinking into the grave, called to his counsels the Austrian general Provera, already distinguished in the Italian campaigns; but the Directory soon compelled the humiliated pontiff to dismiss that intrepid counsellor.‡ As his recovery then seemed hopeless, the instructions of

* Hard., v., 175, 176. Bot., ii., 443.

† It would appear, however, that the French ambassador was by no means satisfied with the first efforts of the Roman patriots. "They have manifested," said Joseph Bonaparte to Napoleon, "all the disposition to overturn the government, but none of the resolution. If they have thought and felt like Brutus and the great men of antiquity, they *have spoken like women, and acted like children*. The government has caused them all to be arrested."—*Letter of Joseph to Napoleon, 10th of September, 1797—Corresp. Confid.*

‡ "You must forthwith intimate to the court of Rome," said Napoleon to his brother Joseph, ambassador there, "that if General Provera is not immediately sent away from Rome, the Republic will regard it as a declaration of war. I attach the utmost importance to the removal of an Austrian commander from the Roman troops. You will insist not only that he be deprived of the command of the Roman troops, but that, within twenty-four hours, he departs from Rome. Assume a high tone: it is only by evincing the greatest firmness, and making use of the most energetic expressions, that you will succeed in overawing the papal authority. Timid when you show your teeth, they rapidly become overbearing if you treat them with any respect. I know the court of Rome well. That single step, if properly taken, will complete its ruin. At the same time, you will hold out to the papal secretary of state, 'that the French republic, *continuing its feelings of regard for the papal government, is on the point of restoring Ancona*. You are ruining all your affairs; the whole responsibility rests on your head. The French troops will give you no assistance in quelling the revolts with which you are menaced, if you continue your present course. Should the pope die, you must do your utmost *to prevent the nomination of a successor, and bring about a revolution*. Depend upon it, the king of Naples will not stir. Should he do so, you will inform him that the Roman people are under the protec-

government to their ambassador were to delay the proclamation of a republic till his death, when the vacant chair of Saint Peter might be overturned with little difficulty ; but such was the activity of the revolutionary agents, that the train was ready to take fire before that event took place, and the ears of the Romans were assailed by incessant abuse of the ecclesiastical government, and vehement declamations in favor of republican freedom.*

The resolution to overturn the papal government, like all the other ambitious projects of the Directory, received a very great impulse from the reascendency of Jacobin influence at Paris, by the results of the revolution of 18th Fructidor. One of the first measures of the new government was to dispatch an order to Joseph Bonaparte at Rome, to promote, by all the means in his power, the approaching revolution in the Papal States ; and, above all things, to take care that, at the pope's death, no successor should be elected to the chair of Saint Peter.† Napoleon's language to the Roman pontiff became daily more menacing. Immediately before setting out for Rastadt, he ordered his brother Joseph to intimate to the pope that three thousand additional troops had been forwarded to Ancona ; that if Provera was not dismissed within twenty-four hours, war would be declared ; that if any of the revolutionists who had been arrested were executed, reprisals would forthwith be exercised on the cardinals ; and that, if the Cisalpine

tion of the French Republic ; but, at the same time, you must hold out to him secretly that the French government is desirous to renew its negotiations with him. In a word, you must be as haughty in public as you are pliant in private, the object of the first being to deter him from entering Rome ; of the last, to make him believe that it is for his interest not to do so. Should no revolutionary movement break out at Rome, so that there is no pretence for preventing the nomination of a pope, at least take care that the Cardinal Albani is not put in nomination. Declare that the moment that is done I will march upon Rome."*—*Secret Dispatch, Napoleon to Joseph Napoleon, dated Passeriano, Sept. 29th, 1797.* These instructions, it is to be recollected, were sent to the French ambassador at Rome, when France was still and completely at peace with the Holy See, and it had honorably discharged the burdensome conditions of the Treaty of Tolentino.

* Bot., ii., 443, 445. Lac., xiv., 145, 147. Jom., x., 332.

† Talleyrand, on the 10th of October, wrote to Joseph Bonaparte at Rome : " You have two things, citizen general, to do : 1. To prevent, by all possible means, the king of Naples from entering the papal territory. 2. To increase, rather than restrain, the good dispositions of those who think that it is high time the reign of the popes should finish ; in a word, to encourage the *elan* of the Roman people towards liberty. At all events, take care that we get hold of Ancona and a large portion of the coast of Italy."† Eleven days afterwards, Lareveillere Lepaux, president of the Directory, wrote to Napoleon : " In regard to Rome, the Directory cordially approve of the instructions you have given to your brother to prevent a successor being appointed to Pius VI. We must lay hold of the present favorable circumstances to deliver Europe from the pretended papal supremacy. Tuscany will next attract your attention. You will, therefore, if hostilities are resumed, give the grand duke his *congé*, and facilitate by every means the establishment of a free and representative government in Tuscany."—*Letter of the Directory to Napoleon, 21st Oct., 1797—Corresp. Confid., iv., 241.*

* Corresp. Confid., iv., 199, 201.

† Ib., October 10th, 1797.

Republic was not instantly recognized, it would be the signal for immediate hostilities.* At the same time, ten thousand troops of the Cisalpine Republic advanced to Saint Leon, in the papal duchy of Urbino, and made themselves masters of that fortress; while at Ancona, which was still garrisoned by French troops, notwithstanding its stipulated restoration by the treaty of Tolentino to the Holy See, the democratic party openly proclaimed "the Anconite Republic." Similar revolutionary movements took place at Cornetò, Cività Vecchia, Pesaro, and Sinigaglia; while at Rome itself, Joseph Bonaparte, by compelling the papal government to liberate all persons confined for political offences, suddenly vomited forth upon the capital several hundreds of the most heated republicans in Italy. After this great addition, measures were no longer kept with the government. Seditious meetings were constantly held in every part of the city; immense collections of tricolor cockades were made to distinguish the insurgents, and deputations of the citizens openly waited upon the French ambassador to invite him to support the insurrection, to which he replied, in ambiguous terms, "The fate of nations, as of individuals, being buried in the womb of futurity, it is not given to me to penetrate its mysteries."†

In this temper of men's minds, a spark was sufficient to occasion an explosion. On the 27th of December, 1798, an immense crowd assembled, with seditious cries, and moved to the palace of the French ambassador, where they exclaimed, "Vive la Republique Romaine!" and loudly invoked the aid of the French to enable them to plant the tricolor flag on the capitol. The insurgents displayed the tricolor cockade, and evinced the most menacing disposition. The danger was extreme: from similar beginnings the overthrow of the governments of Venice and Genoa had rapidly followed. The papal ministers sent a regiment of dragoons to prevent any sortie of the revolutionists from the palace of the French ambassador; and they repeatedly warned the insurgents that their orders were to allow no one to leave its precincts. Duphot, however, indignant at being restrained by the pontifical troops, drew his sword, rushed down the staircase, and put

* "I cannot tell you, citizen ambassador," said Napoleon, "what indignation I felt when I heard that Provera was still in the service of the pope. Let him know instantly, that, though the French republic is at peace with the Holy See, it will not for an instant suffer any officer or agent of the imperialists to hold any situation under the papal government. You will therefore insist on the dismissal of M. Provera within twenty-four hours, on pain of instantly demanding your passports. You will let him know that I have moved three thousand additional soldiers to Ancona, not one of whom will recede till Provera is dismissed. Let him know further, that if one of the prisoners for political offences is executed, Cardinal Busca and the other cardinals shall answer for it with their heads. Finally, make him aware that, the moment you quit the papal territory, Ancona will be incorporated with the Cisalpine Republic. You will easily understand that the last phrase must be *spoken not written*."—*Confidential Letter, Napoleon to Joseph Bonaparte, 14th November, 1797.*

† Hard., v., 196, 206.

himself at the head of one hundred and fifty armed Roman democrats, who were now contending with the dragoons in the courtyard of the palace. He was immediately killed by a discharge ordered by the sergeant commanding the patrol of the papal troops; and the ambassador himself, who had followed to appease the tumult, narrowly escaped the same fate. A violent scuffle ensued; several persons were killed and wounded on both sides; and, after remaining several hours in the greatest alarm, Joseph Bonaparte, with his suite, retired to Florence.*

This catastrophe, however obviously occasioned by the revolutionary schemes which were in agitation at the residence of the French ambassador, having taken place within the precincts of his palace, was, unhappily, a violation of the law of nations, and gave the Directory too fair a ground to demand satisfaction. But they instantly resolved to make it the pretext for the immediate occupation of Rome and overthrow of the papal government. The march of troops out of Italy was countermanded, and Berthier, the commander-in-chief, received orders to advance rapidly into the Ecclesiastical States. Meanwhile, the democratic spirit burst forth more violently than ever at Ancona and the neighboring towns, and the papal authority was soon lost in all the provinces on the eastern slope of the Apennines. To these accumulated disasters the pontiff could only oppose the fasts and prayers of an aged conclave—weapons of spiritual warfare little calculated to arrest the conquerors of Arcola and Lodi.†

Berthier, without an instant's delay, carried into execution the orders of the Directory. Six thousand Poles were stationed at Rimini to cover the Cisalpine Republic; a reserve was established at Tolentino, while the commander-in-chief, at the head of eighteen thousand veteran troops, entered Ancona. Having completed the work of revolution in that turbulent district, and secured the fortress, he crossed the Apennines; and, advancing by Foligno and Narni, appeared on the 10th of February before the Eternal City. The pope, in the utmost consternation, shut himself up in the Vatican, and spent night and day at the foot of the altar in imploring the divine protection.‡

* Joseph Bonaparte's Report. Hard., v., 207, 209, 215. Bot., ii., 445, 447. Lac., xiv., 146, 147. Jom., x., 333, 334.

† Bot., ii., 450. Jom., x., 334.

‡ Bot. ii., 452. Jom., x., 336. Hard., v., 230, 241.

The Directory, in their orders to Berthier, prescribed to him a course as perfidious as it was hostile. Their words were as follows: "The intention of the Directory is, that you march as *secretly and rapidly* as possible on Rome with eighteen thousand men. Its celerity is of the utmost importance; that alone can insure success. The king of Naples will probably send an envoy to your headquarters, to whom you will declare that the French government *is actuated by no ambitious designs*; and that, if it was generous enough to restrain its indignation at Tolentino, when it had much more serious causes of complaint against the Holy See, it is still more probable that it will do the same now. While holding out these assurances, you will, at

Rome, almost defenceless, would have offered no obstacle to the entrance of the French troops; but it was part of the policy of the Directory to make it appear that their aid was invoked by the spontaneous efforts of the inhabitants. Contenting himself, therefore, with occupying the castle of Saint Angelo, from which the feeble guards of the pope were soon expelled, Berthier kept his troops for five days encamped without the walls. At length, the revolutionists having completed their preparations, a noisy crowd assembled in the Campo Vaccino, the ancient Forum: the old foundations of the capitol were made again to resound with the cries, if not the spirit of freedom, and the venerable ensigns, S.P.Q.R., after the lapse of fourteen hundred years, again floated in the winds.* The multitude tumultuously demanded the overthrow of the papal authority; the French troops were invited to enter; the conquerors of Italy, with a haughty air, passed the gate of Aurelian, defiled through the Piazza del Popolo, gazed on the indestructible monuments of Roman grandeur, and, amid the shouts of the inhabitants, the tricolor flag was displayed from the summit of the capitol.

But while part of the Roman populace were surrendering themselves to a pardonable intoxication upon the fancied recovery of their liberties, the agents of the Directory were preparing for them the sad realities of slavery. The pope, who had been guarded by five hundred soldiers ever since the entry of the republicans, was directed to retire into Tuscany; his Swiss guard relieved by a French one, and he himself ordered to dispossess himself of all his temporal authority. He replied with the firmness of a martyr: "I am prepared for every species of disgrace. As supreme pontiff,

the same time, advance as rapidly as possible towards Rome: the great object is to keep your design secret, till you are so near that city that the king of Naples cannot prevent it. When within two days' march of Rome, menace the pope and all the members of the government, in order to terrify them, and make them take to flight. Arrived in Rome, *employ your whole influence to establish a Roman republic.*"—Hard., v., 221.

Berthier, however, was too much a man of honor to enter cordially into the revolutionary projects of the Directory. On the 1st of January, 1798, he wrote to Napoleon: "I always told you the command in Italy was not suited to me. I wish to *extricate myself from revolutions*. Four years' service in them in America, ten in France, is enough, general. I shall ever be ready to combat as a soldier for my country, but have no desire to be mixed up with revolutionary politics."* It would appear that the Roman people generally had no greater desire than he had to be involved in a revolution; for, on the morning of his arrival at that city, he wrote to Napoleon: "I have been in Rome since this morning, but I have found nothing but the utmost consternation among the inhabitants. *One solitary patriot* has appeared at headquarters; *he offered to put at my disposition two thousand galley-slaves*. You may believe how I received that proposition. My further presence here is useless. I beseech you to recall me; it is the greatest boon you can possibly confer upon me."—*Berthier to Napoleon, 10th of February, 1798—Corresp. Confid.*, iv., 510.

* Bot., ii., 458, 459. Jom., x., 336. Lac. xiv., 150.

* Corresp. Conf., iv., 482.

I am resolved to die in the exercise of all my powers. You may employ force—you have the power to do so ; but know that, though you may be masters of my body, you are not so of my soul. Free in the region where it is placed, it fears neither the events nor the sufferings of this life. I stand on the threshold of another world ; there I shall be sheltered alike from the violence and impiety of this.” Force was soon employed to dispossess him of his authority ; he was dragged from the altar in his palace, his repositories all ransacked and plundered, the rings even torn from his fingers, the whole effects in the Vatican and Quirinal inventoried and seized, and the aged pontiff conducted, with only a few domestics, amid the brutal jests and sacrilegious songs of the French dragoons, into Tuscany, where the generous hospitality of the grand duke strove to soften the hardships of his exile. But, though a captive in the hands of his enemies, the venerable old man still retained the supreme authority in the Church. From his retreat in the convent of the Carthusians, he yet guided the counsels of the faithful ; multitudes fell on their knees wherever he passed, and sought that benediction from a captive, which they would, perhaps, have disregarded from a triumphant, pontiff.*

The subsequent treatment of this venerable man was as disgraceful to the republican government as it was honorable to his piety and constancy as the head of the Church. Fearful that from his virtues and sufferings he might have too much influence on the continent of Italy, he was removed by their orders to Leghorn, in March, 1799, with the design of transferring him to Cagliari in Sardinia ; and the English cruisers in the Mediterranean redoubled their vigilance, in the generous hope of rescuing the Father of an opposite Church from the persecution of his enemies. Apprehensive of losing their prisoner, the French altered his destination, and forcing him to traverse, often during the night, the Apennines and the Alps in a rigorous season, he at length reached Valence, where, after an illness of ten days, he expired, in the eighty-second year of his age, and the twenty-fourth of his pontificate. The cruelty of the Directory increased as he approached their dominions ; all his old attendants were compelled to leave him, and the Father of the Faithful was allowed to expire, attended only by his confessor. Yet even in this disconsolate state he derived the highest satisfaction from the devotion and reverence of the people in the provinces of France through which he passed. Multitudes from Gap, Vizelle, and Grenoble flocked to the road to receive his benediction ; and he frequently repeated, with tears in his eyes,† the words of Scripture, “ Verily, I say unto you, I have not seen such faith, no, not in Israel.”

* Bot., ii., 463. Lac., xiv., 152, 153. Hard., v., 243, 244. Pacca, i., 172, 174.

† Hard., v., 248, 253. Lac., xiv., 157, 159. Bot., ii., 464. Pacca, i., 180, 194.

Father Stephen Anthony Moricelli, of the Society of Jesus, was solicited by Pius VII. to compose an inscription to be placed under the portrait of the Pontiff John Angelo Braschi. The learned Jesuit had the highest reputation in the lapidary style, a rare science, requiring the eloquence of Cicero, and the conciseness of Tacitus. The following is that which he submitted to the learned pope, himself no mean adept in the science :

PIUS VI PONT. MAX.

FAMÆ IMMORTALITATEM VIRTUTE MERITUS QUI BONI PRINCIPIS LAUDEM CUM PARENTIS PUBLICI GLORIA CONJUNXIT. NATUS POPULIS IMPERIO REGUNDIS ECCLESIAM IDEM CONSILIO ADMINISTRANDÆ DIVINITUS DATUS. EO AUCTORE BONÆ ARTES PER ROMANOS FINES REVIXERE. LIBERIS PLEBEIORUM ALENDIS INSTITUENDISQUE DOMUS APERTÆ INGENTES. AGRORUM TRACTUS CULTURÆ REDDITI. OTIOSORUM IGNAVIA AD OPUS MERCEDE EXCITATA. NEQUITIA PŒNA COERCITA. CIVITATES COMMERCIIS LOCUPLETATÆ. VLÆ MUNITÆ. PORTUS RESTITUTI. FLUMINUM VIS MOLIBUS OPPOSITIS DOMITA. VICI CONVENARUM FREQUENTIA AUCTI. OPIFICES PRÆMIO INVITATI. OPPIDA DIGNITATE NOBILITATA. URBS OMNI ORNAMENTORUM GENERE EXCULTA. EODEM MODERATORE ECCLESIA UNIVERSA GAVISA EST OPEM SEMPER CONSILIUMQUE EXPERTA QUOD QUÆEBAT. UNUS ILLE IMPENDENTES CALAMITATES MULTO ANTE PROVIDIT. UNUS INGRUENTIA PERICULA DEMONSTRAVIT. MAGNO IN ADVERSIS ANIMO VIM INVICTUS PERTULIT ET REGNO SPOLIATUS AUCTORITATEM NON AMISIT. UBIQUE PONTIFICATU FUNCTUS MAXIMO ET ORBI CHRISTIANO VENERABILIS. MORTE IPSA EXEMPLO FUIT HUNC ESSE PARENTIS SUMMI BEATISSIMUM EXITUM SI VITAM PRO RELIGIONE PROFUNDAT.

The reign of Pius VI.,* notwithstanding its length and the variety and

* The following are the medals of Pius VI. :

1. PIVS SEXTUS PONT. M. *Reverse*, VT VOTA PVBLICA IMPLERET NOVI SACRARI VATICANI FVNDAMENTA JECIT DIE XXII SEPTEMBRIS MDCCLXXVI.

2. PVERIS FVLGINATVM ALENDIS ET COERCENDIS.

3. AGRO POMPTINO COLONIS REST. A woman reclining, extending the left hand ; a cornucopia in the right. Around her, ears of wheat and agricultural implements.

4. CLERO GALLIA PVLSO HOSPIT. ET ALIMENT. PRÆDITA. Pius VI., on his throne, welcomes several of the French clergy. A very fine medal.

5. DIVIS AUSPICIIS. In the exergue : ANNO IVBILEI, 1775. Saint Peter, Saint Andrew, and Saint Pius V., the protectors chosen by the pope.

6. Same inscription. In the exergue : MDCCLXXV. The pontiff, assisted by the sacred college and clergy, in pontifical habits, opens the Holy Door.

7. ET CLAUSIT. The pontiff, with the usual ceremonies, closes the door.

8. TVETVR ET ORNAT. The barracks at Cività Vecchia restored.

9. OPPIDANIS SERVATIS. In the exergue : OP. S. LAVR. IN SAL. LOCVM TRANSLAT. 1777. The main street of the village of San Lorenzo il Nuovo runs through a healthy tract above the old one, where fever prevailed almost the whole year. The cottages were distributed gratuitously to the peasants, by order of Pius VI. This is an indication of what Pius would have done had

importance of the events which render it so famous, is not among the richest in medals. An official list, entitled, "Serie dei conî di medaglie pontificie, da Martino V. fino a tutto il pontificato dalla Santa Memoria di Pio VII." (Rome, 1824, Poggioli, Stampatore Camerale), includes all struck

his drainage of the Pontine marshes been successful. San Lorenzo is on the Tuscan frontier, near Aquapendente.

10. PORTORIIS SYBLATIS. Liberty breaking the fetters of vassals. Pius, during his reign, suppressed many duties.

11. PVELLARVM PIARVM PARTHENON. View of the conservatory Pio, near Saint Peter's, in Montorio.

12. PIVS VI P. M. ARCEM IN FORO GALLORVM AB VRBANO VIII EXTRVCTAM AD ECCLESIAST IMPERII PROPVGNAVLVM UNIVERSAM INSTAVRAVIT A. A. VIRGINIS PARTV CIO IO CCLXXVIII. Struck to commemorate the works at Fort Urban.

13. OFFICINÆ PISTORIÆ CENTVMCELLARVM. Pius VI. erected public ovens at Cività Vecchia.

14. FACTVS EST PRINCIPATVS SUPER HVMERVM EIVS. Our Lord ascending Calvary bearing the cross.

15. SACRA SOLEM FESTO DIE S. PII V. AVGVSTÆ VINDELIC. ACTA. In the exergue: PIVS VI PRÆSENTIA SVA AVXIT MDCCLXXXII. Saint Pius V. at the altar, in the act of blessing. The ceremony took place at Augsburg, when Pius VI. passed.

16. OBELISCVM RVINIS MAVSOLEI AVGVSTALIS A TOT SÆCVLIS OBRVTVM EFFODI, INSTAVRARI, ORNARI ET EQVIS AD LAXANDVM FRONTIS SPATIVM IN OBLIQVVM VERSIS ERIGI IVSSIT, ANNO MDCCLXXXIII, PONT. IX. A medal struck to commemorate, 1. The labors undertaken to extricate the obelisk of the mausoleum of Augustus; 2. To raise it before the Quirinal palace, between the two colossal figures and the two antique horses. This work was performed under the superintendence of the architect Antinori.

17. SACRARIVM BASIL. VATICANÆ FVNDAMENTIS EXSTRVCTVM AN. MDCCLXXXIII. View of the new Vatican sacristy.

18. LAVRENTIVS A BRVNDVSIO, IOANNA BONOMIO. In the exergue: BEATORVM NVMERO AD-DITI. The two beatified are seen in the clouds. Lawrence of Brundisium, General of the Capuchins, died at Lisbon, July 27, 1619. Clement XIV. approved his virtues in the heroic degree. Jane Mary Bonomo, a Benedictine nun, abbess of the monastery of Saint Jerome, at Bassano, died March 1, 1670.

19. PVERIS ET PVELL. ALIMENTATIS TIFERNAT. TIBERINOR.

20. MORIB. CASTIGAND IVVANDIS ARTIBVS TREIENCES. Façade of the academy and prison of Treja.

21. GYNÆCEVM PVPILLARVM FABRIANI EXCITATVM. Façade of the conservatory of Fabriano.

22. TV DOMINVS ET MAGISTER. In the exergue: EXEMPLVM DEDI VOBIS. Our Lord washes Saint Peter's feet. The medal usually distributed on Maundy Thursday.

23. VIA ALBAN. VELIT. A. P. AD. POMPT. REST. AN. MDCCLXXXIII.

24. TEMPLI SVBLAC. CONSECRATIO. Façade of the church of Subiaco.

25. ANNONÆ P. R. LIBERTATE RESTITVTA. In the exergue: MDCCXC. Annona, a female figure, pouring grain and ears of grain from a cornucopia. In the left hand she holds a rudder, with the letters G. H. Near her is a wagon. This medal was struck when the pontiff abolished the duties on grain, which were displeasing to the people.

26. AGRO POMPTIN. REST. The Pontine territory, under the form of a woman, crowned with ears of grain, shows the drained lands; vases at her feet indicate the new canals. In her right hand she holds a cornucopia, and in the left ears of grain. On a plough are the letters G. Ham. (Giovanni Hamerani.)

27. ANIENE NAVICLARIIS PATERE IVSSO. The Anienus, seated, crowned with flags, holding an urn from which water pours forth. Further on, the temple of the Sibyl, at Tivoli, can be seen.

28. PORTV INSTAVRATO VRBE MVNITO CENTVMCELLÆ.

29. VELINO IN NAR. TERT. EMISSO. The Velino and Nera unite their waters.

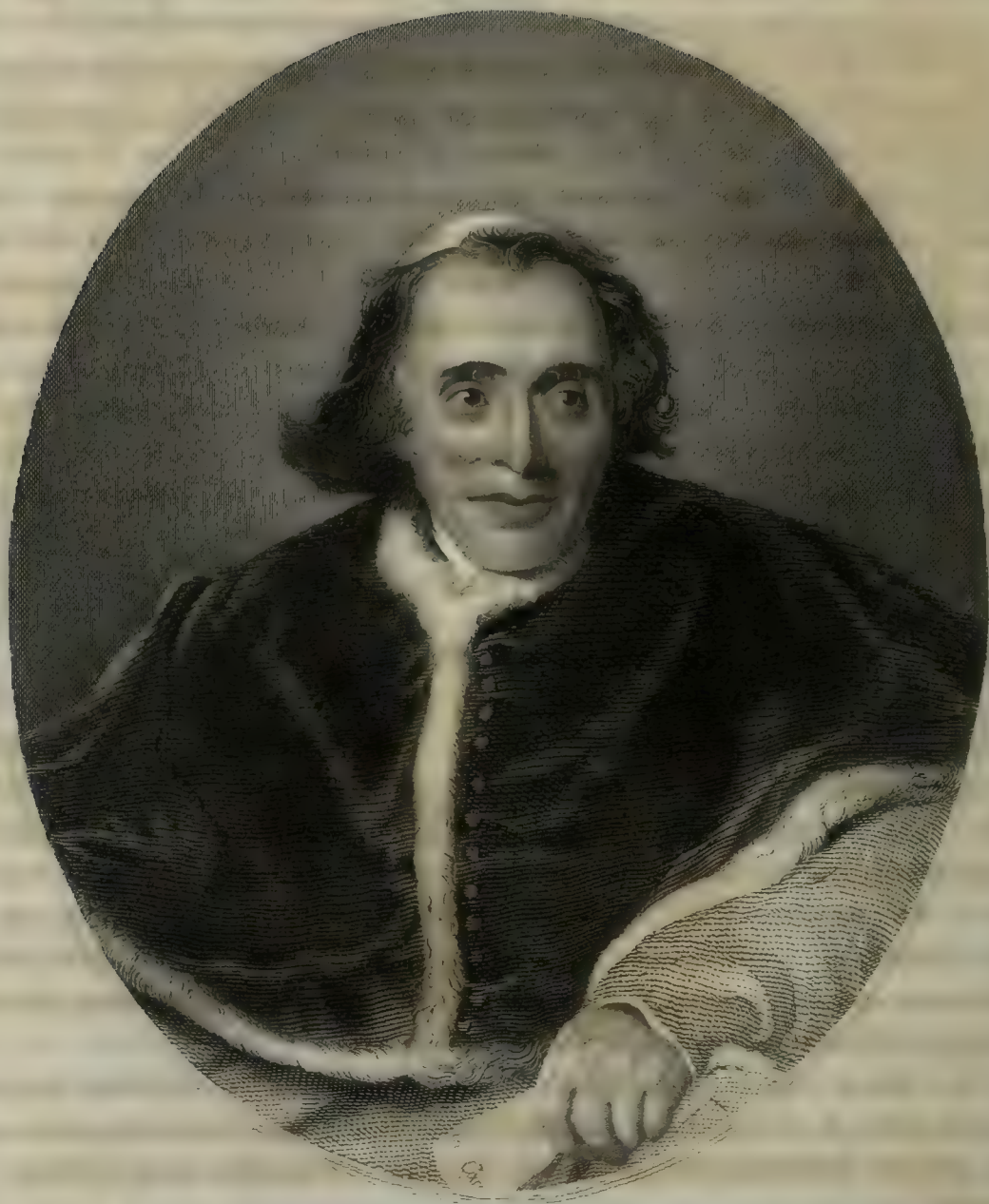
at Rome, to the number of twenty-nine ; and two others are to be added, struck in Germany.

The Holy See was vacant, on the death of Pius VI., six months and sixteen days.

30. Effigy of Pope. PIUS VI., PONTIFEX MAXIMUS. *Reverse*, IOSEPHI II AVG. VINDOB. HOSPES. A DIE IX CAL. AP. AD X CAL. MAII MDCCLXXXII. Struck at Vienna in 1782.

31. PAPA PIVS SEXTVS FAMA SVPER ÆTHERA NOTVS. *Reverse*, PEREGRINVS APOSTOLICVS VINDOBONÆ MENS MARTIO, 1782. Struck at Nuremberg. The title, Peregrinus Apostolicus, shows that the so-called prophecies of Saint Malachy were not forgotten.





255. PIUS VII.—A. D. 1800.



THE life of a sovereign generally dates from his accession to the throne. It is by reigns that the world's history is written. The man is nothing to mankind, the king every thing to the nation. What he was before the commencement of his royal career is scarcely recorded or faintly remembered ; for it is not taught to children. To have a place for anterior honors in his country's annals, he must die before reaching that throne which will eclipse them all. A Black Prince, or a Princess Charlotte, had the best friend to their early fame in death. A royal crown will cover over and hide an immense quantity of laurels.

"Scire piget, post tale decus, quid fecerit ante,"

is as true of a coronation as of Scævola's exploit.

"Hence, in general, there is very little curiosity about the antecedents of the successor to the pontifical throne, although they may be very important for estimating subsequent character. This is certainly the case with Pius VII. That he was a man so meek and gentle, so incapable of rancor or resentment, that Cardinal Pacca scruples not to apply to him the inspired words descriptive of Moses, 'that he was the mildest of men,' no one has ever questioned. This particular quality may be called the very grace of his nature, so distinctly was it stamped on his outward appearance, so penetratingly diffused through the actions of his life.

"No one, moreover, will refuse to him that strength which is the companion often of the gentlest disposition, a power of unrepining endurance, the patient fortitude which suffers without complaint and without sullenness.

"But qualities of a much higher order belong to him, and yet have been often overlooked. Nor has the course of his earlier life been sufficiently brought forward, to explain or illustrate the peculiar character which he afterwards displayed.

"The basis of this must be considered as deeply laid in the very first inspirations of childhood. If nature gave to Barnabas Chiaramonti a mild and sweet disposition, a higher influence bestowed upon him a better gift. Religion invested him with the beauty of an unsullied life, with a character

of irreproachable virtue throughout his length of days. Few families in Europe are more illustrious than his; but while from his father, Count Scipio Chiaramonti, he derived high nobility, from his mother, daughter of Marchese Jane Ghini, he received a more valuable portion, that of a rare piety and virtue. She was, indeed, a lady of singular excellence, renowned in the world for every religious quality. After having completed the education of her children, when the future pontiff had reached the age of twenty-one, in 1763, she entered a convent of Carmelites at Fano, where her memory is still cherished, and where she died in 1771, at the age of sixty. It was in this retreat that, as Pius himself used to relate, she distinctly foretold him his elevation one day to the papacy, and the protracted course of suffering which it would entail.*

"These earliest impressions of domestic examples and maternal teaching formed, as has been said, the very groundwork of Pius's character. Born at Cesena, in the legation of Forli, August, 14, 1742, Barnabas Louis, at the age of sixteen, after a preliminary education in the college for nobles at Ravenna, retired, upon mature deliberation, to the Benedictine Abbey of Santa Maria del Monte, near Cesena, his native city, on the 20th August, 1758. There could be no worldly motive for this step. He had nothing to fly from in his home. His birth and patrimony secured him earthly comfort. If he inclined merely to the ecclesiastical life, all its advantages were open to him as a secular priest, without separation from his family, in which he was well beloved. And certainly, if honorable promotion had been, even slightly, an object of his ambition, he was cutting off every chance which his connections, or his efforts, might have secured him in the secular state.

"A twofold discipline, preparatory to his future life, such as Providence had designed it, awaited him in the cloister.

"The first was the discipline of the monastic novitiate, the sinking of all rank and title, the renouncing of all fortune, luxury, money; the voluntary descent to a level of rude equality with the peasant's or artisan's son; the surrender of comforts in every change;—passing from the paintings and tapestries of the ancestral palace to the bare corridors of the monastery; from the chatty society of the table to the silent feeding of the body in the

* The archdeacon Hyacinth Ignatius Chiaramonti, brother of Pius, published, in 1786, and dedicated to him, then cardinal, a Latin poem, "*De majorum suorum laudibus*," in which he thus addressed their mother:

"O semper memoranda parens! O carmine nostro
Non unquam laudata satis! me despice clemens,
Exutumque tibi mortali corpore junte;
Sit, precor, hæc merces, nostrorum hæc meta laborum."

I remember it used to be said at Rome, and I have read the same assurance since, that only the resolute opposition of the son, when elevated to the supreme pontificate, prevented the more solemn recognition, by beatification, of the extraordinary sanctity of the mother.—*Wiseman*.

refectory ; from the neat chamber, with its elastic bed and damask curtains, to the whitewashed cell, with its straw pallet and plank shutters ; the menial occupations of a household, being one's own servant, and doing every thing for one's self ; and finally, the utter subjection of time, actions, will, to the guidance of rule and of obedience with ready cheerfulness. For if one sees the youthful aspirants to the religious institutes, here or abroad, in recreation or at study, he may easily decide who will persevere, by a very simple rule. The joyous faces and the sparkling eyes denote the future monks far more surely than the demure looks and stolen glances.

"In the days of Pius's distress, all his previous discipline came admirably to his aid. He had commenced it at sixteen, had dropped his high-sounding names of Barnabas Chiaramonti for simple Dom Gregory (first, indeed, only Brother) ; made but one of a party, clothed alike, and without distinction, beyond that of the assumed monastic name. He walked the streets, and was jostled in crowds, and probably could not have paid for a cool refreshment. It was in this way that he hastened to the square of Saint Peter's, to witness the coronation of Clement XIV. This imposing ceremony is performed in the *loggia*, whence the pope gives his benediction, looking into the superb esplanade densely thronged. Eager to get a look at the spectacle, and clear himself of the throng that elbowed him, he leaped up behind an empty carriage. The coachman turned round, but instead of resenting this intrusion on his dominions, said good-naturedly to him : 'My dear little monk, why are you so anxious to see a function which one day will fall to your lot?'

"D. Gregory Chiaramonti began young, and therefore was able to pass with deliberate leisure through the long and full monastic course of philosophical and theological studies. That he did this with at least fair success, is evident from the fact of his having publicly sustained a thesis in theology—an experiment not usually accorded to persons of inferior skill. The propositions or programme of his public contest were engraved, as the custom used to be, at the foot of a large allegorical print ; and the thesis was dedicated to Cardinal Ganganelli. Thus two future popes met together, the one as patron and the other as client, on the noble field of science. A copy of this challenge was, I know, in the English College library ; it was curious, and made itself remembered by the circumstance that one of the subjects proposed in it was the confutation of an absurd fanatic, who had maintained that no place is found in heaven for the daughters of Eve. And this was only one of many occasions in which he made public display of his learning and ready prowess.

* The authority for this anecdote is the pope's learned secretary, Monsignor Testa, who told the author he had heard it from the pope.

"After this he was public professor in the colleges of his order, first at Parma, then at Rome. At the age of thirty he was promoted, in general chapter, lector or doctor of theology ; and for six years more held the chair of canon law.

"When Pius VI. ascended the throne in 1775, Dom Gregory Chiaramonti, who was connected with him by ties of blood, was lector or professor of theology in the monastery of Saint Calixtus, at Rome. The pope having evinced a desire to protect the academy of noble ecclesiastics founded near the church of the Minerva, Father Chiaramonti placed in that academy his brother, Count Gregory, who afterwards long resided at Bologna ; but ere long he declared that he felt no vocation for the prelature, and left Rome. This, probably, opened to Dom Chiaramonti the way to honors in the Church, which Pius VI. would have more freely accorded to Count Gregory, as he was averse to the elevation of religious."

In consequence of some ill-treatment which Dom Chiaramonti received in his monastery, the pope, by brief, conferred on him the title of abbot. This did not give him the government of an abbey, such as abbots enjoy when elected by the monks ; it merely confers a distinction, some advantages, and privileges ; he wears the ring and mitre, has an honorable place in the choir, but is subject to the titular abbot. This honor only embittered his enemies the more. On his return from Vienna, Pius VI. sent for him to hear his statement in regard to charges brought against him. He was accused of speaking freely against the punishments inflicted by the abbots on the professed. He replied that it was wrong to subject them to a system of unusual demands ; he asked a modification of this severity. He then represented that they sought to poison good intentions by accusations absolutely calumnious, ascribing to him a dominating spirit.

The accused son of Saint Benedict won Pius VI., by the frankness and simplicity of his replies, by his charitable statement of his course, and especially by his reserve and gentleness, in meeting his opponent. Pius saw in him a profound man of letters, an exact scholar, a learned and reasonable canonist, a studious monk devoted to his duties.

Some months after, the same antagonists, and especially a Spaniard, who swore never to give him any rest, renewed their endeavors to have him banished from Rome. These last attempts wounded the pontifical government. The persecuted monk lived quietly at Rome, remaining almost constantly, even during the unhealthy season, at Saint Paul *extra muros*, where he was voluntary librarian.

As in the case of Nicholas Breakspear, a monk of the same order, his enemies aided him to rise. Like Eugene III., Pius VI. replied that the monk should indeed leave Rome, but it would be for a destination that the congregation of bishops and regulars would soon know.

In fact, Dom Chiaramonti was nominated bishop of Tivoli. This favor presaging an elevation to the purple, silenced his detractors, the most bitter of whom had already confessed their error. Their accusations, they now saw, arose from misunderstanding. Calumnies were recalled. None could explain their blindness. The new bishop had employed only words of peace, concord, and charity. The professed proposed to address him, but he would not permit it, and the trouble in the learned and laborious order ceased.

Meanwhile the bishop organized his diocese with rare ability, giving particular attention to the diffusion of good books, aiding from his resources and promoting to distinguished posts learned men versed in the most difficult branches of the education of the young. Accordingly, on the death of Cardinal Bandi, bishop of Imola, and uncle of Pius VI., that pope resolved to create Chiaramonti bishop of Imola, and then raise him to the cardinalate, February 14, 1785.

This choice was not considered an act of nepotism, but a well-deserved tribute to an unambitious and universally esteemed prelate. Mild as he was, he knew and maintained his rights. When the vicar of the Holy Office at Tivoli, without the bishop's permission, authorized the sale of certain books of devotion, the bishop threatened him with an interdict, if he did not recognize the episcopal authority. The Dominicans at Rome resisted. Chiaramonti appealed to the pope, declaring that he would resign, if justice was not done. Pius VI. ordered the rights of the bishop to be respected. Cardinal Chiaramonti proceeded to his new residence, and for more than ten years elicited universally honor and respect. He was regarded as a moderate, charitable, humble, thoughtful, and at the same time courageous bishop, wherever the prerogatives of his Church were concerned. Thus when Cardinal Spinelli, legate of Ferrara, unjustly attempted to exercise jurisdiction over lands evidently belonging to the church of Imola, Cardinal Chiaramonti declared that he no longer lived in communion with Cardinal Spinelli. Other members of the Sacred College had to intervene, and induce Cardinal Spinelli to make suitable apologies.

Meanwhile the French revolution burst out, and Napoleon poured like a torrent upon Italy. The States of the Church were soon invaded. On the 3d of February, 1797, he occupied Faenza, Imola, and Forli. On the 9th he was master of Ancona. The next day he entered that city and summoned before him the vicar-general, parish priests, superiors of religious communities, and the vicar of the Inquisition. He received them with gravity, advised them to preach the gospel and leave political questions alone, declaring that religion should be respected and protected. He reproached the vicar-general for the flight of Cardinal Ranuzzi, bishop of Ancona. "The bishop of Imola, equally a cardinal, did not take flight. I did not see him on my passage through, but he was at his post."

When Pius VI. was torn from his capital and carried off a prisoner, after the course of duplicity exercised by the agents of the Directory, terror seized the States of the Church. No one felt the unhappy condition of temporal and ecclesiastical affairs more keenly than Cardinal Chiaramonti. He beheld one system of spoliation organized after another. The objects left at Loretto by Colli were seized. The cardinal knew how contemptuously they then spoke of "the wooden statue, three saucers of pottery and piece of red stuff," which, according to Villetard, constituted the chief wealth of the Santa Casa.*

The whole city of Imola, in confusion, asked the cardinal for a rule of conduct, and he published a homily, dated on Christmas day, being antedated some ten days.

If many peaceful inhabitants experienced unmeasured alarm, the faithful people of the diocese of Imola wished to renew the scenes of Lugo. The ecclesiastical authorities thought it a duty to prevent an outbreak, which, without relieving Pius VI., would only draw down in a more aggravated form the horrors of war on the States of the Church. The homily was dictated at Imola, by the fears of some to control the courage of others. The position was a difficult one. The Cisalpine Republic had been recognized by the treaty of Campo Formio, and it was impossible to avoid considering what duties religion prescribed in the actual political position of affairs. But the treatment of the delicate question by Cardinal Chiaramonti was severely criticized, especially at the next conclave in 1800.

The following passage was severely censured by those whose ideas were unwaveringly monarchical, but will not seem strange to citizens of a republic: "The democratic form of government adopted among you is not in opposition to the maxims already set forth, nor repugnant to the gospel. On the contrary, it exacts all the sublime virtues which are learned only in the school of Jesus Christ, and which, when religiously practised by you, will constitute your felicity, the glory and spirit of your republic. Let virtue alone, which perfects man and directs him towards his supreme end, the highest and best of all, let this virtue alone, quickened by the natural lights and strengthened by the teachings of the gospel, be the solid foundation of our democracy."

Cardinal Wiseman says of this period of his life:

"During the invasion of Northern Italy by the French in 1797, the cardinal bishop of Imola had been placed in a situation of great difficulty, which required both tact and courage; and he had displayed both. While he retained the firmest fidelity to his sovereign, he exhorted his people to submit to the overwhelming power of the enemy, and not tempt them, by an

* Letter of Villetard, Lorette, 28 Pluviose.

irritating and useless resistance, to put in execution their barbarous threats of universal massacre, and destruction by fire of cities and villages. A fierce and disorderly insurrection at Lugo proved how real and earnest was the menace. General Augereau, on the 8th of July, completely defeated the foolish patriots, and delivered their city to a sack, which in three hours stripped it of an incredible amount of plunder. It lasted no longer, because Chiaramonti, who had in vain addressed the inhabitants, humbled himself so far as to cast himself on his knees before the French general, and refused to rise till the boon of mercy which he craved was granted.

"His position, however, was too embarrassing; and his friend Pope Pius VI. called him to Rome. He entreated to be allowed to return to his people, to shield them from danger, when a new peril surprised him. The Austrians, subsidized by England, were for a short time masters of the province of Emilia, and were approaching Imola, when the bishop considered it his duty to exhort his people to submit to them, as their liberators from the yoke imposed upon them. No sooner had the Austrians retired than he was accused of sedition. Instead of flying from the danger, he proceeded at once to the French headquarters at Lugo, and there pleaded his own cause before the general, whom he knew to be most hostile to him, with such gentleness and firmness, as won from that soldier expressions of esteem and marks of honor.

"His enemies, however, were not so satisfied; and the republican magistrates of Imola denounced him to the supreme authorities of Bologna, as having favored the Austrians. Letters to him, from Cardinals Giovannetti and Mattei, containing circulars addressed by them to their flocks in favor of Austria, were intercepted, and formed the groundwork of the charge; fabrications and exaggerations composed its superstructure. The French general, incensed, started at once with a large detachment of troops, proclaiming that the cardinal should be severely punished, and his See rifled. The bishop left his city by night, not to flee, but to face the danger. He was too good a shepherd to leave his sheep to the wolf, and escape at their sacrifice. Boldly he directed his steps towards the approaching spoilers. The general was Macdonald. Chiaramonti met him face to face: with apostolic liberty, he reproved him strongly for his intended barbarity, and vindicated frankly his own conduct. He prevailed; and saved the city from destruction or devastation. It is not wonderful that his biographers should have compared this intrepid and generous conduct to that of Saint Leo the Great meeting Attila."*

* This was his third or fourth escape. At an earlier period, when the Cisalpine Republic was established, he denounced it to his flock, and was accused to the Paris Directory, by the police of Milan. He vindicated himself so powerfully as not to be removed from his diocese. Again he refused to take the "civic oath," as it was called, and was deprived of the maintenance (the *mensa*) of his See.

When Pius VI. expired at Valence, affairs had changed in Italy. Bonaparte was in Egypt, and the armies of the Directory under Scherer had experienced reverses in Italy. The cardinals then thought of assembling to choose a successor to Pius VI.

The Emperor Francis II., through his minister, offered to receive them at Venice, and there, on the 1st of December, 1799, they assembled, to the number of thirty-five. These were Cardinals Albani, York, Antonelli, Valenti, Gonzaga, Caraffa, Trajetto, Zelada, Calcagnini, Mattei, Archetti, Joseph Doria, Livizzani, Borgia, Caprara, Vincenti, Maury, Pignatelli, Roverella, la Somaglia, Anthony Doria, Braschi, Carandini, Flangini, Rinuncini, Honorati, Giovannetti, Gerdil, Martiniana, Herzan de Harras, Pellisomi, Chiaramonti, Lorenzana, Busca, Dugnani, de Pretis and Fabricius Ruffo. Besides these, there were in other parts of Europe eleven cardinals who were unable to attend.*

When there is in the conclave a nephew of the last pope, he exercises great influence as to the choice of a successor. Cardinals appointed by the last pope, or merely favored by him, out of gratitude consult his nephew's intentions. Pius VI., during his long reign, had almost renewed the Sacred College. Among the elder cardinals there were several who were indebted to him for immense favors. Cardinal Braschi had not the ability to be a skilful party leader: yet a great many cardinals followed his impulse. He had the happiness of seeing among them the only surviving cardinals of the reign of Benedict XIV., Cardinal John Francis Albani (created 16th April, 1747), and Cardinal York (created July, 1747), and who, as the last of the Stuarts, assumed on medals the title of Henry IX., king of Great Britain, France, and Ireland.

On the other hand, Cardinal Antonelli, although the first creation of Pius VI., and raised to the purple April 14th, 1775, a man distinguished for intelligence and moderation as prefect of the Propaganda, could not resist the desire of forming an adverse party. The Braschi party embraced twenty-two votes, two less than were required for a choice. Antonelli numbered only thirteen, and therefore formed what is called an *exclusive*, a party able only to prevent an election. Cardinal Chiaramonti voted with Braschi.

For nearly two months Cardinal Bellisomi, a native of Pavia, created February 14th, 1785, and bishop of Cesena, had the twenty-two votes of the Braschi, and Cardinal Mattei, archbishop of Ferrara, the thirteen of the

* These were Cardinals Sentmana, Mendoza, Gallo, La Rochefoucauld, Rohan, Montmorency Laval, Frankenberg, Migazzi, Bathyany, Ranuzzi, and Turlo. Antici, whose compulsory resignation had been accepted by a brief of Pius VI., to which thirty-seven cardinals adhered, came to Venice to enter the conclave, but the cardinals refused to recognize him as a member of the college.

Antonelli party. The election of the latter was, however, deemed impossible. As Bellisomi could not gain the two votes necessary for his election, others were proposed. Valenti, created April 15th, 1776, was thought of, but in vain. Some votes were given to Cardinal Gerdil. Antonelli was proposed, and Albani. The latter was rejected as being connected by blood with the house of Austria. Cardinal Gerdil was again spoken of. His great talents, advanced age, his important writings, seemed to justify the hope of raising him to the throne. The fact of his being a native of Savoy, which had become a part of France, militated against him, and, amid a scrutiny, when they were about to proceed to a vote, Cardinal Herzan,* minister of the emperor, gave a formal exclusion to Cardinal Gerdil, declaring that Francis would not accept a subject of the king of Sardinia. The long delay in effecting a choice began to lead to murmurs. Suddenly two cardinals left the Antonelli party, and gave their votes to Bellisomi, on whom all the Braschi cardinals, whose votes had been scattered, united. Herzan, who belonged to the Antonelli party, having imprudently exercised his right of exclusion, and no other power attempting to exercise the odious claim, now urged the conclave to notify the cabinet at Vienna, before actually proceeding to a choice—Cardinal Bellisomi, born at Pavia, in the duchy of Milan, being a subject of the emperor. A courier was sent, but a delay of a month followed, and those who had been ready to vote for Bellisomi wavered, and a choice was as remote as ever.

At this juncture, Monsignor Consalvi, secretary of the conclave, canvassing the various members of the college, concluded that Cardinal Chiaramonti united in the highest degree the qualities necessary at the moment for the administration of the Church. He gradually induced nineteen cardinals to embrace this opinion, and when this party was joined by Cardinal Maury, who controlled five votes, the election became certain.

On the 14th of March, 1800, the cardinals proceeded to the usual voting, which takes place twice a day. The name of the new candidate was venerated. The amiable, affectionate cardinal stood there before his colleagues, embarrassed with the glory, alarmed at the honor, trembling more than one who fears to lose the fruit of his wiles, ready to smile on any one who would announce that he was to be relieved from a sacrifice which he makes so reluctantly. The ballots, read amid the most impressive silence, are unanimous, with the exception of one, that of the Benedictine cardinal. Chiaramonti is elected pope, after a conclave of one hundred and four days. He declared his intention of taking the name of Pius VII., in token of gratitude to his protector, Pius VI.

The court of Vienna, somewhat dissatisfied at the election of Chiaramonti,

* Born at Prague. Made cardinal July 12, 1773.

with whom it had not thought of making terms, refused to permit his coronation in the church of Saint Mark. On the 21st of March, Pius VII. was crowned in Saint George's by Cardinal Anthony Doria, chief of the order of Cardinal Deacons.

On the 15th of May the newly elected pontiff addressed an encyclical letter to the cardinals, and all the bishops of christendom. Of the affairs of France he said: "We experience profound sadness and lively grief on considering those of our children who inhabit France; could our death effect their salvation, we would sacrifice our life for them. One circumstance diminishes and alleviates the bitterness of our grief. This is the fortitude and constancy displayed by several among you, and which have been imitated by so many of every age, sex, and condition; their courage in not contaminating their souls by an unlawful and guilty oath, in order to adhere in obedience to the decrees and sentence of the Holy Apostolic See, will remain eternally engraved in our memory, as well as the renewed cruelty of ancient times, wherewith they have pursued these faithful Christians."

The emperor, reconciled to the election of Pius VII., wished the pope to remain in his States, and even urged him to fix his residence at Vienna; but at last consented to his departure. Pius accordingly, on the 6th of June, four days after Bonaparte's entrance into Milan, embarked on an Austrian frigate, which landed him at Pesaro, whence he proceeded towards Rome.

On the 21st of June he entered Ancona amid the thunder of cannon. The Russian vessels lying in the harbor ordered the imperial salute,—Paul I. having expressly ordered the honors due the imperial person to be paid to the pope.

Six hundred of the inhabitants of Ancona, taking places in turn, removed the horses from his carriage, and, attaching ropes decked with colored ribbons, drew the pope to the palace of Cardinal Ranuzzi, who impatiently awaited his sovereign.

The next day the pope celebrated Mass at the altar of the Madonna at the church of Saint Cyriacus, and then set out for Loretto. An Austrian commissary having declared that his Imperial and Royal Apostolic Majesty having recovered the States of the Holy Father only to restore them, His Holiness should resume the enjoyment of the States. Still, Austrian troops continued to occupy the three legations. Without wasting time in negotiations, Pius continued his route to Rome.

That city had long ceased to be occupied by French troops, or partisans of the Roman republic. The latter, reduced to a handful of soldiers, had eight months previously surrendered the castle of Saint Angelo and the city, in virtue of a convention between the ambassador Bertolio and General

Garnier on the one side, and on the other the lieutenants of Cardinal Fabricius Ruffo, to some Austrian squadrons, and two hundred English infantry.

Bertolio, a native of Avignon, a former advocate of Paris, a man of conciliating disposition, had governed the country with integrity, till the declaration of a state of siege brought the usual evils in its train.

The Neapolitans claimed the glory of this conquest, and the English, commanded by Governor Trowbridge, who had but few soldiers, and could not leave his vessels, relinquished Rome and the Pontifical States to the guardianship of their allies, and a Russian corps recently drawn from Naples. The Neapolitan garrison at Rome looked upon the pope's arrival with displeasure,—so hard is it to restore generously, even to friends, what has been recovered for them; but the army, composed chiefly of volunteers, had been called out for a war for religion. They had conquered with the cry: "*Viva Maria!*"

Pius VII. entered Rome on the 3d of July, by conveyances easily pre-arranged. In the Piazza del Popolo, where a crown had been offered to Berthier, a magnificent triumphal arch had been erected, under which he passed on his way to the Corso.

The Neapolitans had been tyrants of the Romans, whom they subjected to a thousand vexations. The pope seemed to bring peace, and arrest the dissensions which had so long troubled Rome. Naples recalled her troops, but continued to occupy Benevento and Porto Corvo.

"The first public acts of the new pontiff showed that, nevertheless, he was above prejudices, and well understood sound principles of political economy. Besides excellent provisions for reforms in every department of public administration, in that of justice among others, two series of measures characterized the commencement of his reign. The first regarded free trade in provisions, and a considerable approach to it in other departments of commerce. There was a great and alarming scarcity of grain in Central Italy, the year of the pope's accession, 1800. There was literally a *panic* in the public mind in consequence; and the exportation of cereals from the States was forbidden. But, by a decree issued in September of that year, free trade in corn was permitted; and the corporation of bakers was abolished with its exclusive privileges, so as to make it free to all to bake and sell bread. All duty was also taken off oil, and its free importation was permitted.

"These new measures took the public by surprise; but they were soon much extended. For, early in the following year, all provisions were brought under the same regulations; and five more sources of revenue were thrown open to public competition. The edict on this subject, the result of a special commission, was long, and entitled, "*Decree motu proprio*

on provisions and free trade ;” and bears the date of March 11th, 1801. The annual medal struck for the Feast of Saints Peter and Paul that year bears the figure of Abundance, with a ship at its side, and the inscription : COMMERCIO RVM. PRIVILEGIA. ABOLITA.

“ In the mean time the treasury was empty ; the treaty of Tolentino had drained every available resource ; even the four tiaras, of immense price and beautiful workmanship,* had been stripped of their jewels to pay the ruinous contribution of six millions of dollars imposed by it in 1796. A new system of general taxation was necessary to supply the urgent and current wants of the government. This was published about the same period, prefaced by a candid but mournful acknowledgment of the exhausted condition of the public purse. The system involved a very complicated but most important operation, which was not fully carried out till 1803, that of embodying in the debts of the State those of provincial, or at least municipal governments, the State at the same time undertaking the administration of their real property, as security to itself.

“ As far as one can judge at this distance of time, it would appear that the internal policy, directed by Cardinal Consalvi from the very onset, was enlightened, perhaps, beyond that of many greater States. That policy is the one pursued by the present pontiff, who has been yearly reducing the duties and other pressures upon import commerce ; and has been getting rid of monopolies, or rather, the farming of internal resources, with the most gratifying success.

“ Another evil of the past calamitous period had been the total depreciation of the coinage. A quantity of base metal, as well as a copper currency, had been put into circulation, with artificial values, after 1793 ; and the usual ill-judged attempts had been resorted to, of raising them, when fallen in the market, by public authority. The last of these useless efforts, by the Commissioner Naselli, in 1800, before the pope’s arrival, had only produced embarrassment and diminished commercial confidence. The pope, however, and his minister took a better view of this monetary difficulty. Several schemes were proposed, by which loss would have fallen heavily on the holders of the debased circulation, in clearing the country of it, and were unhesitatingly rejected. Instead of this, a fair and current value was assigned to it, and it was received at that rate by all government offices, and at the mint, and no more were reissued. This was in December, 1801, and January 13th, 1802. In October the plan was completed. On the 5th of that month all the base coin was called in, and government bore the entire loss. A million and a half of dollars were paid out in silver, all over the States, and not a coin of inferior metal left in circulation. And from

* One was of the golden period of Julius II.

that day till the late republic, no country in Europe had a better or more abundant silver circulation than the Papal States."*

The French were again in Italy. On the 14th of June, 1801, Marengo laid the peninsula almost completely at Bonaparte's feet. Five days after he told Cardinal Martiniana, bishop of Vercelli, that it was his intention to live on good terms with the pope, and even to treat with him in regard to the restoration of religion in France. This declaration was so spontaneous, clear, and precise, amid the immense details of his military administration, that the cardinal the same day wrote to the First Consul, to accept the commission of testifying to his intentions towards the Holy See. On the 26th of June the cardinal informed the pope, who, on the 18th of July, dating from Rome, replied that he could not receive more agreeable tidings than those contained in his letter of June 26th. Consalvi induced Pius VII. to terminate his letter thus :

"You may say to the First Consul that we will readily enter on a negotiation, the object of which is honorable, so suitable to our apostolic ministry, so conformable to the wishes of our heart.

"Given at Rome, the 10th of July, 1800, of our pontificate the first.

"PIUS PP. VII."

To conduct the negotiations through a capable member of the sacred college, Pius created Consalvi a cardinal, on the 10th of August.

Monsignor Spina, archbishop of Corinth, the companion of the captivity of Pius VI., was sent to Paris. On the 13th of September a brief announced to all the French bishops the hopes of the pope. A concordat was proposed, and in March, 1801, the First Consul sent to Rome, as minister plenipotentiary, though without credentials, Cacault, his colleague at Tolentino, who reached Rome on the 8th of April, and after seeing Cardinal Consalvi, was presented to the pope the next day.

On taking leave of the First Consul, Cacault asked him how he was to treat the pope. "Treat him," replied the great warrior, "as though he had two hundred thousand men." We shall see how Cacault availed himself of this eminently characteristic remark of Bonaparte, who valued every thing in military coin, and rated the pope as he did Prussia. The First Consul added : "You know that in the month of October, 1796, I wrote you how I ambitioned to be rather the saviour than the destroyer of the Holy See, and that on that point your principles and mine agreed perfectly."

Negotiations went on at first briskly : but as the principal point was the religious affairs, Cacault saw with regret that they were hampered by some

* Cardinal Wiseman's Recollections.

theological discussions, by which foreign courts sought to embroil the two courts. Ghislieri, the Austrian minister, was ordered to fill the pope with distrust of France. The king of Naples, forced to withdraw his troops from Rome, was endeavoring to show that he had never intended to retain them there ; but Acton, his envoy, secretly opposed all good understanding between France and Rome.

These enemies were about to triumph, and for a time the First Consul seemed by his hesitation to second their designs. At last the cabinet of Paris, more military than diplomatic, showed impatience, fearing to be drawn into a dispute as to dogmas. Bonaparte ordered Cacault in positive terms to leave Rome and retire to General Murat at Florence, if the concordat projected at Paris was not signed within three days, the articles having been already discussed in the two courts, according to conventions between Cacault and the Holy See.

Cacault, a man well disposed, was embarrassed. He went immediately to Cardinal Consalvi, read him the formidable dispatch entire, without suppressing any harsh expressions, and he resumed : " There are misunderstandings. The First Consul does not know you ; still less does he know your talents, your ability, your engagements, your desire of terminating affairs. Go to Paris."

" When ?"

" To-morrow. It will please him ; you will understand each other ; he will see a cardinal, a man of ability, you will arrange the concordat with him. If you do not go to Paris, I must break off with you ; and if I do, Murat, another Berthier, will march on Rome." He assured the cardinal that he would take the whole responsibility on himself, and asked an audience with the pope, to whom he had a few words to say to carry out previous instructions of the First Consul.

The cardinal immediately repaired to the pope, to prepare him for the audience. When Cacault was admitted, Pius VII. made him sit down quite near him. " You are, sir, one whom we regard with great friendship. Your advice, not to sign a concordat in three days, is in your position an admirable action. But, Consalvi at Paris, Rome abandoned, and we alone in this desert." " Most Holy Father," replied Cacault, " I pledge you my word as a Christian and a man of honor, that I give this counsel of myself ; that no one has suggested it to me ; that my government knows nothing of it ; that I act here solely for the common good of the two courts, and perhaps more in your interest than in my own. The First Consul honors you ; he told me : ' Treat the pope as though he had two hundred thousand men.' He recognizes you as a great power. At this moment he apparently sees double around him, for he no longer speaks on a certain footing of equality. If he takes the advantage, a noble confidence will restore it."

Deprive yourself of Consalvi for a few months : he will return a far abler man."

"You laugh," said the pope, "with these soldiers that you credit us with. We accept them only to restore them. And then, it is true that the soldiers of Christ are many."

"Holy Father, Cardinal Consalvi must set out instantly, and bear your answer : he will manoeuvre at Paris with the power also that you will give him. I am fifty-nine years old. I have seen many things since the States of Brittany, certainly the hardest to manage. I overlook nothing of the misery of our people of Italy. To ruin me, they called me the friend of kings. I am not suspected. Something stronger, doubtless, than grave reason, an instinct, one of those instincts of animals, if you like, which never deceives them, advises, pursues me : I see the Consul, worthy, cold, satisfied, maintaining his position amid his counsellors who dissuade him. And where is the difficulty ? They accuse you. You appear in a manner in person. What is required ? A religious concordat. We bring one all ready."

The pope, greatly moved, shed many tears. "True friend," he exclaimed, "we love you as we loved our mother ; we will retire this moment to our oratory to ask God whether this journey can be happy, and whether success will relieve our anxiety, in withdrawing us from this abyss of grief."

The next morning Cardinal Consalvi and Cacault started together, the latter stopping at Florence, while the envoy of the pope hastened to Paris to concert the terms of the concordat.*

Concordats are arrangements between the civil governments and the pope, relative to the affairs of the Church. They are the effect of the usurpations of the State on the rights of the Church, a compulsory yielding by the Holy See to the encroachments of the civil power, always to be deplored but not always to be avoided.

One of the most important points in these treaties is the nomination of bishops. In early times the bishops, to be canonical, were elected by the clergy of the diocese. Such was the case in France at the commencement of the Capetian dynasty. The metropolitans and bishops of the ecclesiastical province confirmed the choice by giving their adhesion, and consecrated the bishop elect. The Council of Rheims, held in 1049, expressly ordered that elections should be made solely by the clergy. It has been said that the people also enjoyed this right : but it was merely as we should say that the clergy acted by and with the consent of the people, refraining from choosing any one odious to them, and perhaps at times waiving a se-

* He imprudently wrote to the Chevalier Acton, at Naples : "The good of religion requires a victim. I am going to see the First Consul : I go to martyrdom. God's will be done."

lection made, for one more unexceptionable ; but it was never held that co-operation by the people was necessary to the canonicity of a bishop's election.

By the year 1215, the chapters—that is, the body of canons at the cathedral of the bishop—had succeeded in assuming to themselves the right of electing the bishop, depriving the clergy of their right, and the people of their modified powers. The clergy at this time declared that they would continue to exercise the rights of the clergy, in order to avoid the frequent dissensions, quarrels, briberies, and scandals that so frequently disgraced the elections. The chapters, however, in all cases applied to the king for his permission.* This was the fundamental error, this recognition of a royal right in the matter, and we cannot be surprised at the result.

The Assembly of Bourges, in 1438, adopted the Pragmatic Sanction, reviving the ancient discipline, but this was abolished by a concordat entered into in 1515, by Leo X.† and Francis I. By this the elective mode was abolished, and the right of nomination was reserved to the king, while the pope was to institute the new bishop. Down to the reign of Charles IX., clergy, parliaments, and universities struggled against this regulation.

This concordat limited the persons from whom the king was to select. The candidate was to be a suitable person, a grave master or licentiate in theology, or in both canon and civil law, or in one of them, promoted in a famous university after a strict examination, and at least twenty-seven years of age. If the person nominated did not reach this standard, the pope could reject him : if the second nomination was no better, the pope was to fill the See.

Such was the system that prevailed down to the revolution. Now a new state of things existed. The Catholic religion, as the religion of State, had been swept away. Most of the bishops were in exile ; the churches, where standing, were bare, or profaned ; the clergy scattered or dead ; seminaries had disappeared ; religious orders had all followed in that march in which the Society of Jesus led the way.

Bonaparte wished to begin all anew ; he desired the abolition of the old Sees, the division of France into new dioceses, to which new bishops should be appointed. This was one great difficulty. At last, however, the pope, relying on the true Catholic spirit of those noble confessors of the faith, who would, he could not doubt, make one more sacrifice to see religion again restored in France, agreed to this.

On the 15th of July, 1801, the concordat was signed. It was as follows :

* To this day this form is kept up in the Anglican Church. On the vacancy of a See, the English monarch sends a *congé d'élire* with directions whom they are to choose.

† This bull of Leo X., bears date December 19th, 1516, and includes one of September 17th.

CONVENTION BETWEEN HIS HOLINESS PIUS VII. AND THE FRENCH
GOVERNMENT.

The government of the republic recognizes that the Catholic Apostolic Roman religion is the religion of the great majority of French citizens.

His Holiness also recognizes that this same religion has derived, and at this moment expects anew, the greatest good and glory from the establishment of Catholic worship in France, and the especial profession thereof made by the Consuls of the republic.

Consequently, after the mutual recognition, both for the good of religion and the maintenance of internal tranquillity, they have agreed on the following :

ARTICLE I.

The Catholic Apostolic Roman religion shall be freely exercised in France. Its worship shall be public, conforming to the regulations of internal administration which the government shall deem necessary for the public tranquillity.

ARTICLE II.

A new circumscription of the French dioceses shall be made by the Holy See in concert with the government.

ARTICLE III.

His Holiness will declare to the incumbents of the French Sees, that it expects from them, with a firm confidence, for the sake of peace and unity, sacrifices of every kind, even to the resignation of their Sees.

If, after this exhortation, they refuse this sacrifice, commanded by the well-being of the Church (a refusal nevertheless which His Holiness does not expect), the dioceses of the new circumscription shall be provided with new bishops in the following manner :

ARTICLE IV.

The First Consul of the republic will, within three months after the publication of His Holiness's bull, nominate to the archbishoprics and bishoprics of the new circumscription. His Holiness will confer canonical institution according to the forms established in regard to France, before the change of government.

ARTICLE V.

The nominations to Sees, hereafter to fall vacant, shall also be made by the First Consul, and canonical institution will be given by the Holy See, in conformity with the preceding article.

ARTICLE VI.

The bishops, before entering on their functions, shall take, directly in the hands of the First Consul, the oath of fidelity, which was in use before the change of government, expressed in the following terms :

“ I swear and promise to God, on his holy Gospels, to observe obedience and fidelity to the government established by the constitution of the French republic. I also promise to have no understanding with, assist in no council, entertain no league, either within or without, which shall be contrary to the public tranquillity ; and if in my diocese or elsewhere I learn that any thing is plotted to the prejudice of the State, I will impart it to the government.

ARTICLE VII.

Ecclesiastics of the second order shall take the same oath, in the hands of the civil authorities named by the government.

ARTICLE VIII.

The following form of prayer shall be recited at the end of the divine Office, in all the Catholic churches of France : *Domine, salvam fac rempublicam. Domine, salvos fac consules.*

ARTICLE IX.

The bishops shall make a new circumscription of the parishes in their dioceses, which shall be of no effect till approved by government.

ARTICLE X.

The bishops shall appoint to the parishes. Their choice shall fall only on persons acceptable to government.

ARTICLE XI.

Bishops may have a chapter in their cathedral, and a seminary for their diocese, without any obligation on the part of government to endow them.

ARTICLE XII.

All the metropolitan churches, cathedrals, parishes, and others not alienated, necessary to worship, shall be put at the disposal of the bishops.

ARTICLE XIII.

His Holiness, for the sake of peace and the happy restoration of the Catholic religion, declares that neither he nor his successors will disquiet in any manner the holders of alienated ecclesiastical property ; and that, consequently, the right to said property, with the rights and revenues at-

tached thereto, shall remain incommutable in their hands or those of their representatives.

ARTICLE XIV.

The government will secure a suitable salary to the bishops, and to parish priests whose dioceses and parishes are comprised in the new circumscription.

ARTICLE XV.

Government will also take measures to enable French Catholics, when so disposed, to create foundations in favor of churches.

ARTICLE XVI.

His Holiness recognizes, in the First Consul of the French Republic, the same rights and prerogatives enjoyed at Rome by the former government.

ARTICLE XVII.

It is agreed between the contracting parties that in case any successor of the present First Consul should not be a Catholic, the rights and prerogatives mentioned in the last article, and the nomination to Sees, shall be regulated, so far as he is concerned, by a new convention.

The ratifications to be exchanged at Paris within forty days.

Done at Paris, 26th Messidor, Year IX. of the French Republic, July 15, 1801.

H. CARD. CONSALVI, (L. S.)

J. BONAPARTE.

J. ARCHEVEQUE DE CORINTHE.

FR. CHARLES CASELLI, (L. S.)

CRETET, (L. S.)

BERNIER, (L. S.)

Consalvi returned to Rome, to submit this concordat to the ratification of the Holy Father. Pius VII. signed it on the 15th of August, as Bonaparte did on the 8th of September. Cardinal Caprara, who had been elevated to the purple by Pius VI., June 8, 1792, was appointed *Legate a latere*, to carry out the restoration of worship in France.

The exiled French bishops were a source of great anxiety. As early as September 27, 1801, Dillon, archbishop of Narbonne, with thirteen other bishops then in England, wrote, declining to accede to the request of His Holiness. In their opinion, the only way to restore peace to the Church in France was one to be adopted by an assembly of all the bishops of the Gallican Church, a thing in itself utterly impracticable.

This letter deeply afflicted the Holy Father. He said to Cardinal Con-

salvi: "We are entering on a sea of affliction." The secretary replied: "I expected the letter, but I did not think it would arrive so soon. All here demands the most serious reflection. Our intentions are upright and religious. God will not permit us to go astray. Is this assembly of all the bishops possible? Those who write to us are banished by law, and kept out of France by another authority than that which they honor. Yes, virtuous prelates groan in exile, but France contains so many Catholics who have no pastors." He could say no more to the Holy Father, who regarded him with emotion.

But while some of the old French hierarchy thus increased the difficulties of his position, others consoled Pius by their spirit of sacrifice. The bishop of Marseilles, bending under his ninety-two years, wrote: "Full of veneration and obedience for the decrees of the Holy Father, and wishing ever to be united to him in mind and heart, I do not hesitate to place in the hands of His Holiness my resignation of the See of Marseilles. It is enough that he deems it necessary for the preservation of religion in France, for me to resign myself to it."

"From attachment to religion," wrote the bishop of Senlis, "to preserve Catholic unity, to secure the good and well-being of the faithful, and to second the paternal invitation of His Holiness, I voluntarily, and with full consent, abandon the Episcopal See of Senlis, and make a free demission thereof in the hands of His Holiness."

The bishops of Saint Claude, Saint Papoul, Alais, Saint Malo and Angers wrote with equal generosity and devotedness.

On the 4th of October the *Legate a latere* reached Paris. The First Consul was convinced of the good faith of the Roman court. He was at the time successful in all his negotiations. Accordingly, he resolved to write of his own accord to the pope, to whom he announced the peace concluded with England and Russia, as well as treaties of amity signed with Portugal and the Ottoman Porte. He besought His Holiness to proceed to the nomination of a new Grand Master of the Knights of Malta. In conclusion, he offered to address the court of Naples, to induce them to restore to the Holy See the principalities of Benevento and Ponte Corvo, which the Chevalier Acton pretended to retain. The First Consul advised the pope to raise troops to occupy Ancona, treated of the national property sold by the Roman republic and resumed by the Apostolic Chamber, which promised to refund, in valid money, one-fourth the sums paid for them in depreciated currency.

The counsellors of the pope were not, however, all favorable to the concordat, any more than those who surrounded Bonaparte. The pope's chief advisers were Monsignor Bertazzoli, administrator of the See of Imola, a calm and polished man, of weak disposition, but an early friend of Cardinal

Chiaramonti, whom he actually enabled, by a loan of money, to proceed to Venice, to take part in the conclave; Cardinal Pacca, formerly nuncio to Germany and Portugal, a man of intellect, a distinguished writer, of a mild but firm character, noble and decided in his religious views; Monsignor di Pietro, a consummate theologian; Monsignor Menochio. Cardinal Maury also for a time was frequently consulted, and Cardinal Antonelli and Cardinal Aurelius Roverella exercised a certain influence from their action in the conclave. All these, except Cardinal Pacca, were more or less opposed to Cardinal Consalvi, while Cardinal Fabricius Ruffo, minister plenipotentiary of Naples at Rome, was constantly laboring to satisfy the discontents of his sovereign.

Three days after the arrival of Cardinal Caprara at Paris, Monsieur Portalis was invested with the direction of all affairs relating to worship. He was to labor directly with the consuls. His duties were: 1st. To present projects of laws, regulations, decrees, and decisions, in regard to worship; 2d. To submit to the nomination of the First Consul proper candidates to fill the places in the ministry of the different worships; 3d. To examine, before their publication in France, all rescripts, bulls, and briefs, of the court of Rome; 4th. To conduct all the correspondence connected with these matters.

Portalis was an esteemed state councillor, known for his talents as a juriconsult, his probity, his religious feelings; but he was to find in the council opponents who led him beyond his own ideas, and won the First Consul over to their views.

Meanwhile the pope thus replied to the letter of the First Consul.

“PIUS PP. VII:

“Most dear Son in Christ, Health and Apostolic Benediction:

“We have already informed you, by our letter of the 14th instant, of our joy at the peace concluded with England; we have received too, with a special feeling of sensibility at your attention to us, the news you give us of the peace concluded with Russia, Portugal, and the Porte. Great is our satisfaction to see harmony restored among so many European powers, and we cannot learn this benefit without honoring and admiring your wisdom.

“We return thanks to Divine Providence for so auspicious an event, which arrests the evils so long oppressing humanity, and promises the most prosperous success for the good of religion.

“We have ordered public demonstrations of joy, at the same time that thanksgiving shall be offered to the Almighty. To ourselves we reserve the solemn chanting of the *Te Deum* in Saint Peter's, and thus celebrating the ecclesiastical convention happily concluded with France, when it shall please you to publish that treaty, which we ask with most ardent desire.

"We congratulate you on the great and noble actions by which you are distinguished, and which bring happiness to men, advantage and glory to religion.

"In regard to the affair of Malta, you express a desire for our intervention, with the various courts of Europe, for the reorganization of the order, to which Malta is to be restored; the desire of our heart harmonizes with your projects for the re-establishment of that order, according to the provisions of its statutes.

"We can, of course, intervene in the matter only in the form becoming the chief of the Catholic religion; and in that sense we have replied not only to Russia, but also to Spain.

"We have ordered our secretary of state to inform you more in detail, both by our cardinal legate and by your minister resident here, of what has occurred recently in the matter; and we have expressed our intentions. We are not yet fully able to interpose in this affair; on the one hand Spain presents a great obstacle, because, failing to obtain the separation it had solicited, it opposes every measure tending to give the order a Superior; on the other hand, various Catholic powers have already taken steps in other directions.

"Meanwhile, we shall make every possible effort on our side to succeed and to conciliate the contrary views; and we entertain the hope of seeing the happy circumstance of a general peace facilitate our operations.

"With regard to the affair of Benevento and Ponte Corvo, of which you speak, courteously offering to take the preliminary steps to secure their restoration to us, it is true that his Sicilian majesty, after occupying those two small States, has only partially restored them to the Holy See. There exists a declaration made by his majesty, and a public edict, in which his majesty declares that he has restored to us the *useful sovereignty*, reserving to himself the *eminent domain*. In this manner the Holy See becomes feudatory to the king in regard to that part of his States; when, on the contrary, the well-known rights of the Church (rights, the recognition of which has been interrupted only a few years), show that the king of Sicily is a feudatory of the Holy See for his entire kingdom.

"It is also true that with the reserve of *eminent domain* the king has established a military garrison, makes new levies, and exercises other sovereign rights incompatible with our free sovereignty. Although our representations made by us against all these acts have not hitherto met with a successful issue, still we are not without hope of the result of the recent observations addressed by us to his majesty.

"We know how advantageous it will be to us if we avail ourselves of your courteous offer of mediation, that Benevento and Ponte Corvo be restored to us in such sort that we enjoy complete sovereignty as our predecessors

enjoyed ; but we have determined in our own hearts to maintain perfect harmony with the sovereigns, and avoid ill-feeling on all possible occasions. To remove all unpleasantness from monarchs united by blood to his majesty, and who might take it ill that we did not apply to them, in order to obtain this act of justice from his Sicilian majesty, and at the same time to remove all pretext for dissatisfaction on the part of any sovereign who might complain that we sought to force him by an imposing mediation, we must say with the accustomed candor of our heart :

“ Since you so graciously offer us your mediation, you would do us a greater pleasure by acting in this matter in such a way that your course should be taken for a spontaneous result of the interest taken by you in our well-being.

“ We thank you for the obliging manner in which you so kindly enter into the details of the security necessary for the preservation of our State, now deprived of armed forces. We shall follow your advice, by increasing the number of our troops, and we shall especially provide for the garrison of Ancona. You know that we lack means of attaining this, but they will come, we trust, with the results of peace, and the effect of your attachment to the Holy See and your affection for our person.

“ Notwithstanding our great poverty, you see that we give to the holders of the national property the fourth of the value which they really paid, without being controlled by the fact that Naples, Venice, and other States have annulled these contracts without any indemnity. Yet you know what a difference there is between the burdens supported by our State during the whole of the war, and those which fell upon the States adjacent to us. You know, too, how different were the results of that war, at the close of which we find ourselves deprived of three legations, besides the States of Avignon and Carpentras, rich and flourishing provinces which formed half of our States. We implore their restitution, with implicit confidence in you.

“ Should we fear that you will treat us less generously than you do other princes, to whom you grant an indemnity ? Should we fear from you that the result of this war, which did not deprive our neighbor, the king of Naples, of a handsbreadth of territory, will be so calamitous to the Holy See that it must lose half its States, and its most valuable domains ?

“ We will also beg you to reflect on the conduct pursued by the Holy See towards France. Under our predecessor, the Holy See would not take measures to which invitations were not wanting ; it confined itself to simple defence against a determined aggression. Under our administration it has given you no cause of complaint. We appeal to your own testimony as to our course of action with yourself.

“ We shall finally beg you to consider the absolute impossibility of subsistence, in which the sovereignty of our States is oppressed by immense

burdens, deprived almost entirely of the subsidies by which foreign countries formerly contributed to the support and honor of the Head of Religion. We have left only a few provinces; and those five, except the Marches, the poorest, all incapable of meeting their own wants.

“We shall remark only, that the allowance to be given to seventy cardinals (few, as foreigners, being provided elsewhere), the allowance to prelates for expensive offices (we find ourselves in the greatest embarrassment when we have to select persons for nunciatures), leave us in the greatest penury. The benefices in foreign countries are lost; those remaining in our provinces are poor, the best being in the legations, and, to an extraordinary extent, below such grave necessities.

“We implore of your wise, just, and magnanimous heart the restitution of the three legations, and a compensation for the loss of Avignon and Carpentras, decreed by the Constituent Assembly; and we doubt not but that, following the flattering expressions with which you have struck our ears, you will compete for the glory of benefactor to the Holy See with the ancient rulers of France, to whom it owes so much, as we make it a duty to recall in gratitude.

“We have many motives for congratulation in the conduct of the French at Rome, and especially of the most worthy minister Cacault, who is so attached to you, to the honor of the nation, and so animated with your spirit.

“We will not, O dear son, detain you longer with this letter, which we dictate, to spare you the trouble of reading our not very legible handwriting.

“Therefore, after once more commending to you the great interests of religion, we close, granting you affectionately, with all our heart, the paternal apostolical benediction.

“Given at Rome, at Saint Mary Major’s, the 24th of October, 1801, of our pontificate the second.

“PIUS PP. VII.”

The courier who bore this bore also a letter from Cardinal Consalvi to Cardinal Caprara, directing him to solicit earnestly the restoration of the body of Pius VI., interred, as we have seen, in the cemetery at Valence. The application was not without effect, and we have inserted the official orders given by the French government for transferring the sacred deposit to Monsignor Spina, archbishop of Corinth.*

Bonaparte complained of the delay of the pontiff in carrying out the concordat. In his military way, he wished the old bishops at once deprived,

* See ante, page .

unheard and unjudged. There was also a difficulty in regard to those priests who, accepting the Civil Constitution of the Clergy, had been made bishops under it. Some of these constitutional bishops were high in favor with the dominant party, and Bonaparte proposed some of them for the new Sees. It was a position of great difficulty. The pope was called upon to deprive bishops of unquestioned orthodoxy, and commit the guidance of the fold to pastors who had directly incurred the express censure of the Church.

The reply of the Holy See, on these points, on the 30th of November, 1801, was as follows :

“ His Holiness has thus far received the replies of twenty-seven bishops, all conformable to his wishes. They freely resign their dioceses. His Holiness is informed that others will follow. All the bishops residing in London except five refuse. The replies of the others have not arrived, and it is not known whether in their scattered condition they have all received the brief, although we know it has been transmitted. Nor have we the reply of the other bishops from whom it was necessary at the same time to ask their consent to the dismemberment of their church and diocese, which are incorporated in the new circumscription of the dioceses of France.

“ The rules of the Church, and the constant usage of the Holy See under the circumstances, required His Holiness to await the replies to the brief. This is required also by the very interest of the numerous and worthy body of French incumbents. It removes, moreover, all pretext for complaint from a great many of them, struck down by the unexpected blow of a request for their resignation.

“ It will be advantageous for the pacific execution of the concordat, that they should not have reason to complain of not having been heard, since they are so offended at not having heard beforehand, and protest against the brevity of the period of ten days granted, styling it indiscreet and excessive. But in an affair of this importance, and in the actual and extraordinary state of things, in such imperious circumstances, His Holiness will look only at religion itself, and is ready to waive all canonical rules, saving dogma. His Holiness wishes to do in these extraordinary circumstances all that is not impossible to him.

“ Consequently, although proceeding to the annihilation of all jurisdiction in the incumbents (a necessary sequel to the suppression of the old Sees and the creation of new ones) ; although proceeding to the dismemberment of dioceses which, belonging to other bishops, will be comprised in the new circumscription ; although this action is so strong a step, especially when done without the consent or intervention of the bishops, although it is unexampled in the eighteen centuries of the Church, His Holiness is determined, in order to effect the restoration of religion in France, and show the

First Consul his condescension in whatever is not actually impossible to him, to send, as he now does, a bull concerning a new circumscription of the dioceses of France, as requested."

To facilitate matters, Pius VII. empowered Cardinal Caprara to institute the new bishops in the name of His Holiness, and confer canonical jurisdiction upon them by authority of the Holy See, on which they could be consecrated and assume the direction of their churches without waiting for the arrival of their bulls from Rome.

"His Holiness," continues the letter of Cardinal Consalvi, "would have wished to be able to gratify the First Consul as well in regard to the nomination of the fifteen constitutional bishops to whom he is desired to give canonical institution; but the undersigned has orders to declare, that in the terms in which the note of Counsellor Portalis and the dispatches of his eminence are expressed, the thing is intrinsically impossible: it wounds the substance of the deposit of the faith; and there are, moreover, insurmountable obstacles in the conscience of the Holy Father, and the obligations of his apostolate.

"His Holiness says, that this sacred deposit having been transmitted to him intact from the hands of his predecessors, he wishes to deliver it pure and intact to his successors, as required by the duty of the primacy of the universal Church, which God has confided to him.

"The case of the constitutional bishops is already decided by the Apostolic See, in the dogmatic brief of Pius VI. beginning, *Charitas*. That dogmatic definition cannot be reformed. His Holiness may mitigate the penalties therein inflicted on the said bishops, but the judgment of his predecessor in a matter of faith is irrefragable.

"The Catholic world and the whole episcopal body have received and respected this judgment of the Holy See. This is known to a demonstration.

"The Civil Constitution of the Clergy was condemned by the same dogmatic judgment of Pius VI., as containing errors against the deposit of faith.

"The constitutional bishops have adhered to this constitution under oath. By virtue of this constitution they have been elected, and illegitimately occupied the episcopal Sees.

"As long as the constitutional bishops do not recognize their illegitimate character, expressly declared in the said dogmatic judgment, the Holy Father says that they themselves place him in the impossibility of admitting them to his communion, and still more of instituting them pastors of the flock which they have scandalized by an act requiring such a definitive judgment of the Church.

"Far from acknowledging their illegitimate character, the constitutional

bishops, they openly assume in their acts of resignation that they are legitimate; some of them even venture to say that they ascended their Sees without canonical opposition, which is equivalent to assailing absolutely the contrary dogmatic judgment pronounced on this very question by the Holy See, and accepted by all Catholicity.

"On this subject His Holiness observes, that they openly contradict themselves in their resignation, recognizing the sovereign pontiff as the centre of unity of the Catholic Church, while in fact they sever themselves from it by refusing what has been ordained and prescribed by the Holy See.

"His Holiness observes, that as his predecessor found it impossible to yield to the request made, and from which the French government desisted spontaneously, namely, that he would recall the said briefs of condemnation, it is equally impossible for him to admit to his communion and invest with canonical institution the constitutionals, who, contrary to the dogmatic decision contained in said briefs, persist in maintaining the error condemned in them, refuse to acknowledge their illegitimate character, and to adhere and submit to the judgment pronounced by the Holy See.

"It is evident, says the Holy Father, that if this were done otherwise, he would *ipso facto* revoke what is contained in those briefs, which his predecessor could not himself do.

"The declaration published by them in certain letters, that they profess the same faith as the apostles, is not sufficient in the eyes of His Holiness.

"The faith of the apostles was, and must be, the faith of Saint Peter. The apostles themselves acknowledged him as head of the Church. When the constitutional bishops do not conform to, but on the contrary oppose the judgment of the Roman pontiff, the successor of Saint Peter, which successor has the same faith as Saint Peter, the same magistracy of doctrine, they do not verify in substance that their faith is that of the apostles. Many schismatics and heretics, while persisting in their errors, have declared that they had the faith of the apostles, but the Church has not therefore believed it.

"His Holiness, in his brief addressed to the archbishop of Corinth, has mitigated, as far as his authority permits, what the Holy Apostolic See has deemed right to require from the constitutional bishops. The brief speaks of no penalties. It imposes no satisfaction, it merely exacts from them the giving of a generic explanation, and requires that they adhere and submit to the judgments emanating from the Holy See, on the ecclesiastical affairs of France.

"These expressions comprise, in the mildest manner, the recognition of their illegitimacy, and the errors of the Civil Constitution of the Clergy to which they have sworn to adhere; all matters condemned by the dogmatic judgment of the Holy See; and this is the least that His Holiness can do

to retain the substance of that judgment which it has no power to change. While acting thus His Holiness has yielded to the utmost to the views of government; it does not require of the bishops a solemn retraction, as required by the brief *Charitas* of his predecessor.

“His Holiness has had the satisfaction of seeing that the government to which the brief to the archbishop of Corinth was shown, containing these measures, declared itself fully satisfied.

“The constitutional bishops have refused to submit to it: far from adopting the formula proposed to them by the Holy Father, they have used other formulas, and these, as has been already stated, confirm and sustain their error.

“In this position of affairs, the duty of the apostolate, the substance of faith and not a sentiment of pride, a sentiment foreign to the heart of His Holiness, prevent his being satisfied with the above-mentioned formulas. His Holiness has clearly proved that he has no sentiments of pride. He has made the advance to the constitutional bishops, and first invited them to meet and lay aside their error by obeying the briefs communicated to them by Monsignor Spira. Thus acted His Holiness at a time when the conduct pursued by the constitutional bishops, in the pretended national council against the Holy See, might more than ever justify his holding aloof.

“His Holiness is ready to give a new proof, by clasping to his heart, by admitting to his communion, by instituting even those among them who shall be nominated by the First Consul, provided they fulfil what is prescribed in the brief and in the instruction sent at the same time to the cardinal legate. It has been rendered necessary by the fact of their new persistence in error after cognizance of the briefs. This error is manifested in their formulas of resignation, now known to the whole Catholic world, because they have been printed in the public papers.

“A matter of faith is in question. His Holiness observes that, according to the rules of faith, it belongs to him, and to no other, to judge what the constitutional bishops have done in regard to said formulas, by pronouncing the profession of faith and the oath, and to confer institution if they are nominated. His Holiness is convinced that the religion of the First Consul will approve this judgment.

“The rules and constant practice of the Church have always required that none should be received into its bosom, much less assigned as pastors, who have left any heresy or schism, unless they avow expressly that they condemn especially their errors.

“His Holiness has advanced to the last accessible degree, by proposing to the constitutionals a formula implicitly condemning the error, making them adhere to the judgment of the Holy See which has condemned that

error. They, on the contrary, have professed their error anew, in their formula, as above remarked.

“His Holiness observes that the profession of faith of Pius IV., and the oath, suffice for those who are not suspected of adhering to any error in faith, when the presumption is in their favor; but when an error has been professed, the Church had required an express explicit profession.

“His Holiness cannot alter the substance of this rule; it has reduced it to the simplest formula, by generically requiring the above-mentioned formula.

“To this is added a very important fact. The constitutional bishops pronounced the profession of faith of Pius IV. when they held their pretended national councils. They at the same time professed and continued to profess their error by maintaining their legitimacy, the non-canonicity of the opposition of the Holy See, in the formulas of their already cited demission.

“His Holiness sees nothing humiliating for them to declare that they adhere and submit to the judgment of the Holy See on the ecclesiastical affairs of France. If they recognize His Holiness as head and centre of unity, it is not humiliating for bishops to submit to his judgments. These very words were proposed by the Holy Father as containing no humiliation. The French government itself has thought so.

“The Holy Father adds that to confess one's error is an act of humility, which shows a great and virtuous soul; that there is nothing humiliating in it, especially for bishops, and it will acquire them, on the contrary, an immortal glory before God and men.

“The Catholics, who form the majority in France, accustomed to regard the constitutionals as schismatics, will not grant them their esteem till they see them renounce their error. Every one knows how much esteem Fenelon acquired by a similar act. The pope asks much less of the constitutional bishops.

“When they resign their sees, when they solicit bulls for their institution, they must resign, acknowledging that they have illegitimately occupied them, and ask institution, recognizing as a principle that this should be done.

“But in resigning they claim legitimacy; while asking institution they declare that they adhere to the convention between the Holy See and France. This convention does not contain all the principles contrary to their error, because it does not mention them, and what it contains may be understood as a thing agreed upon by the contract.

“Although the Civil Constitution of the Clergy was not the work of ecclesiastics, His Holiness observes that from the moment when it was contrary to the Catholic religion, as dogmatically defined by the Holy See, the constitutional bishops could not adhere to it, still less persist in their error after a judgment given. It is true that, on the one hand, they obeyed the law;

but unfortunately that law, which forms no part of the constitution of the French government, is in opposition to the Catholic religion; they are bound to adhere and submit to the judgment of the Holy See. Without entering into civil affairs, it has solely condemned the error in regard to faith where it departs from it.

"Expression has been given to the fear that by exacting such a submission from the constitutionals, some dissension may arise between the priesthood and the empire, and the dignity of the nation be compromised; but it should be reflected that in the present circumstances the government is fully satisfied with the brief of His Holiness."

Notwithstanding these just and sensible observations, the constitutional party held out stubbornly, and Cardinal Caprara arranged matters according to his best judgment under his instructions, so that there were some satisfactory explanations, which it was thought best to accept, to avoid public scandal.

The great affair with France was not the only case that troubled the pontiff. On the 9th of October, the Chevalier de Vargas, minister of Spain at Rome, demanded that the nuncio's jurisdiction at Madrid should be abolished, and his duties restricted to those of a mere ambassador from the pope as a temporal prince, or those of a legate of the primate, and head of the Church, sent to Spain to show, by his presence, the communion of the Spanish Church with the Church of Rome, which is the centre of unity. They wished all ecclesiastical cases to be determined by Spanish judges, according to Spanish jurisprudence and forms of law.

To this attempt to throw off all but a nominal allegiance to the Holy See, Cardinal Consalvi replied on the 9th of January, 1802. He recapitulated the ordinances concerning the tribunal of the nunciature, published at Madrid in 1640, 1641, by Philip IV., after a previous arrangement with Urban VIII.; the concordat of June 17, 1717, between Clement XI. and Philip V.; the concordat of 1737, and the brief of Clement XIV., March 26, 1771, permitting the erection of a *Rota* of Spanish judges, but reserving the so-called contentious jurisdiction to the nuncio. Reminding him, then, that the popes had made greater concessions to the kings of Spain than to any other power, he concluded thus:

"The temporal sovereignty of His Holiness is only secondary, beside his supreme apostolate. His Holiness can have only nuncios.* This title belongs to his ambassadors. It is this character which secures them precedence. The popes have always sent legates or nuncios, with the real

* This rule causes the anomalous condition of affairs between the United States and the Holy See. The pope can send only nuncios, and the government of the United States declined to receive any other than an ambassador. It, however, commits the absurdity of keeping a minister at Rome.

object of watching over the interests of remote Catholics, and they have never had any idea of thereby showing parity of communion between the Roman Church and other churches. Any other mode of considering things is contrary to ecclesiastical discipline and absurd in itself."

The proposal to do away with the canon law was similarly disposed of.

In another note of the same date, October 9, Vargas had asked for the Spanish bishops the right to pronounce on all dispensations of marriage, secularization, indults for oratories. This was another war upon the Holy See. To grant these demands to Spain would have required granting them to every nation in Europe. Cardinal Consalvi replied officially on the 9th of January: "The Roman pontiff is the sole and supreme dispenser from the positive laws of the Church: such have Catholics at all times considered him.

"Were he not so, he would cease to be the visible head of the Church. Unable to dispense, he would no longer have the absolute power of the *Keys*; and if others dispensed, the first authority would not be concentrated in the pope alone. Your excellency's note says that this operation could be effected without diminishing in the least the authority of the Holy Father. Can it be imagined that an active authority can be perpetually and irrevocably changed into an inert authority without exercise, and yet that authority remain intact?

"At the moment of the past revolution, Pius VI. delegated such a permission to his nuncios, residing near the various sovereigns; but he delegated it during the tempest."

Meanwhile the body of Pius VI. had been delivered without any display to the archbishop of Corinth, who was slowly advancing to Rome with this sacred deposit. Then it became necessary to translate to the Church of the Holy Apostles the remains of Clement XIV., which had lain so long above the left-hand door of the chapel of the choir in Saint Peter's, because there the body of Pius VI. was to be placed. Lorenzini, the notary who had drawn up the official act of interment in September, 1774, was summoned as Notary of the Vatican to identify the body. After twenty-seven years, four months, and twenty-seven days, the body was found in a singular state of preservation; only the mitre was somewhat sunk in behind the mask which covered the face. At the feet was a bag of crimson velvet, with gold tassels, containing the gold and silver medals struck during the first years of his pontificate. The ceremony of the recognition and translation took place January 21, 1802.

The body of Pius VI. had already reached the pontifical territory. Cardinal Consalvi reminded the pope that it was time to practise the *religion of reparation*. It was resolved to display extraordinary pomp on this occasion, and appeal to the generosity of the Roman nobility. At the

moment of the arrival of the convoy in Rome, Canova, whose admirable advice was sought on the occasion, was decorated by the pope with the Cross of the Golden Milice, an honorary distinction when conferred by the pope himself, with a special and explicit brief. Preparations were accordingly made to pay to the remains of the pontiff the most solemn honors.

All had to be invented, for the circumstance was new. Shortly before breathing his last sigh, had confirmed a wish expressed in his will, in which he asked that his remains, if God permitted it, should be transported beneath the tomb of the holy apostles, Peter and Paul, before which he had so often prayed in life. This desire had long been known to the Cardinal Duke of York, who made it known to the reigning pontiff. Pius VII., both to carry out the pious wish of the deceased, satisfy the impulse of his own heart and the desires of the Romans, who longed to possess the remains of the persecuted pope, ordered the necessary steps to be taken with the First Consul; and this application had, as we have seen, met with complete success. It was accordingly announced that the remains of the last pope, who had expired in France, were to be translated from Valence, on the Rhone, to Saint Peter's. Monsignor Spira, to whom was assigned the honorable task of accepting and attending the body, received from clergy and people wherever he passed a welcome which betokened their piety and regret.

When the cortege approached Rome, an edict was published announcing that they were about to carry out, among others, the ceremonies which took place February 2d, 1733, when the body of Benedict XIII., a religious of the order of Saint Dominic, was transferred from the palace of the Vatican to the Church of Saint Mary *sopra Minerva*.

Monsignor Louis Gazzoli, auditor-general of the chamber, was appointed by the pope to direct the funeral pomp, and Monsignor Lanté, treasurer-general, to furnish the necessary funds. Both asked detailed instructions from the pope, but Pius VII. replied: "We have not much money, but you will take also all that is in our privy purse."

Scarcely was this known than offerings of tapers, torches, vestments, stuffs, and every thing imaginable that could render the ceremonies imposing, began to pour in. Even foreign ministers did not wish to be excepted on the occasion. Two prelates, Don Joseph Garzia Malo, prothonotary apostolic, and Joseph Marotti, secretary of briefs to princes, who, like Monsignor Spira, had courageously followed Pius till he breathed his last, proceeded to meet the corpse of their late master. To these two Pius VII. added Monsignor John Baptist Mancurti, and Monsignor Dominic Ginnasi of Imola, attached to his person.

On the 15th of February, the anniversary of the exaltation of Pius VI., created pope twenty-seven years before, the convoy reached the burgh of La Storta, and was there received by the grand penitentiary, Cardinal

Antonelli, bishop of Porto. His eminence, whose episcopal jurisdiction embraced the church of La Storta, gave the absolution in his pontifical vestments, and the next day celebrated Mass in the presence of the body.

Details of infantry and cavalry began to act as a guard of honor, and many Romans came out of the city to meet the cortege.

On the 16th the convoy stopped at a palace belonging to the duke of Bracciano, not far from the Gate of the People.

On Wednesday, February 17th, at daybreak, a salvo of artillery announced the beginning of the ceremony.

The great Piazza del Popolo, lighted by a brilliant sun, was occupied by troops; the porticoes of the palaces, the windows, and roofs being filled with spectators.

At nine o'clock in the morning the entire Noble Guard of the pope, with the Swiss guard, marched out of the city to form around the coffin, placed on a funeral bed twelve feet high and eight feet broad, adorned with violet damask, fringed with gold, with a covering of cloth of gold edged with black velvet, bearing at the four corners the arms of Pius VI., a fleur-de-lis blown on by a zephyr, and the words: PIUS PP. VI., P. M. In the middle rose a cushion spangled with gold, on which stood the tiara crowning the whole.

Before noon his excellency, Don Abbondio Rezzonico, senator of Rome, and prince assistant to the throne, the conservators and fiscal of the capital, followed by nearly all the Roman nobility, advanced from the city to meet the convoy.

At one o'clock the castle of Saint Angelo gave the signal, and continued firing a cannon every three minutes. At that instant all the church bells in Rome began to toll.

When the city gates swung back to admit the funeral car, recalling such sad recollections, a spectacle was witnessed that filled the heart with the deepest emotion. The hearse was preceded by two hundred persons marching in close ranks, each bearing a lighted torch; as many with torches followed the car. The cortege then moved on, the pupils of the Hospice Saint Michael and the orphans opening the line. These were followed by the religious orders according to the rank which is assigned to them in ceremonies, the Institute of Penance, the Discalced Augustinians, the Minims, the Capuchins, the Congregation of the Blessed Peter of Pisa, the Fathers of the Third Order of Saint Francis, the Conventuals, the Recollects, the Augustinians of the Congregation of Lombardy, the Hermits of Saint Augustine, the Carmelites, Servites, Dominicans, Canons of Saint Saviour, Cistercians, and Benedictines of Saint Calixtus.

Then came the parochial clergy of Rome, the canons of the nine collegiate churches, the chapters of the four minor basilicas, the clergy of the

three patriarchal basilicas of Saint Mary Major, the Vatican, and Saint John Lateran.

Following them were seen the vicegerent, Monsignor Fenaia, Monsignor Atanasio, lieutenant, officer, and minister of his eminence the cardinal-vicar La Somaglia, who preceded Monsignor Spira, archbishop of Corinth.

The Roman Baronaggio next advanced, then the pope's major-domo, the bishops, apostolic prothonotaries, auditors of the Rota, votans of the signature, abbreviators, referendaries, all mounted on mules caparisoned in black; finally, all the rest of His Holiness' court, Prince Paluzzo Altieri at the head of the Noble Guard and the regiments then stationed at Rome, with arms reversed, four pieces of artillery covered with crape, the cavalry, carriages of the foreign ambassadors and all the Roman nobility.

When the convoy passed before the bastions of the castle of Saint Angelo, the batteries fired repeated volleys, which did not cease till the body entered Saint Peter's, and the church bells of the city tolled more frequently.

The reception was to be made by Cardinal York, arch-priest of the *tumulant* church, as that is styled where the body is to be deposited. The cardinal had merely sent his cross to the procession, but the pope, surrounded by the sacred college, chose to be present, and he performed the first ceremonies prescribed by the sacred rite, and closed them with the solemn absolution.

The Noble and Swiss guards remained near the body, which had been placed in the centre of the grand nave. Saint Peter's was thronged with crowds who wished to see the catafalque. Ranks had to be formed, and more than thirty thousand passed in front of the body and retired by the lateral naves.

In the evening the oak case containing the leaden coffin was conveyed into the great chapel of the choir, accompanied by the chapter of Saint Peter's chanting the *Miserere*, and was brought into the middle of the choir, where all the cardinals were assembled. There Monsignor Peter Francis Galeffi, steward and secretary, gave the absolution. They then proceeded to the formal recognition of the body. The seals were declared intact. The wooden case was opened, and then the leaden coffin. The body was found entire, except that, in conveying it, it had been turned over and the nose and part of the face had been pressed against the lead.

The Latin inscription composed by Monsignor Marotti was found near the hand. At the knee was a purse containing a small number of pieces of money struck in his reign. The body had been buried in the white soutane and red stole: the pontifical habits and pallium were now added. Another purse, containing all the medals of his pontificate, was placed in the coffin

beside the other, by Monsignor Lanté, treasurer-general. The lead coffin was then closed again, and a plate soldered on, inscribed :

PIUS VI. P. M.
A VALENTIA APUD RHODANUM
AD BASILICAM S. PETRI
SOLEMNITER TRANSLATUS
DIE XVIII FEBRUARII MDCCCII.

The wooden case was then closed and sealed with the seals of Cardinal York, arch-priest ; Cardinal Joseph Doria, *procamerlinga* of Holy Church ; Monsignor Gavotti, major-domo of the sacred palace ; and the seal of the chapter of Saint Peter's.

The ceremony was witnessed by the Archduchess Mariana, sister of the emperor of Germany, and many foreigners of distinction.

The coffin was then transferred to the *representation* erected in the middle of the great nave, between the altar of the Blessed Virgin and the altar of Saint Gregory.

Further on, before the Confession of Saint Peter, was placed an altar for the sacrifice of Mass. A throne for the Holy Father was erected before the bronze statue of the prince of the apostles. Galleries were erected on each side for the archduchess, the duke de Chablais, and the diplomatic corps, who were to attend the ceremony in a body, all in black. Further on, places of honor, covered with tapestry, were reserved for the Roman nobility, Roman and foreign ladies.

The moment day broke on the 18th the celebration of about a thousand Masses began, at the various altars of that mighty temple, all being declared privileged for that day.

A crowd greater than that of the eve besieged the doors of the Basilica, and yet so immense is Saint Peter's that room was found for all. The great ceremony began. The Mass was chanted in presence of the pope, by Cardinal Antonelli, the first whom Pius VI. had invested with the purple.

"The novelty and magnificence of the spectacle," says Artaud, here an eye-witness, "absorbed all my attention. Words fail to describe the river of fire which waved around the catafalque ; the towering height, the elaborate ornamentation of the *representation* ; the crowds of kneeling citizens ; the peasant women from every surrounding district, in their varied and brilliant attire, which contrasted so strangely with the universal mourning ; the grave and austere forms of the sacred college ; and finally, the sovereign pontiff, who seemed to belong more to heaven than earth."

Profound silence prevailed as Monsignor Joachim Tosi, selected to pro-

nounce the Latin funeral oration, ascended the platform erected for the purpose. He pronounced his discourse in a clear, even, penetrating voice. He began by remarking that only two years less two days had elapsed since Pope Pius VI. was torn from Rome. He would not attempt, he declared, to enumerate the services rendered to the Holy See during a long pontificate; the works in the Pontine marshes, the obelisks erected, the museum enriched, the sound doctrines enforced by this successor of Saint Peter, who had approved himself doctor, pastor, head, and root of the Church, laboring unweariedly as a tender father, *quia charitas patiens est*.*

He then spoke of his patience in suffering; showed the extent, the learning, and the immense importance of his letters, replies, decrees, and decisions, cutting the evil to the quick, explaining the truth distinctly, lucidly, nobly. What the heart and mind required was exposed ably; all doubt was discussed by the aid of the most certain dogmas of faith, errors branded and exposed.

The orator then described his visit to Vienna: his care of the foreign missions, of the new Sees established at Baltimore, New Orleans, Pondicherry, in Siam and Tonquin.

After closing the enumeration of the labors of Pius VI., as head of the Church and sovereign of Rome, he directly complimented the First Consul, who had given the sovereign pontiff so striking a mark of his good-will, by restoring the body of Pius VI.

Then he addressed the pope, and reminded him that the Church owed his elevation to the selection of the late pope.

When the funeral oration closed, the sovereign pontiff descended from his throne to give the five absolutions, assisted by the cardinal duke of York, Cardinals Mattei, Archetti, and Joseph Doria.

When the French left Rome, they were obliged to leave a part of the works of art confiscated, in the Braschi and Albani palaces.† These were stored near Ripa Grande, on the Tiber, under seal. The owners claimed

* 1 Cor. xiii. 4.

† In 1798 the French Directory confiscated the whole Albani property, as well as that of the Braschi family. The magnificent Albani villa, near Rome, was stripped of its sculptures and marbles, and they, with the books and paintings of the house, were sent to Paris. Only a few cases that were lying sealed in the Roman custom-house in 1802 were then restored. In 1814, Cardinal Joseph Albani, backed by the Austrian and Roman governments, demanded restitution of the family property. Although allied to the house of Austria by blood, the family had been suffering distress from the confiscation. On the 9th of October, 1815, the celebrated relief of Antinous was restored to Signor Santi, the cardinal's commissioner; and in December following, the remaining pieces of sculpture of his museum, thirty-nine in number, were purchased for the Louvre by Louis XVIII. Among these are the beautiful statue of Euripides, another Antinous as Hercules, equally valuable, with several precious busts. Of the pictures and books, and many other pieces of glyptic art, no account was ever had, so far as we have heard.—*Wiseman*.

them, and the French government consented to their restoration, but wished to retain the colossal Antinous belonging to the Braschis, and six fine pieces belonging to the Albani collection—leaving it, however, to the pope to decide.

The pope saw no possibility of authorizing such a spoliation, but his decision gave great displeasure at Paris.

Pius VII., on his side, was afflicted that notwithstanding the representations of the pontifical government, constitutionals had been nominated to Episcopal Sees, and that the concordat, when published at Easter, April 18th, 1802, had been followed by the publication of organic articles, not agreed upon between the French government and Cardinal Caprara.

Alison thus describes these organic articles, which he evidently supposed, as Bonaparte intended they should be supposed, fully approved by the pope.

“Some very important articles were included in the same treaty, relative to the independence of the Gallican Church. It was provided : ‘1. That no bull, brief, rescript, decree, mandate, or provision, or other writing whatever, emanating from the court of Rome, even concerning individuals, should be received, published, printed, or put in execution, without the authority of government. 2. That no individual announcing himself as legate, vicar, or commissioner of the Holy See, should, without the same authority, exercise on the French territory or elsewhere, any function relative to the affairs of the Gallican Church. 3. That the decrees of foreign convocations, not excepting even those of general councils, should not be published in France without a previous examination by the government, to ascertain whether they were in harmony with the laws and institutions of the French Republic, or were in any way calculated to affect the public tranquillity. 4. That no national or metropolitan council, diocesan synod, or other deliberative assembly, should be held without the express authority of government. 5. That an appeal should lie to the council of state in every case of alleged abuse or misgovernment on the part of the superior ecclesiastical authorities ; and that under this head should be included every infraction of the rules established in the councils of the Church, every attempt calculated to injure the liberties of the Gallican Church, every infringement on the liberty of public worship, or of the rights which the laws secured to its ministers.’ By these articles, the Church of France was practically rendered nearly as independent of the papal authority as the Protestant establishment of Great Britain.”

Cardinal Consalvi's words remove all doubt as to the pope's sanction of these :

“The undersigned, by order of His Holiness, alludes to the organic articles, which, without the knowledge of His Holiness, were published with the seventeen articles of the concordat, as though they formed a part

of it (as the date and mode of publication would seem to show). These organic articles are represented as the form and condition of the restoration of the Catholic religion in France. Nevertheless, several of these articles having been found, in the eyes of His Holiness, in opposition to the rules of the Church, His Holiness cannot, on account of his ministry, but desire that they receive suitable modifications and necessary alterations."

Meanwhile, changes took place in the court of Sardinia. The holy Queen Clotilda died at Naples, on the 7th of March, after giving marks of the most exemplary piety. The pope could not refuse tears to the memory of this virtuous princess. Three months after her death, Charles Emanuel IV., inconsolable for her loss, resolved to retire to a monastery. He abdicated in favor of his brother, the duke of Aoste, who took the name of Victor Emanuel V. The abdicating prince reserved the title of king, and a pension of five hundred thousand dollars, which his brother was to augment if the family affairs improved.

The new court announced its wish to treat with the French government. It was divided into two parties: one at Rome desired the pope's intervention, the other at Naples sought the intervention of Chevalier Acton.

There was reason in desiring the intervention of the sovereign pontiff. Notwithstanding the displeasure given to the pope by the publication of the organic articles, it was known that the First Consul loved to see the pope intervene in various matters; and he had already declared in concert with England, which excited him to the step, that the interests of Europe required the election of a Grand-Master of Malta, by the pope, at the earliest moment. The other powers of Europe were invited to concur in the act.

Bonaparte wished at Malta neither the Spaniard Godoy, Prince of Peace, who ambitioned it, nor a German: he wished an Italian, at least free to act. The pontiff was about to pronounce. Bonaparte, accordingly, wrote personally to the French minister at Naples: "It is necessary that the king of Naples leave the pope in the entire enjoyment of his States, and it is just that Benevento and Ponte Corvo continue to be placed on the same footing."*

The chargé d'affaires of Russia, Count Cassini, a Piedmontese, was unfavorable to an election of Grand Master by the pope, and was most active in his endeavors against it.

Hompesch, who, as grand master, had surrendered the island to Bonaparte, now resided at Porto di Fermo, in the territories of the pope, and had not lost all hope of recovering possession of the power which he had so lightly lost.

* Letter, 2 Prairial, year x. (22d May, 1802.)

The priories of the order could not unite in an election, and all the European powers seemed to look to the action of the pope as a preliminary to the restoration of the island to the Knights of Malta.

The candidates proposed were the Bailly Taufkirken, a Bavarian; the baron de Flachslanden, a Frenchman, attached to the service of Louis XVIII.; Morawitzky, a Russian; Pfürdt Blumberg, the baron de Rinch, Germans; Pignatelli, Masini, and Bonelli, named by the priory of Sicily; Counts Colloredo and Kollowrath, nominated in Bohemia: Roderic Manuel Gorjao and Carvalho Pinto, Portuguese; the Bailly Tommasi, a Tuscan; and the Bailly Ruspoli, a Roman.

Cardinal Spira, to whom His Holiness, for his many services, had given the cardinal's hat, on the 29th of March, 1802, solicited in the name of some Genoese that Hompesch should be generously treated; but the French ambassador, while relieving him pecuniarily, gave him little hope of being restored to his principality. The fallen grand master then solicited the cardinal's hat; but this honor was then, as we shall see, too eagerly sought to make such a gift possible.

In 1788 the revenues of Malta amounted to two million nine hundred and ninety-four thousand three hundred and seventy-one livres tournois, and the expenses to three million eighty-four thousand seven hundred and sixty-nine livres; but this defect was made up before the end of the year. The order had now lost half its revenues by the suppression of the three French languages. The expenses could not be reduced in the same proportion, especially those incurred by ambassadors, the maintenance of a ship-of-the-line, three frigates, four galleys, two galliots, hospitals, and prisons. At the moment of the occupation of Malta the order was overwhelmed with debt, for Hompesch's administration had not been firm enough to restore the finances to a healthy condition.

The pope, therefore, felt embarrassed. He was to confer a high dignity with nothing to sustain it. He assembled a congregation of cardinals, summoning especially Cardinals Pietro and Caselli, recently employed in negotiating the concordat with France. He took their advice as to the merits of the different candidates for the office, and finally resolved to elect as grand master the Bailly Ruspoli, brother of Prince Ruspoli, a Roman nobleman, who had been Austrian minister at the court of Naples, and was now decorated with the order of the Golden Fleece. Ruspoli was a man of distinguished talents. He possessed education, enlightenment, and natural ability. He was not altogether favorable to the French revolution, but was known to be moderate, wise, and prudent in the expression of his opinions.

On the 16th of September the Chevalier Nicholas Bussi was sent in haste to England, bearing to Ruspoli the brief of his election. The reply of the new

grand master was anxiously awaited, inasmuch as he was indirectly under English influence, or would at least be influenced by the wishes of the British cabinet, as to the restoration of the order. Bussi found the Bailly Ruspoli in Scotland. He at once showed a disinclination to accept the office, and after the intervention of English agents, gave a direct refusal in writing. The First Consul immediately pressed a new election, and the pope consented, the more willingly to avoid any difficulties about restoring the sovereignty to the order in case of further delay. Russia asked that a lieutenant only should be chosen, the pope having exhausted his right and faculty by one election. France, England, Austria, and Naples urged a new choice. Pius VII. elected the Bailly Tommasi, a Tuscan, residing in Sicily, within reach of Malta. When the news of the election was officially presented by Chevalier Bussi, Tommasi accepted. Acton offered a Neapolitan corvette to convey the new grand master to Messina, which Tommasi accepted.

On the 15th of March, 1803, Tommasi made Bussi bailly and his lieutenant commissary at Malta, with orders to prepare to receive Malta, Gozo, and Cumino; but the English government constantly raised up new difficulties, and, as we all know, finally refused absolutely to restore the island, which it holds to this day. The Knights of Malta, as a sovereign power, ceased to exist in Europe, and the flag which had so long been the terror of the sectaries of Mahomet no longer floated to the breeze. In the designs of Providence its task was accomplished.

If Bonaparte, in the matter of Benevento, had been so generous, and in that of Malta deferential to the Holy See, it was not without a motive. He wished to see France again represented in the Sacred College. In his eyes, Cardinal Montmorency was no longer French; Rohan, part German, because as bishop of Strasburg his diocese extended into Germany; Gerdil, a Savoyard; and Franckenberg, not a bishop in France. He wished four of the new bishops made cardinals, and also Alphonse Hubert de Latier de Bayanne, then auditor of the Rota at Rome for France. He rested his claim mainly on the fact that for fifteen years no cardinal had been created at the instance of the French government.*

Pius VII. could not, however, act in this matter in the manner which Bonaparte supposed. On the 22d of July, 1802, Cardinal Consalvi addressed a circular note to Vienna, Madrid, and Lisbon, explaining in becoming terms the wishes of the First Consul, the grounds on which he based them, and the necessity of the step to an entire restoration of Catholicity in France. He accordingly asked them to suspend nominations due

* Bonaparte erred, however, in making this lapse of time a ground for claiming for France extraordinary privileges in the matter of cardinals, no promotion of *the crowns*, to use the technical expression, having taken place since 1789, as Cacault, the French minister at Rome, reminded Talleyrand. And at that promotion France had all her rights.

which, like the Mass, was composed by Paisiello. The orchestra was composed of five hundred musicians. The rest of the ceremony being completed, the imperial cortege at first, and then that of His Holiness, returned to the Tuileries.

The first tidings of the arrival of the pope at Paris were carried by a balloon, sent up the 25th Frimaire (December 16th), at Paris, at seven o'clock, during a heavy rain. The storm carried it off towards Dauphiny. It was seen next day over Embrun, and then a strong wind suddenly drove it towards the Mediterranean. The same day it was thrown on the coast of the Roman Campagna, then driven over Lake Bracciano, where it fell.

At this epoch the cardinals who had remained at Rome wrote letters of felicitation to the emperor. Their example was followed by Cardinal Maury.

Some disorder was feared for a time, under pretext of ravages committed by brigands, between Anagni and Ferentino, quite near Rome; but Monsignor Joachim Tosi, who had been appointed bishop of Anagni on the 26th of March, succeeded, by his exhortations, in soon restoring all communications.

Letters from the Bailly Ruspoli, who had declined the grand-mastership of Malta, excited alarm; although he admitted that the diplomatic corps generally did not share his fears, especially so long as Austria remained at peace. England he considered implacable, and Italy sure to be the scene of troubles. The Jesuits, who had been restored in Sicily, in 1803, also announced the arrival of revolutionists from the south of France, who had been arrested and carried to the Morea.

Rome, excited by these reports, and by the attitude of Russia, manifested in all ways a desire for the return of Pius VII.

Pius VII., who had continued at the Tuileries, in the pavilion of Flora, where rooms had been prepared corresponding exactly with those at Monte Cavallo, continued to give audience to the faithful. No person in his suite gave any ground of complaint. He sometimes received the emperor, and always showed him a worthy and affectionate good-will. The Princess Hortense, wife of Prince Louis, having given birth to a son who was named Napoleon Louis, the emperor ordered an official notification to be conveyed to the Holy Father. On the 6th the pope replied, felicitating the emperor on this new addition to his family, neither foreseeing that a future son of the same parents was ultimately to renew the glory of the family and name, and be the arbiter of Europe and the master of Italy as completely as his uncle; and strangely enough, upheld by the constant alliance of England.

Pius VII., before setting out for Paris, had been urged by Francis II., emperor of Germany, to do nothing in regard to the Germanic concordat while at the French capital; but the Italian concordat required the atten-

tion of Pius. Through Cardinal Fesch he earnestly sought, that in the new form to be given to the Italian republic, the decrees of vice-president Melzi, against which His Holiness had protested, should not be left in vigor.

Early in February Rome experienced a disaster attended with heavy loss. The Tiber overflowed its banks on the night of the last day of January. These inundations are usually ascribed by natural philosophers to the southwest wind blowing violently in the direction of the mouth between *Torre Clementina* and *Torre San Michele*, and thus preventing the waters of the river from finding their way to the sea. But although it is only thirteen or fourteen Italian miles from Rome to Porto, the course of the river is so winding that it is not easy to admit this explanation. The heavy rains on the Apennines afford a much better explanation. In one single night the Ripetta quarter was covered with water, and the Campagna opposite seemed another river. Tiber swept down trees, implements, horses and cattle surprised in the field. Orso-street was entirely submerged. Women, children, the aged, had no time to fly; those who lived in lower stories could only run to the roof, still above water. The wretched people filled the air with cries. They were destitute of bread and of all kinds of provisions. You could hear only: *Barcarolo, a noi, pieta, pane*. Cardinal Consalvi, after ordering the bakers to prepare an extraordinary supply of bread, hastened to the spot, and, taking a boat, went himself in his cardinal's dress to carry bread to the people on Orso-street, and his example was soon imitated by other Romans.

The southwest wind ceased; but the city was in water up to the Corso, and on the road to Ponte Molle. Zeal redoubled its efforts to relieve the people blockaded by water. The Borghese family showed equal energy and devotedness. It was necessary, also, to carry provisions to over a thousand contadini, cut off by water in the villas around Rome. Ecclesiastics and laymen hastened to their relief.

On the 2d of February, at five in the evening, the water for the first time began to fall. Cries of joy and hope resounded; but the retiring waters left a deposit of black, unhealthy mud, which had to be removed. This was speedily done by the energy of Cardinal Consalvi, and the houses destroyed or injured by the water restored.

Pius VII. was deeply afflicted on hearing of this sad visitation to his city. He now thought of his departure. His household, according to his plan laid before Cardinal Caprara, would move in four divisions; the first on the 9th of March, the second on the 12th, the third, in which His Holiness travelled, on the 15th, and the fourth on the 18th.

Napoleon had several times asked the pope to hand him a memoir as to the demands which might interest the Holy See. Then His Holiness consulted some of the cardinals who attended him. Cardinal Borgia, a man of

great prudence and moderation, had died at Lyons, and those now around the pope were not as discreet. A memoir was somewhat hastily drawn up, and delivered by the pope to Napoleon. The emperor referred it to Portalis. This was, however, recalled, and another memoir drawn up which would avoid long and useless discussions as to Gallican liberties. The contest begun under Louis XIV. could not be revived and settled at once, and more vital questions were of actual importance. Portalis, relying, though it is scarcely possible to understand it in a high minister of state, on D'Alembert, drew up an answer to the memoir and submitted it to Napoleon. The philosopher, in his hatred of religion, spoke of Louis XIV. being driven by his confessor, in his last days, to write to Clement XI., promising to make his bishops retract their solemn sanction to the four propositions. D'Alembert is full of insinuations and abuse. Father Letellier, the confessor of Louis XIV., is, in his eyes, an *impostor*; his counsels perfidious and punishable. Yet the high ministers of state took all this as history, and Napoleon made a great point of it. Yet the fact is most clear and simple. As we have seen in the course of this work, Louis, in 1693, suspended the execution of his edict, and thus wrote to Pope Innocent XII., on the 14th of September, 1693: "I am also glad to inform your Holiness that I have given the necessary orders that the things contained in my edict of March 22, 1682, touching the declaration made by the clergy of France (to which past conjunctures had obliged me) be not observed." So far from going beyond them in his later days, Louis, in a letter to cardinal de la Tremouille, on the 7th of July, 1713, says: "It is assumed contrary to the truth, that I have contravened the engagement made by the letter which *I wrote* to his predecessor, for I have obliged no one to maintain, against his own opinions, the propositions of the clergy of France; but it is not just that I prevent my subjects expressing and maintaining their sentiments on a matter which it is free to support either for or against, like many other questions of theology, without in the least affecting any of the articles of faith."

Yet on the history of the Church of France as presented by a d'Alembert, Napoleon met Pius VII. Armed with these falsehoods, Napoleon came one day into conference with Pius VII. That day, having been obliged to abridge his visit, he contented himself with saying to the Holy Father: "You see your Clement XI. You see what he did to Louis XIV. in the end of his days. Your Clement XI. was an adroit man; he gained the king's confessor: but it is not so now." The pope suspected that Napoleon confounded distinct epochs; and after the close of the interview he studied the matter thoroughly. He had laid before him a copy of the letter written by the king, in 1693, to Innocent XII., under the confessorate of Father Lachaise, as well as a copy of the letter written by the king, in 1713, to car-

dinal de la Tremouille; he sent for the anecdotes of Montesquieu and Count Guasco, and the judgments of d'Alembert.

Those who drew up Cardinal Caprara's notes on the organic laws explained more truly the real state of the question; and when the emperor returned to resume the interrupted accusation, Pius VII. alone knew the true state of the case, and Napoleon could attack only with false and unsupported accusations. The emperor liked the phrase, "Your Clement XI.;" he repeated it, gesticulating with warmth, but without anger; he stretched out his hand frequently, touching the Holy Father on the breast, and saying incessantly, "What have you to say in reply? what power have they not to overwhelm an old man, a king wearied, weary, who had made war too long, whose misfortunes had doubtless already clouded his reason?" We must let Pius VII. here himself state what he felt. He thus relates what occurred: "We had remarked that the emperor kept saying the same things over and over again. He did not leave 1713 and Father Letellier; and yet in all that he said he referred to 1693 and Father Lachaise. To all his 'Your Clement XI.' we were much disposed to reply, 'Your Louis XIV. nevertheless wrote this at another time;' but we could not inflate Napoleon, which a minister of religion should avoid, nor mortify him, which charity forbids. With the perspicacity which we know he possesses, we need but to have said two words to enable him to seize the dates, the truth, the confusion of facts, and then he would have gone off in anger. Mr. Portalis had detailed all these reasons verbally to Cardinal Antonelli, and he was the one who gave such information to the emperor. Napoleon, on being corrected, would have been indignant; he would upset every thing in his way, summoned Portalis, and treated him roughly; and we esteem Monsieur Portalis, he received the bishops honorably. Mr. Portalis said: 'The bishop who lives well in unity, is a head in doctrine and conduct for his diocese': we highly esteem a man who speaks thus of bishops, and we confined ourselves to remarking with some firmness: 'You are mistaken, it is not so,' but the emperor would never understand our forbearance."

Nevertheless, Napoleon, without understanding the motives of the pope's resistance, was struck with the dignity and mildness of his words, that kind of tender counsel expressed in his eyes, the polished obstinacy of his replies. On returning to his cabinet, he read the memoir attached to the report of Mr. Portalis, dated February 10th, made some corrections, and ordered it to be drawn up in a milder form.

The pope's memoir comprised eleven articles. The following is a summary of each article, with the reply finally made:

"Your Holiness represents that the provisions of the civil code on marriage are not in harmony with the religious dogma of the indissolubility of marriage. It desires a change in French legislation on that point.

"The civil law cannot proscribe divorce in a country where denominations are tolerated that admit it. At all events, it would have been unwise suddenly to change a jurisprudence which fifteen years of revolution had naturalized in France, when the new civil code was formed. In general, civil laws can have only a relative goodness. They should be adapted to the position in which a nation is. Time must perfect them. It belongs to religious laws only to recommend the absolute good which is in its nature immutable. But that the conduct of the Catholic ministers shall never be in contradiction to the dogmas which they profess, his majesty has declared, by the organ of his minister of worship, in a circular letter of 19 Prairial, year x. (June 8, 1802), that the ministers of the Catholic worship are free to refuse the nuptial benediction to parties re-marrying after a divorce, before the first marriage is dissolved by the death of one of the partners. He has declared such a refusal, on the part of the ministers of the Catholic worship, to be no matter of appeal to the Council of State.

"The second article treats of preserving to the bishops the natural inspection which they, of right, have over the manners and conduct of the clergy subject to their care.

"The French laws are far from attributing to the civil authority the essential rights the exercise of which belongs only to the episcopal authority. The secular authority must incontestably know the faults of ecclesiastics, when these offences violate the laws which bind every citizen ; for a man does not cease to be a citizen on becoming a priest. He consequently continues to be subject to the laws and authority to which every citizen owes submission and obedience ; but as to purely ecclesiastical offences, such as solely concern discipline and are susceptible only of the penalties laid down in the canons, it is admitted that the bishops are the natural judges of these offences, and that the secular authority can take cognizance of them, according to our national maxims, only in case of abuse. Thus, on many occasions, ecclesiastics have been remitted, by express orders of his majesty, to the pastoral censure of bishops, when these ecclesiastics have been denounced for facts relative to offences which might wound the duties and dignity of the priesthood. If there exist unwonted enterprises on the part of some, it is because all men are not wise enough to shut themselves within the precise terms of their attribution. His majesty will ever watch carefully that these enterprises shall be prevented or suppressed."

The third article of the pope's demands related to affording the Catholic clergy means of existing with decency, and perpetuating their order or religion, which cannot subsist without ministers. The long-detailed reply expresses, with extreme delicacy and a tone of absolute devotion, all that had been eagerly done in the matter.

"Article 4. Your Holiness would desire the renewal of the ancient laws on

the celebration of Sundays and holidays. His majesty perceives in this desire the sentiments of piety and the views of order which inspire Your Holiness. Experience proves that in large cities all the moments withdrawn from labor are given to vice or crime. The essential point is, that public functionaries and enlightened citizens should set an example to the multitude. By the present laws, all exterior and public labor is forbidden to functionaries of all kinds. It suffices to notify the public administrations not to have any public or servile work done on Sundays or holidays, except in urgent cases admitting of no delay."

By the fifth article the pope asked that no married priest or religious should be employed in public education. The minister replies that it is his majesty's intention that education shall never be confided to priests who are not in communion with their bishop. (This was not what the pope asked.) His majesty does not mean that religious education shall be neglected in the lyceums. His majesty will place bishops in the administrations directing the lyceums.

By the sixth article his majesty promised to maintain religious peace, which should be the happy result of the reconciliation of the Holy Father with the constitutional priests.

"Article 7. His majesty will restore to worship the temple of St. Genevieve, Patroness of Paris. As to the restoration of the congregations of priests, his majesty reserves this important question to his mature examination. In the first year of a new ecclesiastical organization it is necessary that the clergy assume a certain consistency, before corporations are set up beside it, which may soon become stronger and more powerful than the clergy themselves. Nevertheless, his majesty hastens to restore all the corporations known under the name of Sisters of Charity, or Hospital Sisters, consecrated by their institute to the service of the sick and the education of poor girls. He has, even, to give a special mark of his protection to establishments so useful to humanity, appointed Madame, mother of the emperor, protectress of these establishments."

The pope asked in the eighth article that the Catholic religion should be declared dominant. Monsieur Portalis replied in the emperor's name that such a law would revive old hatreds, and raise up new enemies to Catholicity.

Although the pope had then no correspondence with Ireland, that common father of Christendom could not forget his devoted children in that island, cut off from him in a manner by war and troubles. He solicited in the ninth article the emperor's protection for the ancient establishments of the Irish. The union of all in one being possible, the government grants it full support; and, in fact, Napoleon did more than he promised the pope.

By the tenth article the Lazarists are recommended to the emperor. A

decree restored them. A house, with a donation of 15,000 francs, was assured to them; they were placed under the jurisdiction of the Archbishop of Paris. The Seminary of the Foreign Missions at Paris was also restored. It asked no dotation. The purchaser of their property bought them in only to secure them; a noble example amid so much impious cupidity. The Seminary of the Holy Ghost, near Orleans, was restored, with power to receive bequests and foundations.

“Article 11. His majesty will replace by an equivalent revenue what the French government formerly paid in behalf of the Church of St. John Lateran at Rome, on condition that his majesty shall then enjoy the rights, prerogatives, and honors enjoyed by the former kings of France.”

Here again Portalis was at fault. Henry IV. had assigned to the basilica of Saint John Lateran the abbey of Clairac in France, giving it an income of near twelve thousand dollars. In return, the chapter celebrated a solemn Mass annually, on the 13th of December, the anniversary of the birth of Henry. At the revolution the abbey was seized and sold, and now the Basilica asked compensation.

So much was here conceded, that Pius VII. rejoiced that he had not inconsiderately made any remark that would have brought Mr. Portalis into disgrace.

There remained now to be discussed between the sovereign pontiff and the emperor of the French, only the question relative to the domains wrested from the Holy See. The cardinals present at Paris, and Cardinal Consalvi at Rome, saw that it would be impossible to obtain their restitution. Such a benefit was not in Napoleon's power. He had promised too much to his Italian republics. Yet Napoleon himself said earnestly to the pope, that they must discuss and examine this great affair. Pius accordingly handed to the emperor the following memoir :

“The majesty of worship which becomes the first See of the Catholic religion; the support of so many bishops and missionaries scattered over almost all parts of the world; the education of young men of all nations in the college of the Propaganda, at Rome, an establishment now closed for want of revenues, as are the special colleges of several nations; the support of many congregations and ministers necessary to expedite the business of the universal Church; the allowance to the cardinals on whom rests the administration of the same Church; the outfit, salary, and correspondence of legates, nuncios, vicars-apostolic at all courts and in foreign nations,—to pass in silence, if necessary, many other offices, very burdensome and yet indispensable to the Holy Apostolic See, for the support whereof divine Providence had endowed it, even in the most remote times, and anterior to its temporal sovereignty, with very great revenues and patrimonies, which it enjoyed not only at Rome but in distant countries;—

these employments and others inherent to the dignity of the sovereign pontiff are still the same, and have perhaps increased, while the means of supporting them has diminished and still daily diminishes. We need not lay before your majesty's eyes the losses incurred in the short term of a few years ; it suffices to allude to them. Even before half the last century had elapsed, the Holy See had to content itself with protestations instead of the actual possession of the duchies of Parma and Placentia, which had nevertheless devolved to the Holy See as of right, and belonged to it on the death of the last Duke Farnese. The National Assembly incorporated Avignon and the Comtat with France. The Directory of Paris occupied the three finest provinces of the Pontifical States—Romagna, Bologna, and Ferrara. Add to these great losses that of the great possessions of the Mesola near Comacchio, bought a few years before by the Apostolic Chamber, as well as the loss of its fiefs of high domain in Piedmont, for which the king of Sardinia, in his quality of pontifical-vicar, paid the annual tribute of chalice, of the value of two thousand dollars ; the stoppage of the annats and contributions from France and Germany, after the new order of things had been established in both empires. The annats and contributions were a revenue agreed upon with all nations, by solemn and reciprocal facts, in compensation for the contributions which all the Catholic churches owe the first See. In fact, the Roman pontiffs, on the faith and solid guarantee of these facts, have charged their treasury with a very heavy debt, which still remains undiminished, and which was nevertheless contracted in the first instance, to a great extent, in order to afford aid to the Catholic princes in the wars which they had to sustain against the infidels who attacked them on all sides. In fine, the extent of the incalculable and irremediable losses caused to the Apostolic Chamber and its finances and subjects, by the revolution that had just occurred.

“As it is for the general interest of Christianity that its head shall not lack means to fulfil the duties imposed on him for his own preservation, consequently for that of the primacy which Christ has given him, and whose utility is generally recognized, we cannot be indifferent to the loss of these means, nor neglect any step depending on our care, to repair this loss so far as lies in us.

“It is even a precise and positive obligation in a guardian and administrator, as we are of the patrimony of Saint Peter's,—a duty the more obligatory for us, as it is strengthened by the oath we took at the time of our elevation to the pontificate. We are still obliged, by the duties of strict justice, to pay the creditors of the pontifical treasury the interest of the immense capital, and at the same time meet the wants of the subjects of the Roman Church, reduced to the greatest distress by past calamities.

“The discharge of our duties, the necessity of providing for so many

urgent necessities, the succor due to so much misery, overwhelm our heart and constantly afflict our liberal and beneficent disposition. We therefore lay our solicitude on the bosom of your majesty, begging and conjuring you by that God, author of the Catholic faith, who has in so extraordinary a manner enriched you with his gifts, to repair as far as possible so many losses and injuries caused to the Holy See by a government which, thanks to your valor and merit, no longer exists.

“We might easily prove the want of any ground for the occupation of the pontifical States by troops under the Directory; we might develop the political reasons which would show that, independently of there being no danger for France, it would also be useful for the equilibrium of Italy to restore his domains to a prince who has no other defensive arms than his temporal weakness and his spiritual dignity; but we shall put our trust in nothing, after God, but the generosity and greatness of your magnanimous heart.

“The sincere admirers of your glory love to trace a resemblance between the ancient founder and the present restorer of the empire of the French.

“May it then please your imperial majesty, in order to perfect the parallel, to add here the imitation of the celebrated spontaneous act, whereby Charlemagne restored to Saint Peter all that he had recovered, by his glorious arms, of the gift already made by his father, Pepin, but which had been invaded by the Lombards, whom he conquered; we mean the Exarchate and the Pentapolis,* with the addition of other domains, and especially the duchy of Spoleto and Benevento.

“It will be another trait of imitation of the constant zeal which Charlemagne displayed in defending, and even extending on every occasion, the rights and prerogatives of the Holy See, if your majesty, on every other occasion, and especially in the conjuncture when a congress for a general peace shall take place, will assure the Holy See his powerful protection, and obtain the admission of an envoy on its part,—not to interfere in temporal negotiations, but to guarantee, by an efficient mediation, the rights and possession of the Holy Roman See.”

This memoir was examined with great attention. It exposed so clearly the nature of the wrongs done the Holy See, and the justice of the claim for restitution made, that Napoleon felt the importance of the arguments, and directed a reply to be made, in which it was easy to see that he refused because he had not the power to restore. In the face of his later conduct, and as the question of the temporal possessions of the Holy See is still discussed, the views of Napoleon cannot be without weight.

* This embraced Rimini, Fano, Pesaro, Ancona, and Humana, now destroyed.

“PARIS, March 11, 1805.

“The emperor has read with the most lively interest the memoir which contains the various statements of His Holiness as to the losses which the Holy See has sustained from the middle of the last century to the present day. The noble and pious reflections which the Holy Father expresses on this occasion have redoubled the emperor’s veneration for him. The sentiments of confidence and affection which the Holy Father manifests for the emperor would increase, were that possible, his filial love and gratitude.

“The emperor has always thought it useful for religion that the sovereign pontiff should be respected not only as head of the Catholic Church, but also as an independent sovereign. The emperor will, at all times, regard it as a duty to guarantee the States of the Holy Father, and in wars that may hereafter divide Christian States, obtain for him sure and complete tranquillity. The century just closed, and that which preceded it, have been detrimental to the temporal power of the Holy See. The spiritual power has received still more serious blows. God has permitted a great number of nations to venture successfully to burst all the bonds of obedience; and in those which have not been separated from it, many persons have eagerly listened to maxims tending to destroy every sentiment of religion, and even shake the bases of human morality. The disorder was increasing, and every form of misbelief, in honor, when God, to accomplish his designs, raised up the emperor. He first, by the credit of his example, arrested the torrent of dominant opinions. He manifested without reserve his gratitude towards God, the author of his victories; and scarcely was he invested with supreme power before he opened the temples, raised up the altars: by his care thirty millions of Catholics have returned to their obedience to the visible head of the Church of Christ.

“The emperor returns thanks to God for being chosen to work so great a good. But he is far from believing that naught remains to do to maintain the happy results of that restoration. The empire of religion is restored, yet the opinions which, during the course of two centuries, had incessantly labored to sap its foundations, have preserved all their danger, all their strength. Against the attacks of such an enemy, power and wealth are no aid. Hatred and envy rose against the Holy See, at the moment when it was environed with the greatest lustre and power. The goodness, piety, and noble disinterestedness of the sovereign pontiff now reigning, assure to the Holy Father more respect and submission than the most violent and powerful of his predecessors ever obtained.

“That the Holy Father may, for the edification and happiness of the Christian States, exercise, with the moderation and dignity inherent in his character, the empire due to his virtues and title as supreme head of the Church, is the dearest wish of the emperor; and he will second, with all his

power, the exercise of so holy and so salutary an influence. He would also, from personal consideration for the Holy Father, Pius VII., wish to be able to contribute to augment the advantages of his temporal existence, and he would desire that God would enable the occasion to arise; the emperor would seize it with pleasure. But it is not permitted to him to draw this result from the course of past events, which are in no man's power, in which he had no part, and which God permitted before the establishment of the throne on which he has raised the emperor. On investing him with the supreme power, God prescribed the measure. The emperor must respect the limit which God himself has traced, and he finds himself bound alike by the fundamental laws of the State and the sanctity of the solemn oath which he has taken.

"France has dearly purchased the power she enjoys. It is not in the emperor's power to cut off aught from an empire which is the price of ten years' bloody war, sustained with admirable courage, and the most unhappy agitations endured with unequalled constancy. Still less is it permitted to diminish the territory of a foreign State, which, confiding to him the care of governing it, imposes on him the duty of protecting it, and has given no right to diminish the territory which it possessed, when the emperor assumed the control of its destinies."

Here there was in the draft of the reply an obliging expression of regard for the Holy Father, who was known to be influenced by no motive of interest; they were convinced that his pure soul was filled only with holy desires, and sentiments elevated above all human considerations. It was hoped that His Holiness would be persuaded of the sensible regret with which he found him unable to second his desires for the actual increase of the temporal power. The emperor found these words to express only a part of his sentiments, and that more must be said. He then dictated to Talleyrand the following paragraph, which that minister immediately wrote in his own hand. These words, worthy of special attention, will remain as indicating Napoleon's real feelings:

"If God grants us the common duration of human life, we hope to find circumstances where it will be permitted to us to consolidate and extend the domain of the Holy Father; and even now we can and will lend a helping hand to aid him to come forth from the chaos and difficulties into which the late war has plunged him, and thereby give the world a proof of our veneration for the Holy Father; our protection for the capital of Christendom, and, finally, of the constant desire that animates us to behold our religion yield to no other in the pomp of its ceremonies, the splendor of its temples, and all that can make it imposing to the nations; we have directed our uncle, the Cardinal Grand Almoner, to explain to the Holy Father our intentions and what we mean to do."

After this addition, the memoir ends thus : " Ever faithful to the plan which the emperor proposes from the first, he will make it his glory and happiness to be one of the firmest supporters of the Holy See, and one of the most sincere defenders of the prosperity of Christian nations. He wishes men to place in the first rank, among the actions which have thrown lustre over his life, the respect which he has always shown to the Church of Rome, and the success of the efforts which he has made to reconcile to it the heart and the faith of the first nation of the universe."

But will these sentiments last ? Will there not always be found in Napoleon two distinct men, when religious questions are to be treated of ? First, a just, prompt, facile spirit, asking counsel in a class of studies and polity which he has never explored, receiving with a good grace a salutary direction, and following it with all the force that characterizes a deep-seated conviction ; and again a restless spirit, given up to a foolish pride, of half-read erudition, envying the priest's mission, and deeming it a humiliation that the emperor is not in the interval of his battles the pontiff of the nation, as he has been the supreme regulator of military operations ?

The cardinals and prelates of the pope's retinue shared sincerely in His Holiness' joy. Clear as the refusal was, no murmur was heard. The pope continued to visit the churches, to bless those who knelt before him and those who thought proper to refuse him that homage. He beheld at his feet with the same kindly eye, de Lalande no longer glorying in the name of *atheist*, and the pious matrons who had succored religion and its ministry in the misfortunes of the Church. Yet the pope was really a prisoner in France ; at this very time not one week followed another without his asking permission to return to Rome. This permission was not to be granted till he had resisted the most bitter request that he could hear from the mouth of a Frenchman. Pope Pius VII. would never give the name of the high French official who one day spoke to him of taking up his residence at Avignon, of accepting of a papal palace at the archbishopric of Paris, and of having a privileged quarter established as at Constantinople, where the diplomatic body accredited to the pontifical authority would have the exclusive right of residence. The first words, insinuated rather than directly addressed, then repeated around to confidential persons, to Frenchmen friendly to the Holy See, gave all to suppose that Napoleon wished to retain the pope in France. These words were not uttered by Napoleon, but such was his influence over opinions and words, that they could not possibly have been hazarded without his permission. The corps diplomatique at Rome spoke of the matter. The pope deemed it proper to reply fully in the presence of the same high official who had broached the matter : " The report is, that we may be detained in France. Well ! let them deprive us of our liberty. All is provided for. Before leaving Rome,

we signed a formal valid abdication, to take effect if we are thrown into prison. The act is beyond the power of the French ; Cardinal Pignatelli holds it at Palermo, and as soon as the projects now devised are declared, you will have in your hands only a poor monk, by name Barnabas Chiaramonti."

That same evening orders for the departure of His Holiness were laid before the emperor, and they only awaited a suitable change of season and the time necessary to insure the relays with more exactness than had attended the pope's journey to Paris.

At Rome all the proceedings were watched, and the deepest anxiety prevailed. Cardinal Consalvi endeavored to divert the forebodings of the people. But Holy Week was to pass without the pope. The ceremonial was observed, but it could never be as solemn in the pope's absence. Nothing could replace the emotion experienced when the pope is seen entering, borne on the *sedia gestatoria*, and especially during the chant *Ecce Sacerdos Magnus*.

At the time of the pope's departure from Paris, Napoleon prepared to go to Milan, to be crowned king of Italy. Pius VII. received a welcome at Châlons-sur-Saône, of which he afterwards spoke with emotion. At Lyons he was received by Cardinal Fesch, and no expense or exhortation spared to make His Holiness' stay, in the second city of the kingdom, a pleasant one. He wrote to the emperor, to express his gratification at the honors tendered to him by the local authorities and troops, as well as the proofs of devotion given by the people, "of which," says he, "we assure you that we shall preserve a lasting remembrance."

Meanwhile, every preparation was made at Rome to receive the pope. At Florence the queen of Etruria gave him proofs of her constant piety. It was agreed, however, that at Rome the foreign legations should not go in a body to meet His Holiness.*

Religious ceremonies succeeded each other from Florence to Viterbo. A notification announced that the pope would enter Rome on the 16th of May. Pursuant to his orders, the carriage in which he entered at the Ponte Molle drove to Saint Peter's. Then Pius VII. returned thanks for his happy return. The cardinal of York, in spite of his eighty years, received the pope at the door of the Basilica.

After the benediction, Pius VII. once more approached the altar to offer his last prayer before leaving. It seems that while he knelt there, a kind of ecstasy came over him. The thought of being once more in the great temple of his capital, one hundred and eighty-five days after his sad departure; the recollection of the dangers through which he had passed, or

* Prussia was then represented by the elder Humboldt, who had his brother Alexander with him. The former, on this occasion, first assumed the title of *Minister Resident*, in spite of bulls denying the title to a Protestant.

which he supposed he might have encountered on the journey, so overcame him that he remained motionless at the foot of the altar. The ecstasy was prolonged; the church which they had entered as day began to wane, and which none had thought of lighting up for an evening ceremony, began to grow obscure. More than thirty thousand persons remained amid that silence and coming gloom with a sense of oppression, unable to conceive the cause.

Cardinal Consalvi arose gently, approached the pope, touched him on the arm, and asked him whether he felt any faintness. The pope clasped the cardinal's hand, thanked him, and told him that his lengthened prayer was an outpouring of his happiness and joy. The pope was then reconducted to his chair. He was greatly fatigued, and they insisted on his retiring without granting any audiences.

That evening there was a general illumination in the palaces of Rome, and the Senator gave a magnificent reception in the Capitol, at which all the Roman nobility and the diplomatic corps were present.

Artaud, who was admitted to an audience on the following day, thus describes what passed: "The Holy Father spoke with warmth of what he had seen; he showed me, with a kind of satisfaction, the medals struck in his honor. He digressed every moment to mention new subjects. The establishment of the Sisters of Charity at Paris had excited his interest, and he thought of diffusing the order in Italy, Germany, and Ireland. He then returned to the motives which he had for congratulating himself on the journey. All at once his countenance became more serious. He collected himself for a moment, as if to speak of a grave matter; then he had the air of rejecting the rising thought; his face became radiant again, and he took my hand as though to fix my attention. I listened with great pleasure. 'We will tell you an event which will prove to you how far we should be pleased with your excellent people. We do not speak of the benediction at the Museum, at the end of December. It was especially on our return that we received unnumbered marks of love and respect.

"At Châlons-sur-Saône we were about leaving a house where we had passed several days, in order to take the road to Lyons. It was impossible to traverse the crowd. More than two thousand women, children, old men, boys, separated us from the carriage, which they could not bring any nearer. Two dragoons,' so His Holiness called the gendarmes, 'appointed to escort us, led us on foot to our carriage, by making us walk close between their two horses. The dragoons seemed proud of the manoeuvre, and of having outwitted the people. On reaching the carriage, half smothered, we were about to leap in with all possible dexterity and address, for it was a battle where stratagem was requisite, when a young girl, who was more than a match for ourselves and the two dragoons, glided under one of the horses,

and seized our foot to kiss it: nor would she let it go, as she wished to pass it to her mother, who was coming by the same route. Ready to lose our balance, we laid our two hands on the dragoon whose face was least pious, begging him to hold us up. 'Signor dragoon,' said we, 'take pity on us.' On that the good soldier (so much for reading countenances), instead of taking our part in the difficulty, seized our hands to kiss them repeatedly. So that between the girl and the soldier we were hanging for a half a quarter of a minute, claiming our own person, and moved to tears. Ah! we have been pleased with the people of France.' "

One of the first duties of the pope was to reply to Napoleon, who, ever seeking some advantage, now wished the bishop of Orleans made papal nuncio at Ratisbonne. A previous request had been made for the place of major-domo for one of the old French bishops. Without delicacy, Napoleon wished to put the pope entirely under French control. But Pius VII. showed how irregular it would be to appoint one inexperienced in diplomacy, one who had never served in the Roman prelacy.

But a more serious trouble was in store. Jerome Bonaparte, a brother of the emperor, and a minor, had, while on a visit to the United States, on a French man-of-war, in which he was a midshipman, been attracted by Miss Patterson, of Baltimore. After a brief courtship he asked her hand and was accepted. The marriage ceremony was performed on the 24th day of Dec., 1803, by the Most Rev. John Carroll, archbishop of Baltimore. On Jerome's return to France with his young wife, Napoleon's anger burst forth; he sent Mrs. Jerome Bonaparte back to America, and now sought to invalidate the marriage. On the 24th of May, Napoleon wrote to the pope: "I have several times spoken to Your Holiness about a brother, nineteen years old, whom I sent on a frigate to America, and who, after a month's stay, married in Baltimore, although a minor, the Protestant daughter of an American merchant. He has just returned; he feels the extent of his fault. I have sent back Miss Patterson, his alleged wife, to America. According to our laws the marriage is null. A Spanish priest so far forgot his duty as to give the nuptial benediction.

"I would like a bull from Your Holiness annulling this marriage. I send to Your Holiness several memoirs, from which Your Holiness will receive most light; one from Cardinal Consalvi, which will give you much light. I can easily invalidate the marriage at Paris, the Gallican church recognizing these unions as null. It seems better to me to have it decided at Rome, if only as an example to members of sovereign houses, who shall contract marriage with Protestants. May Your Holiness dispose of this matter quietly. I will proceed to the civil decision only when I know Your Holiness is disposed to act.

"It is important for France itself that there should not be a Protestant

girl so near me. It is dangerous that a minor of nineteen, a distinguished youth, should be exposed to such seduction against the civil laws and all propriety."

A magnificent gold tiara, prepared in haste by the first goldsmiths of Paris, was sent to win the pontiff's favor. But the path of duty lay clear before the pope.* He could not swerve for fear or favor. His reply will stand as a clear and distinct decision :

"Your majesty must attribute the delay in the return of the courier solely to our desire of employing every means in our power to satisfy the requests contained in the letter, and memoirs annexed thereto, handed to us by the courier.

"So far as depends on us—namely, in order to preserve inviolable secrecy—we have made it a point of honor to satisfy your majesty's wishes most exactly. We have accordingly evoked to ourselves the examination of the petition touching the marriage in question.

"Amid a host of overwhelming affairs, we have taken all care and pains to draw information from all sources, to make the most careful research, and see whether our apostolic authority could furnish us any means of satisfying your majesty's desires, which from these motives it would have been most agreeable to us to gratify. But consider the question from any point whatever, there results from our examination that none of the motives proposed to us, no motive that we can imagine, permits us to content your majesty, as we would desire, by declaring said marriage null.

"The three memoirs, transmitted to us by your majesty, being based on contradictory principles, destroy each other reciprocally.

"The first, setting aside all other diriment impediments, maintains that only two can apply to the case in question—namely, the disparity of religion of the contracting parties, and the non-intervention of the parish priest on the celebration of the marriage. The second, rejecting these two impediments, deduces two others—from the want of the consent of the mother and kindred of the young man under age, and of the *violence* (rapt) designated as *seduction*.

"The third does not agree with the second, and proposes, as the sole ground of the nullity, the want of consent of the parish priest, which it pretends to be necessary, inasmuch as he has not changed his domicile ; because, according to the decrees of the Council of Trent, the permission of the parish priest is absolutely necessary to a marriage.

"An analysis of these contrary opinions shows the impediments relied upon to be four in number ; but on examining them separately it has been

* Artaud supposes that an agent of the President of the United States advocated the cause of the Pattersons at Rome, and that an English agent interposed.

which, like the Mass, was composed by Paisiello. The orchestra was composed of five hundred musicians. The rest of the ceremony being completed, the imperial cortege at first, and then that of His Holiness, returned to the Tuileries.

The first tidings of the arrival of the pope at Paris were carried by a balloon, sent up the 25th Frimaire (December 16th), at Paris, at seven o'clock, during a heavy rain. The storm carried it off towards Dauphiny. It was seen next day over Embrun, and then a strong wind suddenly drove it towards the Mediterranean. The same day it was thrown on the coast of the Roman Campagna, then driven over Lake Bracciano, where it fell.

At this epoch the cardinals who had remained at Rome wrote letters of felicitation to the emperor. Their example was followed by Cardinal Maury.

Some disorder was feared for a time, under pretext of ravages committed by brigands, between Anagni and Ferentino, quite near Rome; but Monsignor Joachim Tosi, who had been appointed bishop of Anagni on the 26th of March, succeeded, by his exhortations, in soon restoring all communications.

Letters from the Bailly Ruspoli, who had declined the grand-mastership of Malta, excited alarm; although he admitted that the diplomatic corps generally did not share his fears, especially so long as Austria remained at peace. England he considered implacable, and Italy sure to be the scene of troubles. The Jesuits, who had been restored in Sicily, in 1803, also announced the arrival of revolutionists from the south of France, who had been arrested and carried to the Morea.

Rome, excited by these reports, and by the attitude of Russia, manifested in all ways a desire for the return of Pius VII.

Pius VII., who had continued at the Tuileries, in the pavilion of Flora, where rooms had been prepared corresponding exactly with those at Monte Cavallo, continued to give audience to the faithful. No person in his suite gave any ground of complaint. He sometimes received the emperor, and always showed him a worthy and affectionate good-will. The Princess Hortense, wife of Prince Louis, having given birth to a son who was named Napoleon Louis, the emperor ordered an official notification to be conveyed to the Holy Father. On the 6th the pope replied, felicitating the emperor on this new addition to his family, neither foreseeing that a future son of the same parents was ultimately to renew the glory of the family and name, and be the arbiter of Europe and the master of Italy as completely as his uncle; and strangely enough, upheld by the constant alliance of England.

Pius VII., before setting out for Paris, had been urged by Francis II., emperor of Germany, to do nothing in regard to the Germanic concordat while at the French capital; but the Italian concordat required the atten-

tion of Pius. Through Cardinal Fesch he earnestly sought, that in the new form to be given to the Italian republic, the decrees of vice-president Melzi, against which His Holiness had protested, should not be left in vigor.

Early in February Rome experienced a disaster attended with heavy loss. The Tiber overflowed its banks on the night of the last day of January. These inundations are usually ascribed by natural philosophers to the southwest wind blowing violently in the direction of the mouth between *Torre Clementina* and *Torre San Michele*, and thus preventing the waters of the river from finding their way to the sea. But although it is only thirteen or fourteen Italian miles from Rome to Porto, the course of the river is so winding that it is not easy to admit this explanation. The heavy rains on the Apennines afford a much better explanation. In one single night the Ripetta quarter was covered with water, and the Campagna opposite seemed another river. Tiber swept down trees, implements, horses and cattle surprised in the field. Orso-street was entirely submerged. Women, children, the aged, had no time to fly; those who lived in lower stories could only run to the roof, still above water. The wretched people filled the air with cries. They were destitute of bread and of all kinds of provisions. You could hear only: *Barcarolo, a noi, pieta, pane*. Cardinal Consalvi, after ordering the bakers to prepare an extraordinary supply of bread, hastened to the spot, and, taking a boat, went himself in his cardinal's dress to carry bread to the people on Orso-street, and his example was soon imitated by other Romans.

The southwest wind ceased; but the city was in water up to the Corso, and on the road to Ponte Molle. Zeal redoubled its efforts to relieve the people blockaded by water. The Borghese family showed equal energy and devotedness. It was necessary, also, to carry provisions to over a thousand contadini, cut off by water in the villas around Rome. Ecclesiastics and laymen hastened to their relief.

On the 2d of February, at five in the evening, the water for the first time began to fall. Cries of joy and hope resounded; but the retiring waters left a deposit of black, unhealthy mud, which had to be removed. This was speedily done by the energy of Cardinal Consalvi, and the houses destroyed or injured by the water restored.

Pius VII. was deeply afflicted on hearing of this sad visitation to his city. He now thought of his departure. His household, according to his plan laid before Cardinal Caprara, would move in four divisions; the first on the 9th of March, the second on the 12th, the third, in which His Holiness travelled, on the 15th, and the fourth on the 18th.

Napoleon had several times asked the pope to hand him a memoir as to the demands which might interest the Holy See. Then His Holiness consulted some of the cardinals who attended him. Cardinal Borgia, a man of

great prudence and moderation, had died at Lyons, and those now around the pope were not as discreet. A memoir was somewhat hastily drawn up, and delivered by the pope to Napoleon. The emperor referred it to Portalis. This was, however, recalled, and another memoir drawn up which would avoid long and useless discussions as to Gallican liberties. The contest begun under Louis XIV. could not be revived and settled at once, and more vital questions were of actual importance. Portalis, relying, though it is scarcely possible to understand it in a high minister of state, on D'Alembert, drew up an answer to the memoir and submitted it to Napoleon. The philosopher, in his hatred of religion, spoke of Louis XIV. being driven by his confessor, in his last days, to write to Clement XI., promising to make his bishops retract their solemn sanction to the four propositions. D'Alembert is full of insinuations and abuse. Father Letellier, the confessor of Louis XIV., is, in his eyes, an *impostor*; his counsels perfidious and punishable. Yet the high ministers of state took all this as history, and Napoleon made a great point of it. Yet the fact is most clear and simple. As we have seen in the course of this work, Louis, in 1693, suspended the execution of his edict, and thus wrote to Pope Innocent XII., on the 14th of September, 1693: "I am also glad to inform your Holiness that I have given the necessary orders that the things contained in my edict of March 22, 1682, touching the declaration made by the clergy of France (to which past conjunctures had obliged me) be not observed." So far from going beyond them in his later days, Louis, in a letter to cardinal de la Tremouille, on the 7th of July, 1713, says: "It is assumed contrary to the truth, that I have contravened the engagement made by the letter which *I wrote* to his predecessor, for I have obliged no one to maintain, against his own opinions, the propositions of the clergy of France; but it is not just that I prevent my subjects expressing and maintaining their sentiments on a matter which it is free to support either for or against, like many other questions of theology, without in the least affecting any of the articles of faith."

Yet on the history of the Church of France as presented by a d'Alembert, Napoleon met Pius VII. Armed with these falsehoods, Napoleon came one day into conference with Pius VII. That day, having been obliged to abridge his visit, he contented himself with saying to the Holy Father: "You see your Clement XI. You see what he did to Louis XIV. in the end of his days. Your Clement XI. was an adroit man; he gained the king's confessor: but it is not so now." The pope suspected that Napoleon confounded distinct epochs; and after the close of the interview he studied the matter thoroughly. He had laid before him a copy of the letter written by the king, in 1693, to Innocent XII., under the confessorate of Father Lachaise, as well as a copy of the letter written by the king, in 1713, to car-

dinal de la Tremouille ; he sent for the anecdotes of Montesquieu and Count Guasco, and the judgments of d'Alembert.

Those who drew up Cardinal Caprara's notes on the organic laws explained more truly the real state of the question ; and when the emperor returned to resume the interrupted accusation, Pius VII. alone knew the true state of the case, and Napoleon could attack only with false and unsupported accusations. The emperor liked the phrase, " Your Clement XI. ;" he repeated it, gesticulating with warmth, but without anger ; he stretched out his hand frequently, touching the Holy Father on the breast, and saying incessantly, " What have you to say in reply ? what power have they not to overwhelm an old man, a king wearied, weary, who had made war too long, whose misfortunes had doubtless already clouded his reason ?" We must let Pius VII. here himself state what he felt. He thus relates what occurred : " We had remarked that the emperor kept saying the same things over and over again. He did not leave 1713 and Father Letellier ; and yet in all that he said he referred to 1693 and Father Lachaise. To all his ' Your Clement XI.' we were much disposed to reply, ' Your Louis XIV. nevertheless wrote this at another time ;' but we could not inflate Napoleon, which a minister of religion should avoid, nor mortify him, which charity forbids. With the perspicacity which we know he possesses, we need but to have said two words to enable him to seize the dates, the truth, the confusion of facts, and then he would have gone off in anger. Mr. Portalis had detailed all these reasons verbally to Cardinal Antonelli, and he was the one who gave such information to the emperor. Napoleon, on being corrected, would have been indignant ; he would upset every thing in his way, summoned Portalis, and treated him roughly ; and we esteem Monsieur Portalis, he received the bishops honorably. Mr. Portalis said : ' The bishop who lives well in unity, is a head in doctrine and conduct for his diocese' : we highly esteem a man who speaks thus of bishops, and we confined ourselves to remarking with some firmness : ' You are mistaken, it is not so,' but the emperor would never understand our forbearance."

Nevertheless, Napoleon, without understanding the motives of the pope's resistance, was struck with the dignity and mildness of his words, that kind of tender counsel expressed in his eyes, the polished obstinacy of his replies. On returning to his cabinet, he read the memoir attached to the report of Mr. Portalis, dated February 10th, made some corrections, and ordered it to be drawn up in a milder form.

The pope's memoir comprised eleven articles. The following is a summary of each article, with the reply finally made :

" Your Holiness represents that the provisions of the civil code on marriage are not in harmony with the religious dogma of the indissolubility of marriage. It desires a change in French legislation on that point.

“The civil law cannot proscribe divorce in a country where denominations are tolerated that admit it. At all events, it would have been unwise suddenly to change a jurisprudence which fifteen years of revolution had naturalized in France, when the new civil code was formed. In general, civil laws can have only a relative goodness. They should be adapted to the position in which a nation is. Time must perfect them. It belongs to religious laws only to recommend the absolute good which is in its nature immutable. But that the conduct of the Catholic ministers shall never be in contradiction to the dogmas which they profess, his majesty has declared, by the organ of his minister of worship, in a circular letter of 19 Prairial, year x. (June 8, 1802), that the ministers of the Catholic worship are free to refuse the nuptial benediction to parties re-marrying after a divorce, before the first marriage is dissolved by the death of one of the partners. He has declared such a refusal, on the part of the ministers of the Catholic worship, to be no matter of appeal to the Council of State.

“The second article treats of preserving to the bishops the natural inspection which they, of right, have over the manners and conduct of the clergy subject to their care.

“The French laws are far from attributing to the civil authority the essential rights the exercise of which belongs only to the episcopal authority. The secular authority must incontestably know the faults of ecclesiastics, when these offences violate the laws which bind every citizen ; for a man does not cease to be a citizen on becoming a priest. He consequently continues to be subject to the laws and authority to which every citizen owes submission and obedience ; but as to purely ecclesiastical offences, such as solely concern discipline and are susceptible only of the penalties laid down in the canons, it is admitted that the bishops are the natural judges of these offences, and that the secular authority can take cognizance of them, according to our national maxims, only in case of abuse. Thus, on many occasions, ecclesiastics have been remitted, by express orders of his majesty, to the pastoral censure of bishops, when these ecclesiastics have been denounced for facts relative to offences which might wound the duties and dignity of the priesthood. If there exist unwonted enterprises on the part of some, it is because all men are not wise enough to shut themselves within the precise terms of their attribution. His majesty will ever watch carefully that these enterprises shall be prevented or suppressed.”

The third article of the pope's demands related to affording the Catholic clergy means of existing with decency, and perpetuating their order or religion, which cannot subsist without ministers. The long-detailed reply expresses, with extreme delicacy and a tone of absolute devotion, all that had been eagerly done in the matter.

“Article 4. Your Holiness would desire the renewal of the ancient laws on

the celebration of Sundays and holidays. His majesty perceives in this desire the sentiments of piety and the views of order which inspire Your Holiness. Experience proves that in large cities all the moments withdrawn from labor are given to vice or crime. The essential point is, that public functionaries and enlightened citizens should set an example to the multitude. By the present laws, all exterior and public labor is forbidden to functionaries of all kinds. It suffices to notify the public administrations not to have any public or servile work done on Sundays or holidays, except in urgent cases admitting of no delay."

By the fifth article the pope asked that no married priest or religious should be employed in public education. The minister replies that it is his majesty's intention that education shall never be confided to priests who are not in communion with their bishop. (This was not what the pope asked.) His majesty does not mean that religious education shall be neglected in the lyceums. His majesty will place bishops in the administrations directing the lyceums.

By the sixth article his majesty promised to maintain religious peace, which should be the happy result of the reconciliation of the Holy Father with the constitutional priests.

"Article 7. His majesty will restore to worship the temple of St. Genevieve, Patroness of Paris. As to the restoration of the congregations of priests, his majesty reserves this important question to his mature examination. In the first year of a new ecclesiastical organization it is necessary that the clergy assume a certain consistency, before corporations are set up beside it, which may soon become stronger and more powerful than the clergy themselves. Nevertheless, his majesty hastens to restore all the corporations known under the name of Sisters of Charity, or Hospital Sisters, consecrated by their institute to the service of the sick and the education of poor girls. He has, even, to give a special mark of his protection to establishments so useful to humanity, appointed Madame, mother of the emperor, protectress of these establishments."

The pope asked in the eighth article that the Catholic religion should be declared dominant. Monsieur Portalis replied in the emperor's name that such a law would revive old hatreds, and raise up new enemies to Catholicity.

Although the pope had then no correspondence with Ireland, that common father of Christendom could not forget his devoted children in that island, cut off from him in a manner by war and troubles. He solicited in the ninth article the emperor's protection for the ancient establishments of the Irish. The union of all in one being possible, the government grants it full support; and, in fact, Napoleon did more than he promised the pope.

By the tenth article the Lazarists are recommended to the emperor. A

decree restored them. A house, with a donation of 15,000 francs, was assured to them; they were placed under the jurisdiction of the Archbishop of Paris. The Seminary of the Foreign Missions at Paris was also restored. It asked no dotation. The purchaser of their property bought them in only to secure them; a noble example amid so much impious cupidity. The Seminary of the Holy Ghost, near Orleans, was restored, with power to receive bequests and foundations.

"Article 11. His majesty will replace by an equivalent revenue what the French government formerly paid in behalf of the Church of St. John Lateran at Rome, on condition that his majesty shall then enjoy the rights, prerogatives, and honors enjoyed by the former kings of France."

Here again Portalis was at fault. Henry IV. had assigned to the basilica of Saint John Lateran the abbey of Clairac in France, giving it an income of near twelve thousand dollars. In return, the chapter celebrated a solemn Mass annually, on the 13th of December, the anniversary of the birth of Henry. At the revolution the abbey was seized and sold, and now the Basilica asked compensation.

So much was here conceded, that Pius VII. rejoiced that he had not inconsiderately made any remark that would have brought Mr. Portalis into disgrace.

There remained now to be discussed between the sovereign pontiff and the emperor of the French, only the question relative to the domains wrested from the Holy See. The cardinals present at Paris, and Cardinal Consalvi at Rome, saw that it would be impossible to obtain their restitution. Such a benefit was not in Napoleon's power. He had promised too much to his Italian republics. Yet Napoleon himself said earnestly to the pope, that they must discuss and examine this great affair. Pius accordingly handed to the emperor the following memoir:

"The majesty of worship which becomes the first See of the Catholic religion; the support of so many bishops and missionaries scattered over almost all parts of the world; the education of young men of all nations in the college of the Propaganda, at Rome, an establishment now closed for want of revenues, as are the special colleges of several nations; the support of many congregations and ministers necessary to expedite the business of the universal Church; the allowance to the cardinals on whom rests the administration of the same Church; the outfit, salary, and correspondence of legates, nuncios, vicars-apostolic at all courts and in foreign nations,—to pass in silence, if necessary, many other offices, very burdensome and yet indispensable to the Holy Apostolic See, for the support whereof divine Providence had endowed it, even in the most remote times, and anterior to its temporal sovereignty, with very great revenues and patrimonies, which it enjoyed not only at Rome but in distant countries;—

these employments and others inherent to the dignity of the sovereign pontiff are still the same, and have perhaps increased, while the means of supporting them has diminished and still daily diminishes. We need not lay before your majesty's eyes the losses incurred in the short term of a few years ; it suffices to allude to them. Even before half the last century had elapsed, the Holy See had to content itself with protestations instead of the actual possession of the duchies of Parma and Placentia, which had nevertheless devolved to the Holy See as of right, and belonged to it on the death of the last Duke Farnese. The National Assembly incorporated Avignon and the Comtat with France. The Directory of Paris occupied the three finest provinces of the Pontifical States—Romagna, Bologna, and Ferrara. Add to these great losses that of the great possessions of the Mesola near Comacchio, bought a few years before by the Apostolic Chamber, as well as the loss of its fiefs of high domain in Piedmont, for which the king of Sardinia, in his quality of pontifical-vicar, paid the annual tribute of chalice, of the value of two thousand dollars ; the stoppage of the annats and contributions from France and Germany, after the new order of things had been established in both empires. The annats and contributions were a revenue agreed upon with all nations, by solemn and reciprocal facts, in compensation for the contributions which all the Catholic churches owe the first See. In fact, the Roman pontiffs, on the faith and solid guarantee of these facts, have charged their treasury with a very heavy debt, which still remains undiminished, and which was nevertheless contracted in the first instance, to a great extent, in order to afford aid to the Catholic princes in the wars which they had to sustain against the infidels who attacked them on all sides. In fine, the extent of the incalculable and irremediable losses caused to the Apostolic Chamber and its finances and subjects, by the revolution that had just occurred.

“As it is for the general interest of Christianity that its head shall not lack means to fulfil the duties imposed on him for his own preservation, consequently for that of the primacy which Christ has given him, and whose utility is generally recognized, we cannot be indifferent to the loss of these means, nor neglect any step depending on our care, to repair this loss so far as lies in us.

“It is even a precise and positive obligation in a guardian and administrator, as we are of the patrimony of Saint Peter's,—a duty the more obligatory for us, as it is strengthened by the oath we took at the time of our elevation to the pontificate. We are still obliged, by the duties of strict justice, to pay the creditors of the pontifical treasury the interest of the immense capital, and at the same time meet the wants of the subjects of the Roman Church, reduced to the greatest distress by past calamities.

“The discharge of our duties, the necessity of providing for so many

urgent necessities, the succor due to so much misery, overwhelm our heart and constantly afflict our liberal and beneficent disposition. We therefore lay our solicitude on the bosom of your majesty, begging and conjuring you by that God, author of the Catholic faith, who has in so extraordinary a manner enriched you with his gifts, to repair as far as possible so many losses and injuries caused to the Holy See by a government which, thanks to your valor and merit, no longer exists.

"We might easily prove the want of any ground for the occupation of the pontifical States by troops under the Directory; we might develop the political reasons which would show that, independently of there being no danger for France, it would also be useful for the equilibrium of Italy to restore his domains to a prince who has no other defensive arms than his temporal weakness and his spiritual dignity; but we shall put our trust in nothing, after God, but the generosity and greatness of your magnanimous heart.

"The sincere admirers of your glory love to trace a resemblance between the ancient founder and the present restorer of the empire of the French.

"May it then please your imperial majesty, in order to perfect the parallel, to add here the imitation of the celebrated spontaneous act, whereby Charlemagne restored to Saint Peter all that he had recovered, by his glorious arms, of the gift already made by his father, Pepin, but which had been invaded by the Lombards, whom he conquered; we mean the Exarchate and the Pentapolis,* with the addition of other domains, and especially the duchy of Spoleto and Benevento.

"It will be another trait of imitation of the constant zeal which Charlemagne displayed in defending, and even extending on every occasion, the rights and prerogatives of the Holy See, if your majesty, on every other occasion, and especially in the conjuncture when a congress for a general peace shall take place, will assure the Holy See his powerful protection, and obtain the admission of an envoy on its part,—not to interfere in temporal negotiations, but to guarantee, by an efficient mediation, the rights and possession of the Holy Roman See."

This memoir was examined with great attention. It exposed so clearly the nature of the wrongs done the Holy See, and the justice of the claim for restitution made, that Napoleon felt the importance of the arguments, and directed a reply to be made, in which it was easy to see that he refused because he had not the power to restore. In the face of his later conduct, and as the question of the temporal possessions of the Holy See is still discussed, the views of Napoleon cannot be without weight.

* This embraced Rimini, Fano, Pesaro, Ancona, and Humana, now destroyed.

“PARIS, March 11, 1805.

“The emperor has read with the most lively interest the memoir which contains the various statements of His Holiness as to the losses which the Holy See has sustained from the middle of the last century to the present day. The noble and pious reflections which the Holy Father expresses on this occasion have redoubled the emperor’s veneration for him. The sentiments of confidence and affection which the Holy Father manifests for the emperor would increase, were that possible, his filial love and gratitude.

“The emperor has always thought it useful for religion that the sovereign pontiff should be respected not only as head of the Catholic Church, but also as an independent sovereign. The emperor will, at all times, regard it as a duty to guarantee the States of the Holy Father, and in wars that may hereafter divide Christian States, obtain for him sure and complete tranquillity. The century just closed, and that which preceded it, have been detrimental to the temporal power of the Holy See. The spiritual power has received still more serious blows. God has permitted a great number of nations to venture successfully to burst all the bonds of obedience; and in those which have not been separated from it, many persons have eagerly listened to maxims tending to destroy every sentiment of religion, and even shake the bases of human morality. The disorder was increasing, and every form of misbelief, in honor, when God, to accomplish his designs, raised up the emperor. He first, by the credit of his example, arrested the torrent of dominant opinions. He manifested without reserve his gratitude towards God, the author of his victories; and scarcely was he invested with supreme power before he opened the temples, raised up the altars: by his care thirty millions of Catholics have returned to their obedience to the visible head of the Church of Christ.

“The emperor returns thanks to God for being chosen to work so great a good. But he is far from believing that naught remains to do to maintain the happy results of that restoration. The empire of religion is restored, yet the opinions which, during the course of two centuries, had incessantly labored to sap its foundations, have preserved all their danger, all their strength. Against the attacks of such an enemy, power and wealth are no aid. Hatred and envy rose against the Holy See, at the moment when it was environed with the greatest lustre and power. The goodness, piety, and noble disinterestedness of the sovereign pontiff now reigning, assure to the Holy Father more respect and submission than the most violent and powerful of his predecessors ever obtained.

“That the Holy Father may, for the edification and happiness of the Christian States, exercise, with the moderation and dignity inherent in his character, the empire due to his virtues and title as supreme head of the Church, is the dearest wish of the emperor; and he will second, with all his

power, the exercise of so holy and so salutary an influence. He would also, from personal consideration for the Holy Father, Pius VII., wish to be able to contribute to augment the advantages of his temporal existence, and he would desire that God would enable the occasion to arise; the emperor would seize it with pleasure. But it is not permitted to him to draw this result from the course of past events, which are in no man's power, in which he had no part, and which God permitted before the establishment of the throne on which he has raised the emperor. On investing him with the supreme power, God prescribed the measure. The emperor must respect the limit which God himself has traced, and he finds himself bound alike by the fundamental laws of the State and the sanctity of the solemn oath which he has taken.

"France has dearly purchased the power she enjoys. It is not in the emperor's power to cut off aught from an empire which is the price of ten years' bloody war, sustained with admirable courage, and the most unhappy agitations endured with unequalled constancy. Still less is it permitted to diminish the territory of a foreign State, which, confiding to him the care of governing it, imposes on him the duty of protecting it, and has given no right to diminish the territory which it possessed, when the emperor assumed the control of its destinies."

Here there was in the draft of the reply an obliging expression of regard for the Holy Father, who was known to be influenced by no motive of interest; they were convinced that his pure soul was filled only with holy desires, and sentiments elevated above all human considerations. It was hoped that His Holiness would be persuaded of the sensible regret with which he found him unable to second his desires for the actual increase of the temporal power. The emperor found these words to express only a part of his sentiments, and that more must be said. He then dictated to Talleyrand the following paragraph, which that minister immediately wrote in his own hand. These words, worthy of special attention, will remain as indicating Napoleon's real feelings:

"If God grants us the common duration of human life, we hope to find circumstances where it will be permitted to us to consolidate and extend the domain of the Holy Father; and even now we can and will lend a helping hand to aid him to come forth from the chaos and difficulties into which the late war has plunged him, and thereby give the world a proof of our veneration for the Holy Father; our protection for the capital of Christendom, and, finally, of the constant desire that animates us to behold our religion yield to no other in the pomp of its ceremonies, the splendor of its temples, and all that can make it imposing to the nations; we have directed our uncle, the Cardinal Grand Almoner, to explain to the Holy Father our intentions and what we mean to do."

After this addition, the memoir ends thus : " Ever faithful to the plan which the emperor proposes from the first, he will make it his glory and happiness to be one of the firmest supporters of the Holy See, and one of the most sincere defenders of the prosperity of Christian nations. He wishes men to place in the first rank, among the actions which have thrown lustre over his life, the respect which he has always shown to the Church of Rome, and the success of the efforts which he has made to reconcile to it the heart and the faith of the first nation of the universe."

But will these sentiments last ? Will there not always be found in Napoleon two distinct men, when religious questions are to be treated of ? First, a just, prompt, facile spirit, asking counsel in a class of studies and polity which he has never explored, receiving with a good grace a salutary direction, and following it with all the force that characterizes a deep-seated conviction ; and again a restless spirit, given up to a foolish pride, of half-read erudition, envying the priest's mission, and deeming it a humiliation that the emperor is not in the interval of his battles the pontiff of the nation, as he has been the supreme regulator of military operations ?

The cardinals and prelates of the pope's retinue shared sincerely in His Holiness' joy. Clear as the refusal was, no murmur was heard. The pope continued to visit the churches, to bless those who knelt before him and those who thought proper to refuse him that homage. He beheld at his feet with the same kindly eye, de Lalande no longer glorying in the name of *atheist*, and the pious matrons who had succored religion and its ministry in the misfortunes of the Church. Yet the pope was really a prisoner in France ; at this very time not one week followed another without his asking permission to return to Rome. This permission was not to be granted till he had resisted the most bitter request that he could hear from the mouth of a Frenchman. Pope Pius VII. would never give the name of the high French official who one day spoke to him of taking up his residence at Avignon, of accepting of a papal palace at the archbishopric of Paris, and of having a privileged quarter established as at Constantinople, where the diplomatic body accredited to the pontifical authority would have the exclusive right of residence. The first words, insinuated rather than directly addressed, then repeated around to confidential persons, to Frenchmen friendly to the Holy See, gave all to suppose that Napoleon wished to retain the pope in France. These words were not uttered by Napoleon, but such was his influence over opinions and words, that they could not possibly have been hazarded without his permission. The corps diplomatique at Rome spoke of the matter. The pope deemed it proper to reply fully in the presence of the same high official who had broached the matter : " The report is, that we may be detained in France. Well ! let them deprive us of our liberty. All is provided for. Before leaving Rome,

we signed a formal valid abdication, to take effect if we are thrown into prison. The act is beyond the power of the French ; Cardinal Pignatelli holds it at Palermo, and as soon as the projects now devised are declared, you will have in your hands only a poor monk, by name Barnabas Chiaramonti."

That same evening orders for the departure of His Holiness were laid before the emperor, and they only awaited a suitable change of season and the time necessary to insure the relays with more exactness than had attended the pope's journey to Paris.

At Rome all the proceedings were watched, and the deepest anxiety prevailed. Cardinal Consalvi endeavored to divert the forebodings of the people. But Holy Week was to pass without the pope. The ceremonial was observed, but it could never be as solemn in the pope's absence. Nothing could replace the emotion experienced when the pope is seen entering, borne on the *sedia gestatoria*, and especially during the chant *Ecce Sacerdos Magnus*.

At the time of the pope's departure from Paris, Napoleon prepared to go to Milan, to be crowned king of Italy. Pius VII. received a welcome at Châlons-sur-Saône, of which he afterwards spoke with emotion. At Lyons he was received by Cardinal Fesch, and no expense or exhortation spared to make His Holiness' stay, in the second city of the kingdom, a pleasant one. He wrote to the emperor, to express his gratification at the honors tendered to him by the local authorities and troops, as well as the proofs of devotion given by the people, "of which," says he, "we assure you that we shall preserve a lasting remembrance."

Meanwhile, every preparation was made at Rome to receive the pope. At Florence the queen of Etruria gave him proofs of her constant piety. It was agreed, however, that at Rome the foreign legations should not go in a body to meet His Holiness.*

Religious ceremonies succeeded each other from Florence to Viterbo. A notification announced that the pope would enter Rome on the 16th of May. Pursuant to his orders, the carriage in which he entered at the Ponte Molle drove to Saint Peter's. Then Pius VII. returned thanks for his happy return. The cardinal of York, in spite of his eighty years, received the pope at the door of the Basilica.

After the benediction, Pius VII. once more approached the altar to offer his last prayer before leaving. It seems that while he knelt there, a kind of ecstasy came over him. The thought of being once more in the great temple of his capital, one hundred and eighty-five days after his sad departure; the recollection of the dangers through which he had passed, or

* Prussia was then represented by the elder Humboldt, who had his brother Alexander with him. The former, on this occasion, first assumed the title of *Minister Resident*, in spite of bulls denying the title to a Protestant.

which he supposed he might have encountered on the journey, so overcame him that he remained motionless at the foot of the altar. The ecstacy was prolonged; the church which they had entered as day began to wane, and which none had thought of lighting up for an evening ceremony, began to grow obscure. More than thirty thousand persons remained amid that silence and coming gloom with a sense of oppression, unable to conceive the cause.

Cardinal Consalvi arose gently, approached the pope, touched him on the arm, and asked him whether he felt any faintness. The pope clasped the cardinal's hand, thanked him, and told him that his lengthened prayer was an outpouring of his happiness and joy. The pope was then reconducted to his chair. He was greatly fatigued, and they insisted on his retiring without granting any audiences.

That evening there was a general illumination in the palaces of Rome, and the Senator gave a magnificent reception in the Capitol, at which all the Roman nobility and the diplomatic corps were present.

Artaud, who was admitted to an audience on the following day, thus describes what passed: "The Holy Father spoke with warmth of what he had seen; he showed me, with a kind of satisfaction, the medals struck in his honor. He digressed every moment to mention new subjects. The establishment of the Sisters of Charity at Paris had excited his interest, and he thought of diffusing the order in Italy, Germany, and Ireland. He then returned to the motives which he had for congratulating himself on the journey. All at once his countenance became more serious. He collected himself for a moment, as if to speak of a grave matter; then he had the air of rejecting the rising thought; his face became radiant again, and he took my hand as though to fix my attention. I listened with great pleasure. 'We will tell you an event which will prove to you how far we should be pleased with your excellent people. We do not speak of the benediction at the Museum, at the end of December. It was especially on our return that we received unnumbered marks of love and respect.

"'At Châlons-sur-Saône we were about leaving a house where we had passed several days, in order to take the road to Lyons. It was impossible to traverse the crowd. More than two thousand women, children, old men, boys, separated us from the carriage, which they could not bring any nearer. Two dragoons,' so His Holiness called the gendarmes, 'appointed to escort us, led us on foot to our carriage, by making us walk close between their two horses. The dragoons seemed proud of the manoeuvre, and of having outwitted the people. On reaching the carriage, half smothered, we were about to leap in with all possible dexterity and address, for it was a battle where stratagem was requisite, when a young girl, who was more than a match for ourselves and the two dragoons, glided under one of the horses,

and seized our foot to kiss it : nor would she let it go, as she wished to pass it to her mother, who was coming by the same route. Ready to lose our balance, we laid our two hands on the dragoon whose face was least pious, begging him to hold us up. 'Signor dragoon,' said we, 'take pity on us.' On that the good soldier (so much for reading countenances), instead of taking our part in the difficulty, seized our hands to kiss them repeatedly. So that between the girl and the soldier we were hanging for a half a quarter of a minute, claiming our own person, and moved to tears. Ah! we have been pleased with the people of France.' "

One of the first duties of the pope was to reply to Napoleon, who, ever seeking some advantage, now wished the bishop of Orleans made papal nuncio at Ratisbonne. A previous request had been made for the place of major-domo for one of the old French bishops. Without delicacy, Napoleon wished to put the pope entirely under French control. But Pius VII. showed how irregular it would be to appoint one inexperienced in diplomacy, one who had never served in the Roman prelacy.

But a more serious trouble was in store. Jerome Bonaparte, a brother of the emperor, and a minor, had, while on a visit to the United States, on a French man-of-war, in which he was a midshipman, been attracted by Miss Patterson, of Baltimore. After a brief courtship he asked her hand and was accepted. The marriage ceremony was performed on the 24th day of Dec., 1803, by the Most Rev. John Carroll, archbishop of Baltimore. On Jerome's return to France with his young wife, Napoleon's anger burst forth; he sent Mrs. Jerome Bonaparte back to America, and now sought to invalidate the marriage. On the 24th of May, Napoleon wrote to the pope: "I have several times spoken to Your Holiness about a brother, nineteen years old, whom I sent on a frigate to America, and who, after a month's stay, married in Baltimore, although a minor, the Protestant daughter of an American merchant. He has just returned; he feels the extent of his fault. I have sent back Miss Patterson, his alleged wife, to America. According to our laws the marriage is null. A Spanish priest so far forgot his duty as to give the nuptial benediction.

"I would like a bull from Your Holiness annulling this marriage. I send to Your Holiness several memoirs, from which Your Holiness will receive most light; one from Cardinal Consalvi, which will give you much light. I can easily invalidate the marriage at Paris, the Gallican church recognizing these unions as null. It seems better to me to have it decided at Rome, if only as an example to members of sovereign houses, who shall contract marriage with Protestants. May Your Holiness dispose of this matter quietly. I will proceed to the civil decision only when I know Your Holiness is disposed to act.

"It is important for France itself that there should not be a Protestant

girl so near me. It is dangerous that a minor of nineteen, a distinguished youth, should be exposed to such seduction against the civil laws and all propriety."

A magnificent gold tiara, prepared in haste by the first goldsmiths of Paris, was sent to win the pontiff's favor. But the path of duty lay clear before the pope.* He could not swerve for fear or favor. His reply will stand as a clear and distinct decision :

"Your majesty must attribute the delay in the return of the courier solely to our desire of employing every means in our power to satisfy the requests contained in the letter, and memoirs annexed thereto, handed to us by the courier.

"So far as depends on us—namely, in order to preserve inviolable secrecy—we have made it a point of honor to satisfy your majesty's wishes most exactly. We have accordingly evoked to ourselves the examination of the petition touching the marriage in question. .

"Amid a host of overwhelming affairs, we have taken all care and pains to draw information from all sources, to make the most careful research, and see whether our apostolic authority could furnish us any means of satisfying your majesty's desires, which from these motives it would have been most agreeable to us to gratify. But consider the question from any point whatever, there results from our examination that none of the motives proposed to us, no motive that we can imagine, permits us to content your majesty, as we would desire, by declaring said marriage null.

"The three memoirs, transmitted to us by your majesty, being based on contradictory principles, destroy each other reciprocally.

"The first, setting aside all other diriment impediments, maintains that only two can apply to the case in question—namely, the disparity of religion of the contracting parties, and the non-intervention of the parish priest on the celebration of the marriage. The second, rejecting these two impediments, deduces two others—from the want of the consent of the mother and kindred of the young man under age, and of the *violence* (rapt) designated as *seduction*.

"The third does not agree with the second, and proposes, as the sole ground of the nullity, the want of consent of the parish priest, which it pretends to be necessary, inasmuch as he has not changed his domicile ; because, according to the decrees of the Council of Trent, the permission of the parish priest is absolutely necessary to a marriage.

"An analysis of these contrary opinions shows the impediments relied upon to be four in number ; but on examining them separately it has been

* Artaud supposes that an agent of the President of the United States advocated the cause of the Pattersons at Rome, and that an English agent interposed.

impossible to find one which in this case, according to the principles of the Church, can authorize us to declare the nullity of a marriage contracted and already consummated.

“In the first place, the disparity of religion, considered by the Church as a diriment impediment, does not exist between two baptized persons, even though one is not in the Catholic communion. This impediment exists only in marriage contracted between a Catholic and an infidel. Marriages between Catholics and Protestants, although abhorred by the Church, are nevertheless recognized by her as valid.

“It is not exact to say that the law of France, on the marriage of minors not emancipated and infants under age, contracted without the consent of parents and guardians, renders them null as to the sacrament. The lay legislative power itself declared, on the representation of the clergy, assembled in 1629, that by establishing the nullity of these marriages the legislators intended to speak only of the civil effects of the marriage, and that lay judges could give no other meaning or interpretation to the law ; for Louis XIII., author of that declaration, felt well that the secular power has no right to create diriment impediments to marriage as a sacrament.

“In fact, the Church, far from declaring null, as to the bond, marriages contracted without the consent of parents and guardians, has, while censuring them, declared them valid at all times, and especially in the Council of Trent.

“In the third place, it is equally contrary to the maxims of the Church to deduce the nullity of the marriage from the *violence* or *seduction*. The impediment of violence exists only where marriage is contracted between the ravisher and the person carried off, before she is restored to entire liberty. Now as there was no ravishing in the case in question, what is designated in the memoir as ‘ravishing, seduction,’ signifies simply want of consent of the parent, from which is deduced the seduction of the minor, and it cannot consequently form a diriment impediment to the bond of marriage.

“We next take up the fourth impediment, the clandestine nature of the marriage, or absence of the parish priest. This impediment comes from the Council of Trent ; but this provision of the council prevails only in the countries where its famous decree (chapter 1, section 24), *De reformatione matrimonii*, has been published ; and even in that case it has force only in regard to the persons for whom it has been published.

“Earnestly desiring to seek all means to lead us to the end we desired to attain, we have first taken all pains to ascertain whether the said decree of the Council of Trent has been published at Baltimore. For this purpose we have examined with the utmost secrecy the archives of the Propaganda and the Inquisition, where the report of such publication should be on file,

but we have met with no trace of any ; on the contrary, by other information, and especially by the perusal of the decrees of the synod convoked by the present bishop of Baltimore, we infer that the said publication has not been made. Moreover, it is not to be presumed that it has taken place in a country which has always been under Protestant rule.

“After this examination of the facts, we have considered, under all points of view, whether the absence of the parish priest could, according to the principles of ecclesiastical law, furnish ground of nullity ; but we remain convinced that this motive of nullity does not exist.

“In fact, it does not exist in regard to the domicile of the husband. For even supposing that he retained his own domicile in the place, where the form for marriage established by the Council of Trent is followed, it is an incontestable maxim that, for the validity of the marriage, it suffices to observe the laws of the domicile of one of the two spouses, especially when one of the two has fraudulently abandoned his domicile. Whence it follows, that if they observe the laws of the domicile of the woman, where the marriage is performed, it is not necessary to conform to those of the domicile of the man, where the marriage was not contracted.

“Nor can there exist a ground of nullity in regard to the domicile of the wife, for the reason already alleged, namely, that the decree of the Council of Trent not having been published there, its provisions requiring the presence of the parish priest do not apply ; and also for another reason—which is, that even though that publication had been made, it could have been made only in the Catholic parish churches, as there is question of a country originally Catholic ; so that it is never competent to deduce the nullity of a mixed marriage, that is, the marriage of a Catholic and a heretic, with regard to whom the publication is not considered as made.

“This principle was established by a decree of our predecessor Benedict XIV., on the subject of mixed marriages contracted in Holland and Confederate Belgium. The decree not establishing a new law, but being only, as its title states, a declaration—that is, a development of what these marriages are in reality—it is easy to see that the same principle must be applied to marriages contracted between a Catholic and a heretic, in a country subject to heretics, even though the said decree has been published among the Catholics existing in that country.

“We have laid this analysis before your majesty to show you under how many points of view we have endeavored to examine this affair, and how it grieves us to find no ground to authorize our passing a judgment nullifying the marriage. The very fact of its being celebrated before a Spanish bishop (or, as your majesty says, a priest), strongly attached, as all that nation are, to the observance of the Council of Trent, is an additional reason for believing that this marriage has been contracted with the for-

malities requisite to a valid contract of marriage in that country. In fact, having had occasion to examine a Catholic synod, held at Baltimore, we have still better seen this truth.

“Your majesty must see that on the information we have hitherto received of this fact, it is out of our power to pass the judgment of nullity. If besides the circumstances already alleged, others exist from which proof might be deduced of any fact constituting an impediment capable of establishing the nullity, we might then support our judgment on this proof and pronounce a decree conformable to the rules of the Church, from which we cannot depart by pronouncing invalid a marriage which, according to the declaration of God, no human power can dissolve.

“Were we to usurp a power that we do not possess, we should render ourselves guilty of the most abominable abuse of our sacred ministry before the tribunal of God and before the whole Church. Your majesty even, in his justice, would not desire us to pronounce a judgment contrary to the testimony of our conscience, and the invariable principles of the Church. Hence we earnestly hope that your majesty will be satisfied that the desire which animates us of seconding your wishes, as far as depends on us, especially in a case so closely connected with your august person and family, is in this case rendered ineffectual by want of power, and that you will accept this very declaration as a sincere testimony of our paternal affection.” *

On the 26th of June, the pope, in a consistory, gave an account of his journey to France, and he soon after, by the gentlemen who had attended on the part of the emperor, wrote to Napoleon. His refusal in the case of Jerome was, however, to be punished by decrees against discipline at Milan. Again Pius VII. remonstrated, but Napoleon replied, justifying his conduct: “I have done all for the best. The Church gains considerable sums; the clergy is more at ease and free to act. The situation is really improved. I therefore beg Your Holiness to approve what I have done.”

In reply, Pope Pius, after expressing his joy at the religious sentiments expressed by Napoleon, agreed to appoint a suitable person to treat of a concordat for the kingdom of Italy with Cardinal Fesch. He then proceeds to answer other remarks:

“We will seek celerity in all possible ways, but your majesty must be persuaded that in religious matters it is proper that all be done with exactness and maturity. Rest assured, too, that we know no statecraft, and that

* It is often asserted that the pope divorced Jerome. The facts here speak for themselves. Whatever the case before the French law, which held the marriage invalid, as that of a minor marrying without the consent of his surviving parent, and as that of an officer without consent of his government, the Church held it valid. When Napoleon communicated to the pope the marriage of Jerome with a princess of Wurtemberg, Pius VII. again called his attention to the undoubted validity of his former marriage.—Artaud, ii., p. 312.

the maxims of the gospel and the laws of the Church are our guide in all our operations. You may therefore be assured that we shall proceed with simplicity, and with every possible spirit of conciliation and moderation.

“ Still, we cannot refrain from observing to your majesty that in the recent ordinances emanating from the Italian kingdom, as to which we have addressed our remonstrances to you, there are not only things which, according to the concordat, should be concerted with the Holy See, and which have been done without any mutual understanding, but others also, which, being in direct opposition to the articles of the concordat, cannot form the subject of a discussion. A statement of these deviations from the concordat, such as we have already sent you, demonstrates this sufficiently.

“ If, on the one side, we can confide to conciliators the task of suggesting to you the most suitable precautions and modifications on objects which, according to the concordat, should be adjusted in concert, and which in these ordinances have been acted upon without our intervention, and in a manner absolutely opposed to the laws of the Church ; on the other hand, it is impossible to admit discussion on topics where the ordinances are in direct opposition to the articles of the concordat. We can in no manner, and with no modification, approve on this point the ordinances, without contravening so sacred and notorious a convention. By consenting to it, and continuing to dissemble, we should draw on ourselves the public reproach of having been a negligent guardian of the rights of the Church, agreed to and established in the concordat ; and your majesty, even in the eyes of public opinion, would lose the reputation of firmness and fidelity to your promises.

“ We doubt not that your majesty will, on this occasion, take the measure which your wisdom shall deem most efficacious to deprive these ordinances of all force, and to prevent the adoption of the same measures in the States of Parma and Placentia.

“ It is with the greatest pleasure that we see your majesty repeat in your letter that your object in all your determinations is to seek the good of the Church ; but it is only too true that amid so many important cares, your religious feelings have been surprised, and your upright intentions deceived. Your majesty has been made to believe that many things were done for the good of religion, and with the consent of the bishops and clergy. We have proofs that your majesty has been made to believe this, when in fact, in several points, it was not the case.”

A murder committed on some men, supposed or at least pretended to be French, induced Cardinal Fesch to write so violent a letter to Cardinal Consalvi, that the pope directed him to make no reply. This brought an unofficial letter from the cardinal-uncle ; but still it was evident that great difficulties menaced the pope, and the courtesies extended to Lucien, who had incurred

his brother's displeasure, added to Napoleon's dissatisfaction with the authorities at Rome.

War having broken out between France and Austria in 1805, Napoleon, before marching on Vienna, ordered Ancona to be occupied. Pius VII. addressed the emperor directly.

“IMPERIAL AND ROYAL MAJESTY :

“We will frankly say to your majesty, with all the ingenuousness of our character, that the order which you have given General Saint Cyr to occupy Ancona with French troops, and to provision it, has caused us no less surprise than grief, both for the thing itself and for the manner in which it has been executed, your majesty not having in any manner forewarned us.

“Truly, we cannot dissemble that it is with lively sensibility that we behold ourselves treated in this manner, when we do not believe it, on any ground, deserved. Our neutrality, recognized by your majesty, as by all other powers, and fully respected by them, gave us a special motive to believe that the sentiments of friendship which you professed in our regard would have preserved us from that bitter displeasure : we perceive that we are mistaken.

“We will say it frankly : from the moment of our return from Paris we have experienced only bitterness and displeasure, when, on the contrary, the personal acquaintance which we had formed with your majesty, and our invariable conduct, promised us the reverse. In a word, we do not find in your majesty the corresponding sentiments that we had a right to expect.

“We feel it deeply, and in regard to the present invasion we say with sincerity, that our duty to ourselves and the obligations we have contracted towards our subjects, compel us to call upon your majesty to evacuate Ancona. Should you refuse, we do not see how we can conciliate any further intercourse with your majesty's minister at Rome, such intercourse being in opposition to the treatment which we would continue to receive from your majesty at Ancona.

“Let your majesty be convinced that this letter is a painful duty for our heart, but that we cannot dissemble the truth, nor be wanting to the obligations that we have contracted.

“We will, therefore, hope that amid all the bitterness that overwhelms us, your majesty will deliver us from the weight of this, which it depends on your will alone to spare us.

“We close by granting you, with all our heart, the paternal apostolical benediction.

“Given at Rome, at Saint Mary Major's, November 13th, 1805, of our pontificate the sixth.

“PIUS PP. VII.”

Austerlitz gave Napoleon victory, glory, and a peace. Venice was added to his Italian kingdom, and Pius VII. looked with anxiety to the future conduct of the emperor. A letter soon came, dated at Munich, January 7, 1806, in which he complained that, since the pope's return, he had received nothing but refusals at his hands, "on all objects, even on those of the highest interests for religion—as, for example, when there was question of preventing Protestantism raising its head in France. I consider myself the protector of the Holy See, and as such I occupied Ancona. Like my predecessors of the second and third race, I deemed myself the eldest son of the Church, as alone bearing the sword to protect and shield it from being sullied by Greeks and Moslem. I will certainly protect the Holy See in spite of its false steps." He closed with a threat of recalling Cardinal Fesch, and replacing him by a layman; and then uttered this haughty vaunt: "God is judge, who has done most for religion of all princes that reign."

Pius replied in a long and explicit letter, concluding in these noble and resigned words: "If the state of tribulation to which God has reserved us in our dolorous pontificate must reach its height, if we must be deprived of a thing so precious as your majesty's friendship and good-will, the priest of Jesus Christ, with truth on his lips and in his heart, will bear all with resignation and without fear; tribulation itself will give him the reward of his constancy."

But the conqueror of Europe was not to be diverted. His letter of February 13th, 1806, revealed all the pride of his character.

"I have received Your Holiness' letter of January 29. I share your pains; I conceive that you must have difficulties. You can avoid them all by walking in a straight road, and not entering into the labyrinth of politics and considerations for powers which, under a religious point of view, are heretics, and out of the Church, and, in a political point, are remote from your States, unable to protect them, and capable only of doing evil. All Italy shall be subject to my law. I will touch in nothing the independence of the Holy See. I will even pay it the expenses caused by the movements of my armies. But our conditions must be that Your Holiness will have for me in temporals the same regard that I bear you in spirituals, and that you abandon useless conciliations towards heretics, enemies of the Church, and towards powers which can do you no good. Your Holiness is sovereign of Rome, but I am its emperor. All my enemies must be yours. It is not, therefore, becoming that any agent of the king of Sardinia, any Englishman, Russian, or Swede, reside at Rome or in your States, nor that any ship belonging to these powers enter your ports. I shall always entertain for Your Holiness, as head of our religion, the filial deference that I have shown you on all occasions; but I am accountable to

God, who has vouchsafed to use my arm to restore religion, and how can I, without groaning, see it compromised by the delays of the court of Rome, where nothing is ever ended, where, for worldly interests, vain prerogatives of the tiara, souls are allowed to perish ; though this is the true foundation of religion ? They will answer for it before God, who leave Germany in anarchy ; they will answer for it before God, who are so zealous to protect Protestant marriages, and wish me to connect my family with Protestant princes ; they will answer for it before God, who delay the expediting of the bulls of my bishops, and give up my dioceses to anarchy. It takes six months for bishops to enter into function, and it might be done in a week. As to the affairs of Italy, I have done all for the bishops. I have consolidated the interests of the Church. I have in nothing touched on spirituals. What I have done at Milan, I will do at Naples, and wherever my power extends. I do not refuse to accept the concurrence of men endowed with true zeal for religion, and to confer with them ; but if, at Rome, days are spent in doing nothing in a guilty inertia, since God has, after such great upheavings, committed it to me to watch over the maintenance of religion, I cannot become or remain indifferent to all that can injure the good and salvation of my peoples. Most Holy Father, I know that Your Holiness wishes well, but you are surrounded by men who do not, whose principles are bad, and who, instead of laboring at this critical moment to remedy the evils that have crept in, labor only to aggravate them. If Your Holiness will remember what I told you at Paris, religion would be organized in Germany, and not in the wretched state in which it is. In this country and in Italy all shall be done in concert with Your Holiness and duty. But I cannot let a thing languish for a year that can be done in a fortnight. It is not by sleeping that I have so highly exalted the condition of the clergy, the publicity of worship, and reorganized religion in France ; so that there is not a country where it does so much good, is more respected, or enjoys higher consideration. Those who speak any other language to Your Holiness deceive you, and are enemies ; they will draw down misfortunes which will, in the end, prove disastrous."

This letter, assuming all the power of the civil over the spiritual order, openly seeking to make the father of all Catholics the mere tool of the French government, was to have a suitable reply :

"That letter," says Pius VII., "rolls on so many and so grave subjects ; it contains principles, demands, complaints of such bitterness, and coincides so much with what your majesty has said to us through your ministry, that we should render ourselves guilty of the greatest weakness before God, before the Catholic world and future ages, if we did not reveal our sentiments in the most free and open manner, or neglected to give to the demands made on us, the principles advanced, the complaints uttered, such

replies as are dictated by the exact sentiment of justice, truth, and innocence.

“ We owe to God, to the Church, to ourselves, to the paternal attachment which we profess for you, even to your majesty’s glory, which is as dear to us as to you, to speak freely and frankly, as becomes the candor of our character, and the duty of our ministry here below.

“ We owe it the more, because an imperious necessity impels us to fulfil duties the most essential. We see but too clearly, by the shock that has reached us, that the sentiments manifested by your majesty menace the dignity of the Holy See, and the most unalterable and respected rights of free sovereignty.

“ We have entertained, and shall ever entertain, for your imperial and royal majesty the widest regard that can be suggested by esteem, goodwill, and friendship; but we cannot lend ourselves to these concessions, repugnant to the indeclinable obligations of our twofold representance, nor dissemble those truths of which we are convinced by the testimony of our conscience, nor yield to what is opposed to the guarding of that deposit of the patrimony of the Roman Church, which has been handed down to us through so long a series of ages by our predecessors, and which we promised before Almighty God, at the foot of His altars, and by the most sacred oaths, to transmit intact to those who should succeed us.

“ We begin by your majesty’s demands upon us. You wish us to expel from our States all Russians, Englishmen, and Swedes, and every agent of the king of Sardinia, and wish us to close our ports to the ships of the first three nations, and enter into a state of open war and hostility with those powers. Your majesty must allow us to answer you with precise distinctness, that it is impossible for us to yield to this demand, not from any views of temporal interest, but on account of essential duties inseparable from our character. Consider it under all respects that regard us, and judge yourself whether it comports with your religion, your greatness, your humanity, to force us to steps of this nature.

“ We, Vicar of that Eternal Word who is not the God of dissension, but the God of concord, who has come into the world to drive out enmities, and to announce peace to those who are afar off and those that are near, to use the expressions of the apostle, ‘ how can we deviate from the lessons of our Divine Founder? how contradict the mission to which we have been destined?’

“ It is not our will, it is that of God, whose place we occupy on earth, that prescribes to us the duty of peace towards all, without the distinction of Catholic and heretic, neighbor or remote, those from whom we expect good and those from whom we expect evil. It is not permitted us to betray the office confided to us by the Almighty; and we should betray it if,

for the motives set forth by your majesty—that is to say, when there is question of heretical powers that can only do us evil (thus speaks your majesty), we should accede to demands requiring us to take part against them in war.*

“If, as your majesty says, we should not enter the labyrinth of statecraft, from which we have always and ever shall keep aloof, we should the more abstain from taking part in the measures of a war which has political objects, a war in which religion is not attacked, a war in which, moreover, a Catholic power is concerned.

“The necessity of repelling hostile aggression, or defending religion imperilled, alone justified our predecessors in departing from a state of peace. If any one of them, through human weakness, has departed from these maxims, his conduct, we say frankly, can never serve as an example for ours.

“This pacific attitude, which we should retain on account of the sacred character wherewith God has invested us, we should retain, also, for the good of the religion which he has confided to us, for the good of the flock which he has committed to our pastoral ministry. To expel the subjects of powers at war with your majesty, and to close the ports, would be to draw down the sure result of a rupture of all communication between us and the Catholics living in their domains.

“Can we leave abandoned so many faithful souls, while the gospel forbids us to neglect going in search of even one? Can we be indifferent to the unnumbered evils which Catholicity would suffer in these countries, if it remained deprived of all communication with the centre of unity, which is the foundation and basis of the Catholic religion? If an irresistible force of human events deprived us of that free communication, we should groan deeply over such a calamity; but we should not suffer the constant remorse of being ourselves the cause. On the contrary, were we to notify the subjects of these sovereigns to leave our States, and not approach our ports, would it not be an irreparable misfortune; and that, by an act absolutely our own, all communication should be interrupted between us and the Catholics living in those countries? How could we resist the interior voice of our conscience, which would continually reproach us with the sad consequences of the act? How could we hide the error from our own eyes?

“The Catholics which exist in these domains are not few in numbers; there are millions in the Russian empire, there are millions and millions in the countries subject to the kingdom of England; they enjoy the free ex-

* It is not usual to charge Napoleon with bigotry; that charge is always laid to the door of the popes; yet here the pope resists the endeavor to force him to a bigoted line of action.

ercise of their religion ; they are protected. We cannot foresee what would happen were the sovereigns of those States to behold themselves provoked by us, and by so decided an act of hostility as the expulsion of their subjects and the closing of our ports. The resentment against us would be the greater, as it would apparently be the more just, as we have received no injury from them.

“ If this indignation should turn upon the persons of the Catholics, we might reasonably fear the overthrow of the exercise of the Catholic religion, permitted with so much liberty in those countries.

“ Even if this should not ensue, there would certainly follow the suspension of all direct or indirect communication between the Catholics and ourselves, the prevention of missions, the interruption of all spiritual affairs ; and this would be an incalculable evil for religion and Catholicity—an evil of which we should accuse ourselves, and have to render a most strict account before the tribunal of God.

“ Let your majesty consider our constant conduct towards his person, and he will remember that wherever it concerned matters not at variance with our duty or which interested him, no regards has retained us from constantly seeking to gratify his wishes. These facts need no enumeration ; they are recent, known to all Europe ; they have produced a universal opinion that we experience for you a sentiment of partial preference.

“ Here we will close our replies to the first demands made by your majesty, with the trust that after such weighty reflections you will forego them, and deliver us from the distress into which they plunge us. But we cannot be silent as to the principles on which they are based. Far from all desire of domination and personal interest, it is not our cause that we defend ; it is that of the Roman Church, and of the See on which we are placed. Before ascending the throne, we swore to maintain these rights and defend them with the shedding of our blood.

“ Sire, let us lift the veil ! You will not, you say, touch the independence of the Church ; you say that you are sovereign of Rome ; you say, in the same moment, that all Italy shall be subject to your law. You announce that, if we do what you wish, you will not change appearances ; but if you understand that Rome, as forming part of Italy, is under your law, if you wish only to preserve appearances, the temporal domain of the Church will be reduced to an absolutely liege and servile condition, the sovereignty and independence of the Holy See will be destroyed. And can we be silent ? Can we, by a silence that would render us in the eyes of God guilty of prevarication in our office, dissemble the announcement of such measures ?

“ Your majesty lays down as a principle that he is emperor of Rome. We reply with apostolic freedom, that the sovereign pontiff, who has been such

for a great many centuries, so that no reigning prince counts an antiquity equal to his, the pontiff become sovereign of Rome does not recognize, and has never recognized in his States a power superior to his own. No emperor has any right over Rome. You are immensely great; but you have been elected, consecrated, crowned, recognized Emperor of the French, not of Rome. There is no emperor of Rome; nor can there be, unless the sovereign pontiff is stripped of the absolute domain and empire that he alone wields at Rome. There exists, indeed, an emperor of the Romans; but that title is recognized by all Europe and your majesty himself, in the Emperor of Germany. This title cannot belong at once to two sovereigns; it is only a title of dignity and honor, which diminishes in nothing the real and apparent dignity of the Holy See. Finally, this imperial dignity has not, and has never had, any relation to the quality and extent of eminent and useful domain, and has always from its origin been preceded by an election.

“Your majesty says that our relations with you are the same as those of our predecessors with Charlemagne. Charlemagne found Rome in the hands of the popes; he recognized and confirmed their domains without reserve; he increased them by new donations; he pretended to no right of domain or superiority over the pontiffs considered as temporal sovereigns; he pretended neither to dependence nor subjection from them.

“He recognized, as from the will and nomination of the same pontiffs, his relations with them, by receiving the simple quality of Advocate and Defender of the Roman Church, both when he accepted from them the title of patrician (a title of which, after the death of Adrian I., he solicited confirmation by a special embassy sent to his successor, Leo III.), and where by special acts he obtained the adoration of these two pontiffs; and finally, when being at Rome during the Easter holidays, he received at St. Peter's the imperial dignity—a gift which was an unforeseen and spontaneous act of the said pontiff, Leo III.

“But, in fine, ten centuries elapsing since the time of Charlemagne, render useless all more remote investigation. Peaceful possession for a thousand years is the most luminous title that can exist among sovereigns; this possession has shown that whatever may have been, in these obscure times and tempestuous circumstances, the understanding between Charlemagne and the pontiffs, the Holy See has since known in its temporal domains no other relations with the successors of Charlemagne than those existing between any absolute and independent sovereign and other sovereigns.

“Any extension of domains whatever, even legitimately acquired by a sovereign, gives him no right to alter in its least part a possession of this nature, enjoyed peacefully by another sovereign. The principles of natural law, applied to the interests of nations, establish the basis of all social rela-

tions on this maxim—that sovereignties, great or little, always preserve as to each other the same state of independence. To abandon this maxim would be to substitute brute force for reason.

“Your majesty, in your uprightness, cannot but be firm in these principles. Their consequence is evident. The extent of States acquired by your majesty can give you no new right over our temporal domains. Your acquisitions find the Holy See in possession of an absolute independent sovereignty, a possession continued through so many ages and recognized by all, and they should leave it in the possession. Your majesty is too enlightened not to avow that the certainty of these truths is incontestable, admitting of no exception; either there is no longer any right of independent sovereignty, or the right of independent pontifical sovereignty cannot be altered in any point.

“We cannot admit the following proposition: That we should have for your majesty, in temporals, the same regard that you have for us in spirituals. This proposition has an extent that destroys and alters the notions of our two powers. A Catholic sovereign is such only because he professes to recognize the definitions of the visible head of the Church, and regards him as the master of truth and the sole vicar of God on earth. There is therefore no identity or equality between the spiritual relations of a Catholic sovereign to the supreme hierarch, and the temporal relations of one sovereign to another. You say, too, that your enemies should be ours. This is repugnant to the character of our divine mission, which knows no enmities even with those who are removed from the centre of our union. Whenever your majesty is at war with a Catholic power, must we be at war with the same power? Charlemagne and every prince-advocate of the Church professed to shield it from, not drag it into war. Your proposition tends to make the pontifical sovereign a feudatory, a liege vassal of the French empire.”

The Holy Father then refuted the accusations of delay, especially in regard to expediting bulls for French bishops. Ecclesiastical affairs require mature investigation, and cannot be done as lightly as temporal matters. As regarded the accusation of disregard for the salvation of souls, he could appeal to God and the world whether human interest or vain prerogative had guided his action. The religious troubles in Germany were not to be ascribed to him. The changes ordered by the recess at Ratisbonne alone caused them. Extraordinary political convulsions present immense difficulties.

In regard to the marriage of Jerome, Pius renewed his declaration of its validity. As to the Italian concordat, he renewed the statements already made.

Meanwhile the power of Napoleon in Italy was becoming dominant.

His brother Joseph had entered Naples at the head of an army, and been proclaimed king. From that city came rumors of new schemes: the Holy See was to be transferred to Avignon or Paris, the pontifical States divided between the kingdoms of Italy and Naples, the order of Malta secularized, the code Napoleon established at Rome, marriage of the clergy authorized. At Paris, Napoleon chafed over his limited power: "I find a priest more powerful than I, for he reigns over minds, while I reign over matter."

"On the evening of the Wednesday and of the Saturday following in the Holy Week, in the year 1806, immediately after the holy offices in the chapels of the Quirinal palace were concluded, two congregations assembled in the house of his Eminence Cardinal and Dean Antonelli. The meeting lasted for several hours, and there were present, besides the master of the house above mentioned, the Cardinals De Pietro, Litta, Pacca, and Consalvi, secretary of state. The business of the day was commenced by Cardinal Consalvi, who informed the congregation that intelligence had reached him from the apostolic legation at Paris, and from other sources, to the effect that there were substantial reasons for apprehending the immediate invasion of a corps of the French army, whose object was to take possession of the pontifical States and Rome in the name of the Emperor Napoleon. Cardinal Consalvi, at the same time, by order of His Holiness the pope, requested the opinion of the cardinals present with regard to the measures which, in case the lamentable event should happen, it might be advisable to take.

"Three resolutions, in addition to several others of less importance, were accordingly adopted, being such as were considered expedient, and, supposing the menaced invasion and the change of the government actually ensued, would be even indispensable. As it was already evident that, in the event of a change in the government, the first step that would follow would be the expulsion of the sacred college from Rome and the dispersion all over Italy of the cardinals, who would be probably thenceforward deprived of all manner of communication with the Holy Father, one of the resolutions above referred to directed that there should be prepared a papal bull, which, in case of a vacancy of the Holy See, should abrogate a great portion of the ceremonies usual on such occasions, and at the same time modify certain of the decrees relating to the election of pontiffs, of which the critical state of the times might render the execution dangerous or impracticable. His Eminence Dean Antonelli was accordingly requested to collect the materials necessary for the purpose, and make a minute of the bull in question.

"The second of the three resolutions prescribed the necessity of publishing a manifesto, addressed to all the foreign courts of Europe, and containing a protest against the usurpation of the dominions of the Holy See,

together with an assertion of its rights, which object Cardinal Consalvi informed the congregation would be fully answered by a document already in progress of completion in the secretary of state's office.

"Finally, by the third resolution it was unanimously agreed by every one present that, with regard to the various scandalous innovations contained in the anti-Catholic laws and establishments of France, silence had already been maintained too long, and that now, although late, at all events in the present case, it behooved the pope to lift up his voice, and, either by bull or brief, proclaim to the world at large the offences against the sacred laws of the Church that had been committed by the French government, and at the same time announce the censures that the authors, instigators, and executors of the above-mentioned innovations had incurred. The charge of collecting materials and of preparing a minute of a bull and of a brief on the above subject, was accordingly intrusted to his Eminence Cardinal de Pietro."

Napoleon now recalled Cardinal Fesch and made Mr. Alquier his ambassador at Rome, the last act of his uncle being to announce the accession of Joseph to the throne of Naples. But the Holy See hesitated to recognize this new *régime* unless it respected the honored rights of the Holy See, while the emperor regarded the long-continued recognition of the dependency of that kingdom on the Holy See merely as the *isolated opinion of some kings*. Although he had caused the former sovereign to restore Benevento and Ponte Corvo to Pius VII., he now made them principalities, creating Talleyrand prince of Benevento, and Bernadotte prince of Ponte Corvo.

In intimating this to the Holy See, Napoleon based his action on a wish to prevent any future understanding between Naples and the pope, these States being small, surrounded by Neapolitan territory, difficult to govern, and producing little revenue. "The slight sacrifice asked will be easily repaired," he adds, "by the compensation which his majesty proposes to offer the sovereign pontiff, and which will be much more convenient to the Holy See."

But Pius VII. already saw the necessity of exerting his spiritual power as the only means left, the clearest means of definitely declaring his sense of wrong. The bull of excommunication was definitively arranged, couched in stronger terms even than that ultimately issued. It was then secretly printed, though afterwards suppressed in consequence of typographical errors.*

In an audience to which he admitted Alquier, the new French ambassador, with Cardinal Fesch, Pius VII. said to the cardinal: "We only

* Memoirs of Cardinal Pacca, i., p. 130.

charge you to tell the emperor that, though he greatly maltreats us, we are greatly attached to him and to the French nation. Repeat to him that we will not enter into any confederation ; that we will be independent because we are a sovereign ; that if he does violence to us we will protest in the face of Europe, and make use of the temporal and spiritual means that God has placed in our hands."

"Your Holiness," replied the cardinal, "should remember that you have no right to make use of spiritual authority in the present affairs of France with Rome." Pius demanded, in an elevated tone, whence he drew that opinion, but the reporter of the interview does not give the reply.*

At a subsequent interview the pope said to Alquier : "The emperor has not thought fit to keep his promises to us. If we yielded now to what is asked in his name, we should not escape the danger that menaces us. We see in the letters of his majesty and in several official documents, that we shall no longer be regarded as a sovereign unless we accede to the federative system, and consent to be included in the circuit of the empire. Cardinal Consalvi is unjustly blamed ; they seem to think at Paris that we are so weak as to be directed by his will, and are a mere puppet in his hands. We will give him a successor, but our policy will not change. All the important points of our States are successively occupied by the troops of the empire, whom we could not maintain even by levying new imposts. We warn you that, if they seek to seize Rome, we shall refuse entrance into the castle of Saint Angelo. We shall make no resistance, but your soldiers must batter down the gates with artillery. Europe shall see how we are treated, and we shall at least have proved that we have acted as becomes our honor and our conscience. If our life is taken, the grave will honor us, and we shall be justified in the eyes of God and the memory of men."

Soon after, Alquier addressed the pope personally, and in the emperor's name demanded that the ports in his States be closed against England whenever France was at war with that country ; and secondly, that the fortresses in his States should be occupied by French troops whenever an army landed in Italy or threatened it in any point.†

Pius VII. refused firmly and distinctly, and, in the interview which he granted to the French ambassador, said : "His majesty can, when he will, execute his threats, and deprive us of all we possess. We are resigned to all, and ready, if he will, to retire to a monastery or to the Catacombs of Rome, after the example of the first successors of Saint Peter."‡

Meanwhile Napoleon had by intrigues forced Francis II., on the 6th of August, 1806, to renounce the elective imperial crown and assume the title

* Artaud, *Histoire du Pape Pio VII.*, ii., p. 278.

† Ibid., p. 289.

‡ The pope alludes here to letters of Gregory II. to Leo the Isaurian.

of hereditary emperor of Austria. The western empire thus ended, one argument of Pius VII. was removed. The victory of Jena laid Prussia at Napoleon's feet, and he issued at Berlin his famous decree, declaring England in a state of blockade. Against these the pope protested, and in spite of reiterated demands adhered to his determination.

Correspondence still continued on minor and complimentary points, the birth of a son of the Viceroy of Italy, and similar topics ; but events were rapidly tending to a rupture. Cardinal Consalvi was replaced by the aged Cardinal Casani, but with the title only of pro-secretary of State. Cardinal Caprara, at Paris, was now very aged, and the pope negotiated solely at Rome. This did not please Napoleon, and the pope proposed to send the able Cardinal Litta, but the emperor insisted on having the pope represented at Paris by one of his own subjects, Cardinal de Bayanne. The pope, resolving to continue him ambassador there merely in form, accordingly dispatched him on the 29th of September, 1807, attended by Monsignor della Genga.

The marriage of Jerome with a princess of Wurtemberg was communicated to His Holiness, and called forth a reaffirmation of the validity of the former marriage.

But we must now turn from these relations with France to consider the acts of Pius in regard to his States and the Church at large. The French troops, who occupied much of his territory, entailed enormous expense on his treasury ; but these he met, endeavoring in all ways to prevent public discontent. He was a patron of art, and sought to increase the well-being of his States. The condition of his States, at his accession, was such that he had rather ruins to repair, desolation to cover, than new works to direct. The period of peace granted him had been well turned to account. Science, literature, and art flourished, and new and important public works were projected. The Academy of Saint Luke, so long a favorite of the pope's, and dedicated to the Fine Arts, received in 1806 a new honor from Pius VII. He instituted the order of the *Moro*, or *Moretto*, so called from the Moor's head portrayed on it, taken from the pontiff's arms. This cross was bestowed on the presidents of the Academy of Saint Luke at the close of their term of office. The ribbon is red, edged with black.

On the 24th of May, 1807, a canonization took place for the first time in many years, no similar ceremony having been performed by Clement XIV. or Pius VI. Some wished Pius VII. to defer it now, but he replied : " We are still a free pontiff, perhaps for some months. Who knows but that new victories in Northern Europe may become the signal for our ruin ? Let us hasten the celebration of a festival where the tiara, the same that a son, now turned ingrate, presented to us, may still be placed on our head." Pius overcame all obstacles. He renounced all fees and perquisites, and

arranged to pay the expenses to be incurred in ten years. Nothing was to be spared to diminish the magnificence of the ceremony. It was indeed imposing, and pilgrims flocked from all parts of Europe, even from the depths of Bohemia and Hungary, to witness the majestic rites. The Saints raised to the altar on this occasion were—

1. Saint Francis Caracciolo, founder of the Order of Regular Clerks Minors. This illustrious saint was born October 13th, 1563, of noble parents, at Santa Maria, in the Abruzzo, and received the name of Ascanius. After a youth of innocence, an attack of leprosy made him resolve to leave the world, and he was ordained priest at Naples. In 1588, John Augustine Adorno and Fabricius Caracciolo, resolving to found a new institute, agreed to invite another Ascanius Caracciolo to join them. The letter was received and accepted by the Saint, and the new order was formed and approved by Sixtus V. in 1586. It began its work of preaching missions and instruction, and soon spread rapidly. Saint Francis was elected General, and gave it still greater impulse, both in Italy and Spain. He foretold his death, and died at Agnone, June 4, 1608. He was beatified by Clement XIV.

2. Saint Benedict of Saint Philadelphia, surnamed the Moor, and the patron saint of the negroes. He was born in 1526, at Saint Philadelphia, in the diocese of Messina, Sicily, where his parents were African slaves. After a boyhood of great piety, he entered an order of solitaries; but this order being suppressed by Pope Pius IV., he entered, as a lay-brother, a Franciscan Convent of the Strict Observance, at Palermo, where he was regarded as a model of a perfect religious. Although but a lay-brother, he was made superior, and ruled with great prudence. He died at the age of sixty-three. Three years after his death his body was found intact. He was beatified by Pope Benedict XIV. in 1743.

3. Saint Angela Merici, foundress of the Ursulines. She was born at Desenzano, near Lake Guarda, on the 21st of March, 1470. Her early impulse of piety led her, as a child, to seek to live as a hermit; and on growing up she entered the Third Order of Saint Francis, at Salo. Returning to her native place after the death of her uncle, who had become her guardian, she felt an earnest desire to devote herself to the education of girls. A little community was soon formed, and she was invited to Brescia, where she extended her good work. On the 25th of November, 1535, her order took its definite form, and was dedicated to Saint Ursula. She was made superior against her will, and, after governing with supernatural light, died January 27, 1540. Her order spread greatly in Italy, and was extended to France and America, where it has done incalculable good. The Ursuline Convent at Quebec has existed since 1639, and that at New Orleans is the oldest convent in the United States. Saint Angela was beatified by Clement XIII., April 30, 1768.

4. Saint Hyacinth Mariscotti was a daughter of Count Mark Antony Mariscotti and Octavia Orsini. She was born in 1588, and called Clarissa. Although miraculously saved from death, her youth was frivolous and worldly, and, on the marriage of a younger sister, she was so disappointed and vexed that she became intolerable. Her father proposed to her to enter a Franciscan convent. She consented, but led a most worldly life even in the convent. A fit of sickness made her enter into herself; and her subsequent life edified more than her vanity had scandalized. She died on the 30th of January, 1640, after a life of good works, austerities, and prayer. She was beatified, in 1726, by Benedict XIII.

Pope Pius VII. beatified, in 1802, the Blessed Peter of Sienna, and Blessed Mary Barthelemy Bagnesi; in 1803, the Blessed Joseph Mary Tommasi; in 1804, the Blessed Veronica Giuliani; in 1806, the Blessed Francis, of Girolamo, of the Society of Jesus; the Blessed Crispin of Viterbo; and the Blessed Joseph Oriol.

Rome about this time lost a prince whom she had long claimed, but who, assuming a royal title, was last of an honored line. Henry Benedict Mary, cardinal of York, born at Rome, March 6, 1725, baptized by Benedict XIII., and known as Duke of York, till his elevation to the purple by Benedict XIV., since which time he had been styled Cardinal York, assumed on the death of (James IV.) Charles Edward, in 1788, the title of Henry IX. He died at Rome, July 15, 1807, and with him closed the direct male line of the Stuarts, their claim passing to the king of Sardinia.

Cardinal York lost, by the French revolution, most of his benefices and revenues, so that he actually suffered. It is to the credit of George IV. that, when aware of the condition of his Catholic kinsman, he relieved his declining years by a pension, which was gratefully received; and after the cardinal's death, Canova, by the order of the English monarch, erected the Stuart monument at Saint Peter's, not indeed the happiest production of his chisel.

The death of Cardinal York closed the right of nominating and presenting to English and Irish Sees, which had always been recognized by Rome, in the exiled Stuarts, and which was sometimes embarrassing. When a bishop was spoken of for the United States, fears were entertained lest the nomination should be confided to Cardinal York. Since his day the nominations are always made by the bishops, in some cases assisted by the clergy, whose selection is also laid before the Holy See.

At the close of the year 1807, Napoleon visited Italy, and Pius VII. dispatched Cardinals Caselli and Oppizoni to Milan, to felicitate him, but nothing was gained. The emperor ordered the occupation of Rome, announcing it as a temporary measure.* The troops entered the Eternal

* See Alquier's mendacious statement in Pacca's Memoirs, i., 101.

City, February 2d, 1808. Cardinal Casoni at once notified the representatives of the various powers. The commandant of the Castle of Saint Angelo protested against its occupation, and the pope himself, the next day giving audience to the French ambassador and General Miollis, declared that he should consider himself a prisoner as long as the French troops were in Rome, and negotiation was now impossible. He himself remained in his palace, declining to go out as long as a foreign military force held his capital. In the same spirit, Cardinal Joseph Doria, who succeeded Cardinal Casoni as pro-secretary of state, announced that the pope authorized no carnival festivities, and notwithstanding all the efforts of the French, the Romans deprived themselves of their great holiday.

The French soon raised the mask. It was evident that the whole government of the Church at Rome was to be broken up, as far as lay in their power. On the 27th, the cardinal-secretary of state was ordered to leave Rome. The next month the governor of Rome, Monsignor Cavalchini, was carried off, and a letter, which he addressed to the pope, suppressed. The imperial government then took possession of the provinces of Urbino, Ancona, Macerata, and Camerino, which were declared perpetually and irrevocably reunited to the kingdom of Italy, because the pope would not make war on England, or join the kings of Italy and Naples to defend the peninsula, and also because the donation of Charlemagne, the illustrious predecessor of Napoleon, had been made for the benefit of Christianity, and not for the advantage of the enemies of holy religion.

On the 16th of June, Cardinal Gabrielli, the new secretary of state, was seized in the papal palace, and possession taken of all his papers. Other cardinals were gradually seized and removed, only those whose age or feeble health rendered removal dangerous being left. Napoleon seemed resolved to hold the pope a prisoner, and in case of his death or resignation to prevent the possibility of an election, except under his control. He proposed, but God disposed. Pius VII. died peacefully at Rome, his successor was peacefully elected.

On the 11th of July the pope assembled in consistory the cardinals still left in Rome, and addressed them an allocution, beginning *Nova vulnera*. He recapitulated the constantly increasing acts of violence, and protested solemnly against them, expressing his readiness to lay down his life for his people, and imploring the emperor to remove the evil from the house of Israel, and hearken not to the counsel of the perfidious, who, under pretext of extending his royal power, were hurrying him to eternal perdition.

He soon after declared venerable Queen Clotilda, of Sardinia, sister of Louis XVI. and Madame Elizabeth.

The affairs of Catholicity in the United States were also among the last to engage his attention. The See of Baltimore had been erected by Pius

VI., and John Carroll, a member of the suppressed Society of Jesus, chosen by the clergy, recommended by the American envoy, had been made bishop of the new See. His diocese was one of the largest in the world. It embraced the whole United States of that day, all the country east of the Mississippi, except part of Louisiana and Florida. The increase of Catholics in the country, especially at the larger cities, made it necessary to divide this great diocese, and Pius VII. established new Sees at Boston, New York, Philadelphia, Bardstown, and erected Baltimore into a metropolitan See. The bulls for the new bishops were to be taken out by Doctor Concanen, a Dominican resident at Rome, who was appointed to the See of New York, but who died suddenly at Naples, after being greatly harassed by the French. The newly appointed bishops were John Cheverus, bishop of Boston; Michael Egan, a Franciscan, bishop of Philadelphia; and Benedict Joseph Flaget, bishop of Bardstown.

Meanwhile, Pope Pius VII. appointed Cardinal Pacca to the dangerous post of secretary. The removal of Gabrielli defeated an attempt made to deliver the pope, which had been concerted between the cardinal and the court of Sicily. One evening in August, 1808, a stranger called upon Cardinal Pacca, and stated that he was a Franciscan, disguised in that strange garb, that he had come from Sicily in an English frigate, dispatched by King Ferdinand at the instance of Cardinal Gabrielli, and richly furnished for the pope by Queen Caroline. Father Cajetan Angiolini, procurator-general of the Society of Jesus, was on board the frigate, which had been coasting several days off Fiumicino. The stranger spoke truly; he was the Very Rev. Father Procida, who, when the lights agreed upon with Cardinal Gabrielli were not seen, had been sent by Father Angiolini, accepting the perilous task, and reaching Rome at the hazard of life. As he necessarily bore no documents, Cardinal Pacca was in grave doubts; but a conversation with Cardinal Erskine satisfied him that the plan was really formed. He then went to Pope Pius, and His Holiness told him that Cardinal Gabrielli had really endeavored to persuade him to escape from Rome, and had even provided him with a suitable disguise for the purpose; but for his own part, he said, he never had any intention to fly from Rome, nor even of his own free will ever to leave the city under any pretext whatever.*

The noble Franciscan was compelled, therefore, to regain the frigate, traversing anew the dangerous route, without the consolation of beholding the head of the Church delivered from the hands of his enemies.

In September an attempt was made to deprive the pope of his secretary in the same manner as before, a fair sample of what a sovereign pontiff would be in the States of another ruler. The head of the Church, the

* Pacca's Memoirs, i., p. 84-86.

pontiff of Catholics in every land, should be subject to none ; he should be sovereign pontiff, not subject pontiff. When Major Muzio, the emissary of the wretch Miollis, came to announce to Cardinal Pacca that he must leave Rome the next day, and that a party of dragoons would be ready to conduct him to Benevento, his native place, the cardinal boldly replied that he acknowledged no authority in Rome but the pope, and certainly would not go. Muzio, pursuant to orders, prevented Pacca from leaving the room, but permitted him to send a note to His Holiness.

"Not more than a few minutes had elapsed," said Cardinal Pacca, "since I dispatched the report, when the door of the room was thrown open with extraordinary violence, and the presence of the Holy Father was abruptly announced to me. I instantly hurried to meet him, and was then an eye-witness of a phenomenon that I had frequently heard of, but had never seen, namely, the hair of a violently excited man standing erect on his forehead, while the excellent pontiff, blinded as it were with anger, notwithstanding that I was dressed in the purple soutane of a cardinal, did not recognize me, but cried with a loud voice, 'Who are you? who are you?'

" 'I am the cardinal,' replied I, as I kissed his hand.

" 'Where is the officer?' said the pope.

"I then pointed to the officer, who was standing close to me, in a respectful attitude ; upon which the pope, turning towards him, addressed him nearly to the following effect, bidding him 'tell the general that he was weary of suffering such outrages and insults from a person who still professed to call himself a Catholic ; and that he plainly perceived the drift of these acts of violence was to remove from him, one by one, all his ministers, and so deprive him of the means of exercising his apostolic functions, and maintaining the rights of his temporal sovereignty ;' that he commanded me, the cardinal then present, not to obey the general's pretended orders, but to follow him to his own apartment and be the companion of his captivity. 'Neither,' he added, 'should the general, provided he thought proper to put his project in execution, of removing from him his minister, effect his purpose by any other means than by breaking the doors of the chambers, by arriving by main force in his presence, and by undertaking the unmitigated responsibility and consequences of such an unheard-of outrage.'

"The captain now turning towards me, with a modest demeanor, begged me to explain to him in French what the pope had said, in order that he might report it to the general. Having done so accordingly, Monsignor Arezzo, who was present, pronounced the translation I repeated a perfectly faithful one ; and the captain, as soon as he heard it, begged me to tell the Holy Father he would render an exact account of it to the general. The pope then taking me by the hand, saying at the same time, 'Signor Cardinal, let us be gone,' we ascended the grand staircase, and as we proceeded

to the pope's apartments were cheered by a crowd of the pontifical attendants, who, on hearing the disturbance, had assembled there from every part of the palace."

The foreign ministers were informed of this outrage by the Holy Father, but such was the fear of Napoleon that the replies were generally cool.

The pope was now simply a prisoner, and prepared for the last act. A new bull of excommunication was drawn up by Father Francis Fontana, general of the Barnabites, and subsequently cardinal, under the direction of cardinal de Pietro, and signed ready to issue, together with a protest or manifesto.

Cardinal Pacca thus records the events that occurred previous to this great act, which Napoleon foresaw, dreaded, yet derided.*

"Meanwhile the encroachments and acts of violence committed by the French in Rome and in the pontifical States became every day more outrageous; whence the pope, growing irritated, and with much reason, continually insisted that the notes and all official papers that issued from the secretary of state's office should be written with point and energy, and in a style that might make it apparent that he was now resolutely determined to make use of all the means that Providence had placed in his hands, in order to preserve the dominions of the Roman Church intact. One note, especially, addressed to General Lemarrois, in which he stated his intention in plain open terms, or at least in terms sufficiently clear to be perfectly understood, gave infinite satisfaction to all ranks of people throughout the city. The determination of the pope, moreover, had the support of his most pious and devoted subjects; and the Holy Father himself began to speak of it without mystery; especially one day, in an audience, he observed to the Treasurer of his States:

" 'That the French need mind what they were about; that the mine was ready prepared, and the match to set fire to it; and that whenever he chose to take the match in hand they must bear the consequences.'

"And again in another audience with Monsignor Alliata, the pro-auditor, he expressed himself as follows:

" 'We see,' said he, 'plainly that the French have a mind to force us to speak Latin, and speak Latin we will.'

"I had an audience with the Holy Father in the evening of the very day before the grand explosion took place, and told him 'I had received unquestionable intelligence from various quarters that the imperial decree for the union of the pontifical States to the French empire would be issued on the morrow; for which reason,' I said, 'I had come to receive His Holi-

* In a letter to Eugene Beauharnais, he said: "Is he ignorant how times have changed? Does he take me for a Louis Debonnaire, or fancy that his excommunication will make the muskets fall from the hands of my soldiers?" *Deus est qui judicet.*

ness' orders, as to whether, in case the report proved true, I should cause the bull of excommunication to be placarded in the usual places ?

"The pope replied, 'That it were better to postpone the execution of the measure until we had an opportunity of actually reading the imperial decree ;' and he assigned at the same time as a reason, and a very good one, 'That we were dealing with people who were in the habit of frequently spreading reports themselves of measures likely to be undertaken, while they had no intention whatever of adopting them to the full extent, if at all ; and that therefore, unless we knew the precise tenor of the decree, and the conditions and restrictions it contained, we might consequently fall into some contradiction that might put us in the wrong.' "

On the 17th of May, Napoleon issued, from his imperial camp at Vienna, a decree uniting all the pope's States to the French empire. Rome was declared an imperial and free city. The lands and domains of the pope were increased to produce a revenue of two million francs. A consulta was to take possession of the pontifical States and organize the constitutional régime there on the 1st of January, 1810. General Miollis, who had left Rome, immediately returned, and prepared to publish his decree. And Pius VII. calmly awaited the official announcement to issue his solemn protest, and wield the fulness of his ecclesiastical power.

"On the morning of the 10th of June," says Cardinal Pacca, "a note, and at the same time verbal intelligence, was brought to me, stating that on the preceding evening the partisans of the French had triumphantly asserted at their private parties, as well as at the cafés, that the pope, in case of a change in the government, would do nothing more than issue a protest, to which the commandant, they said, would pay no more attention than he had done to his other notes ; and they further added, that he had been persuaded to abandon the idea of having recourse to stronger measures by the advice of some of the cardinals. The moment I read the letter, the reports I had heard relative to the promulgation of the imperial decree became fully confirmed in my mind, and I perceived at once that the fatal day had arrived. And so it turned out eventually ; for the pontifical standard, that floated over the castle of Saint Angelo was lowered under a discharge of artillery at two hours before noon, and immediately afterwards the French tricolor was hoisted in its stead, and the decree announcing the termination of the papal dynasty proclaimed through all the streets of Rome by sound of trumpet. Immediately I hastened to the chamber of the Holy Father, and entered with a palpitating heart, as may well be imagined. There, if my memory serves me right, the first words that both of us uttered simultaneously were the words of the Redeemer—'*It is finished !*'

"I took courage, however, and felt heartily edified in perceiving that His Holiness still preserved his equanimity, and by his countenance betrayed

no apparent signs of wavering or want of determination. One or two minutes only now had elapsed when my nephew, Giovanni Tiberio Pacea entered the room, with a printed copy of the imperial decree, of which the French were dispersing a great number all over the city.

“Taking it in my hand, and requesting the pope to accompany me, we went to the window, for the curtains obstructed the light while we remained where we were. Accordingly, the pope rose from his seat and followed me; and I began to read, feeling at the same time a lively sense of the importance of preserving my mind in a state of tranquillity while the operations, which must now be immediately taken on perusal of the document, were depending. But all my efforts to preserve my calmness were unavailing, and, my strength failing me, I was hardly able, even with frequent interruptions, to scan over the most important points of the document. The indignation that I felt at the sacrilegious outrage; the being in the presence—nay, hardly removed a single pace from my ill-fated sovereign, the vicar of Christ, who stood listening to the sentence of his dethronement, as it fell from my lips; the impostures and calumnies which, glancing my eyes rapidly over the paper, I could not help observing; and the incessant reports of the French cannon, that, as it were, with an insulting tone of triumph, announced the iniquitous usurpation, excited me to such a degree that my faculty of sight was obfuscated, my respiration impeded, and, as I said before, I could scarcely read the principal articles at all, even with frequent interruptions. Observing, however, the features of the pope with more fixed attention, I perceived, at the few first words, an expression of an inward disturbance of spirit; not such as reflects the sensation of pusillanimous fear, but, on the contrary, manifesting a too reasonable feeling of indignation. He, however, speedily recovered the effects of the first impulse, and, recomposing himself by degrees, listened subsequently to the latter part of the decree with tranquillity and resignation.

“His first movement then was to turn towards the table, and, with his own hand, to sign several copies of the manifesto or protest referred to in the beginning of this chapter, all of which were placarded the very same evening. I then asked him whether I should likewise give orders to have the bull of excommunication placarded at the same time with the manifesto? To which he replied, after a few moments’ reflection—

“‘Let it be done after sunset; but take special care,’ he added, ‘to prevent the persons you employ being discovered, or they will be shot most certainly, and I should then be inconsolable.’

“‘Holy Father,’ I replied, ‘all possible precautions shall be taken, and nothing shall be done rashly; but I will not venture to answer to Your Holiness that the consequences will not be melancholy. God, if the act find favor in his sight, will know how to protect us.’

Meanwhile the persons* appointed to post the documents affixed them to the principal churches between six and seven o'clock in the evening, including especially the three great basilicas of Saint Peter's, Saint John Lateran, and Saint Mary Major's.

This famous bull, *Quum memoranda*, was as follows :

“ PIUS, PP. VII.

“ *Ad perpetuam rei memoriam.*

“ When the French troops, on the memorable 2d of February, after having invaded the most fertile provinces of the pontifical sovereignty, burst hostilely, impetuously, and unexpectedly upon the city of Rome, we were not able to persuade ourselves that such audacities could be attributed solely to political and military motives, as the invaders commonly gave out, that is to say, to the necessity of defending themselves, and of driving the enemy from the territories of the holy Roman Church, or of punishing our constancy, and our refusal to condescend to some of the propositions made to us by the French government. We saw clearly that the project involved more than a short military occupation, or a demonstration of anger towards us. We saw clearly that the projects of impiety, which seemed, if not repressed, at least torpid, were warmed anew, quickened again, and drawn from the darkness—the projects of cunning of those men who, deceived and deceivers, introducing sects of perdition through a vain and deceitful philosophy (Coloss. ii. 8), compassed with direct conspiracy, and for so long a time, the ruin of most holy religion. We saw that in our humble person, the seat of the blessed prince of the apostles was circumvented, attacked, taken by force, so that, if once overthrown, if that were possible, the Catholic Church, built upon that See as upon an immovable rock by its divine founder, might fall and be cast utterly into the abyss.

“ We had thought, we had hoped, not long ago, that the government of France, taught by the experiences of the evils that that powerful nation had drunk to the dregs from giving loose reins to impiety and schism, and warned by the unanimous wish of the great majority of citizens, would have been truly and profoundly convinced that it was necessary to its safety and to public happiness to render the exercise of the Catholic religion unreservedly free, and to insure its peculiar protection. Inspired by this opinion and by this hope, we, who, though unworthy, fill upon the earth the place of Him who is *the God of Peace*, scarcely have discovered a way to repair the disasters of the Church in France, than the universe is

* The first were posted up by a man named Mengacci, whose courage was subsequently duly rewarded. The French police did not discover them till the next morning, when one was taken down from the church of Saint Mark and carried to General Miollis, who dispatched it to Napoleon.

witness to the ardent joy with which we have entered upon treaties of peace, and how much it has cost us and the Church itself to conduct them to the issue which it has been permitted us to obtain. But, O eternal God, how have our hopes been mocked ! What has been the fruit of so much indulgence, so much generosity ! Since the promulgation of a peace thus obtained, we have been forced to exclaim with the prophet : ' Behold, in peace my bitterness is yet more bitter.' This bitterness we have not concealed from the Church : addressing our brothers the cardinals of the holy Roman Church in the consistory, May 24th, 1802, we announced to them that in the promulgation of the concordat there had been added articles unknown to us, and of which we at the same time disapproved. In fact, the terms of these articles annihilate, in the gravest and most important points, the liberty in the exercise of the Catholic religion, which in the commencement of the stipulations of the concordat had been specified, concurred in, promised as a base and foundation ; and more, some of these articles attack the doctrines of the Gospel.

"Such has been also the issue of our convention with the Italian Republic : the stipulations have been interpreted arbitrarily by a patent and injurious fraud, notwithstanding the pains taken by us to secure them from all arbitrary interpretations.

"The clauses of these two concordats having been distorted and violated in this way, especially those which had been established in favor of the Church, the spiritual authority was made dependent upon the lay power ; and far from the salutary effects which we had promised ourselves from these treaties, we were constrained to behold with grief the misfortunes and disasters of the Church develop and accumulate day by day. We will not make a detailed enumeration of these disasters, because they are sufficiently well known ; the tears of the faithful have sufficiently deplored them, and we have sufficiently exposed them in our consistorial allocutions, of March 16th and July 11th, 1808.

"Thus all the world will recognize, posterity will know, what have been our opinion and decision respecting the repeated acts of audacious temerity on the part of the French government in affairs concerning the Church ; all will know what has been our forbearance and patience ; all will perceive why we have restrained ourselves so long. Entertaining only a love of peace, and conceiving a firm hope that a remedy would arise to so many evils, we have deferred from day to day raising our apostolic voice. All will know what have been our cares, our labors, our efforts, to act, to conjure, to supplicate, to groan, so that the wounds of the Church might be healed. All will know how earnestly we have prayed that no new ones might be opened. But we have exhausted the means of humility, moderation, meekness, by which we have sought to defend the interests and rights of the Church, on

one who had entered into a compact with the impious to destroy it utterly, one who in that spirit had contracted a friendship with it in order to betray it more easily, and who had pretended to protect it in order to oppress it more surely.

“ We entertained great hopes above all when our journey to France was desired and solicited ; afterwards, our demands were eluded with cunning tergiversations, with subterfuges, and replies only invented to deceive or to delay the negotiations. As the time approached marked out for the execution of the meditated projects against this See and the Church of Christ, those demands were no longer regarded ; we were attacked and tormented with new exigencies, either immoderate or captious, which clearly showed that it was intended to place us between two dangers, both wicked and hurtful to this See and to the Church—namely, to constrain us by an assent shamefully to betray our ministry, or, if we refused, to furnish a pretext for the declaration of open war. And as, because of the repugnance of our conscience, we could not yield to these demands, they deemed it right to pour troops hostilely into this holy city. They seized upon the citadel of Saint Angelo ; they placed detachments in the streets and squares ; the very palace we occupy, the Quirinal, was besieged and menaced by a large force of infantry and cavalry, supplied with artillery. We, on the contrary, reassured by that God in whom we are all-able, sustained by the consciousness of duty, were neither moved nor shaken by a sudden terror, nor by this military display ; with a spirit always calm and even as became us, we celebrated the ceremonies and divine mysteries which belong to that most holy day (the Purification), omitting nothing through fear, forgetfulness, or negligence, in that duty demanded at that juncture. We remembered with Saint Ambrose (*De basil. tradend.*, No. 17,) that the holy man Naboth, possessor of a vineyard, called upon by a royal command to give up his vineyard, where the king, after pulling up the wine-stocks, would have planted potherbs, had replied : ‘ God keep me from giving up the heritage of my fathers ! ’ Thence we have judged that it was much less permitted us to deliver up our ancient and sacred inheritance (the temporal domain of the Holy See, possessed, not without the evident ordination of Divine Providence, during so many ages, by the Roman pontiffs, our predecessors), or to agree easily with whomsoever might seize upon the capital of the Catholic world, to trouble and destroy the form of sacred government which has been left by Jesus Christ to His holy Church, and regulated by the sacred canons which have been established by the Spirit of God ; in order to substitute in its place a code not only contrary to the sacred canons but incompatible with the evangelical precepts, and to introduce, in fine, another order of things, which tend manifestly to associate and confound the diverse sects and superstitions with the Catholic Church.

"*Naboth defended his vineyard even at the price of his blood.* (*Saint Ambrose, ibid.*) Then shall not we, in whatever circumstances, defend the rights and possessions of the holy Roman Church, which we have engaged under a solemn oath to preserve as much as lies in our power? Shall we not claim the liberty of the Apostolic See, so peculiarly inseparable from the interests and liberty of the universal Church?

"For present events, when other arguments fail, show too clearly how befitting and necessary the temporal power is to assume to the supreme head of the Church the free and certain exercise of that authority over the universe which has been divinely given him. Therefore, although we have never rejoiced in honors, riches, and the sovereign power, things we have never desired, both from our disposition and from our respect for that holy institute into which we entered in our youth, and which we have always cherished, we have deemed it our absolute duty to publish, by our cardinal-secretary of state, a protestation, dating from the same day, February 2, 1808, although reduced to such a critical position, in order to explain the causes of the tribulations which we suffered, and to declare that the rights of the Apostolic See must remain entire and intact.

"As the invaders effected naught by threats, they determined to adopt another system with us; they essayed to enfeeble gradually, by a kind of persecution, slow, although most painful, and consequently more cruel, our constancy, which they could not conquer by sudden terror. Hence, detaining us in our palace, as in a prison, since the 2d day of February, there has not passed a day scarcely which has not been marked by some new injury to our heart or to this Holy See. All the soldiers maintained by us to preserve civil discipline and order, taken forcibly and incorporated with the French troops; our body-guards, all nobles and chosen men, shut up in the citadel of Rome, detained there several days, then dispersed and disbanded; troops stationed at the gates, and in the most frequented places of the city; the post-offices and printing-houses, particularly the printing-house *de Propagandâ fide*, subjected to military force and caprice, whilst they denied us the liberty to speak out, or to print the expression of our mind; administrations and tribunals annoyed and impeded; our subjects solicited by fraud, deceit, and other perverse means to swell the ranks of the so-called civic soldiers, rebels to their legitimate sovereign; the most audacious and corrupt of our subjects receiving the French and Italian tricolor, and protected by that as by a buckler, sometimes distributed with impunity in troops, sometimes acting alone, with orders or permission to commit iniquitous excesses against the ministers of the Church, against the government, and against all honest men; newspapers issued from the Roman presses, in spite of our protests, circulating amongst the people, or dispatched abroad, full of insults, reproaches, and calumnies even against the

authority of the pontifical dignity ; important declarations of ours, signed by our hand, or by that of our ministers, and posted by our command in the customary places, torn down by vile satellites, in the midst of the tears and indignation of the good, rent to pieces, trampled under foot ; imprudent youths and other citizens invited to secret societies, prohibited severely under pain of anathema by the civil and ecclesiastical laws enacted by our predecessors Clement XII. and Benedict XIV., and then added and inscribed ; a great number of our ministers and officers, both city and provincials, just and faithful magistrates, persecuted, cast into prison and banished ; searches made violently in the private offices of the pontifical magistrates, without excepting the cabinet of our prime-minister ; three of our prime-ministers themselves, secretaries of state, whom we were successively constrained to replace, taken by force from our own palace ; the greater number of the cardinals of the holy Roman Church, that is to say, our collaterals and co-operators, torn from our breast and from our side by military force, and exiled afar. Behold amongst so many others the outrages committed audaciously and wickedly by the invaders, against all right, human and divine ; they are so notorious that we need not delay to relate and explain them further. We have not failed to protest against all these attacks with force and courage, as our ministry demanded, in order to avoid the suspicion of connivance, or of any assent whatever. Thus, almost despoiled of the attributes of our dignity, and the support of our authority ; destitute of all help necessary to fulfil our ministry, and to bestow our care upon all the Churches ; overwhelmed by multiplied injuries, vexations, and terrors ; oppressed, tortured ; every day deprived more and more of the exercise of each of our powers, whatever shadow of those powers we have preserved we owe entirely, under the singular and experienced providence of the all-powerful Lord, to our fortitude, to the prudence of the ministers who remain with us, to the tenderness of our subjects, and finally to the piety of the faithful.

“ But, if a phantom of authority was still preserved to us in this illustrious Rome, and in the bordering province, all power was denied us in the flourishing provinces of Urbino, the Marches, and Camerino. In order to oppose a solemn protest against this manifest and sacrilegious usurpation of so many States of the Church, and to caution, at the same time, our beloved subjects of those provinces against the seductions of an unjust and illegitimate government, we have not neglected to give instructions to our venerable brothers the bishops of those provinces.

“ And this government, how little it has delayed, how it has hastened to prove by deeds what, in our instruction, we had announced might be expected from its religion ! The occupation and pillage of the patrimony of Jesus Christ ; the abolition of religious houses ; the banishment from convents of consecrated virgins ; churches profaned ; the reins gradually

removed from licence ; a contempt for ecclesiastical discipline and the holy canons ; the promulgation of the code and other laws contrary not only to the holy canons themselves, but to the evangelical precepts and to the doctrine of divine right ; the persecution and degradation of the clergy ; the subjection of the sacred authority of the bishops to the lay-power ; the violence attacking, by all means, their conscience ; expulsion from their Sees, their banishment, and other audacities and sacrilegious enterprises against the liberty, the privilege, and the doctrines of the Church, put in execution in our provinces as in the countries submitted to the authority of this government ;—such are the transcendent attestations, the pledges, the monuments of that admirable love for the Catholic religion, which it never ceases, even to-day, to vaunt and to promise.

“ For ourselves, filled with these bitternesses by those from whom we least expected it, and overwhelmed by affliction, we mourn less over our present condition than upon the future condition of our persecutors, ‘ for though the Lord our God is angry with us a little while for our chastisement and correction, yet He will be reconciled again to his servants.’ (2 Mach. vii. 33.) ‘ But he that has been the author of all mischief against the Church, how shall he escape from the hand of God?’ (2 Mach. vii. 31.) ‘ God will not accept any man’s person, neither will he stand in awe of any man’s greatness ; for he made the little and the great.’ (Wisdom, vi. 8.) ‘ But a greater punishment is ready for the more mighty.’ (Ibid. v. 9.) Would to God we were able, at whatever price, even at the price of our life, to avert eternal damnation, to secure the salvation of our persecutors, whom we have always loved, and whom we cease not to love in heart ! Would to God we were permitted to remain always in this charity, *in this spirit of meekness* (1 Cor. iv. 21), which nature endowed us with, and which our will has put in practice, and always have in repose that rod which has been ascribed to us in the person of the most blessed Peter, prince of the Apostles, with the care of the universal flock of the Lord, for the correction and punishment of wandering lambs obstinate in their error, and for the salutary example and terror of others !

“ But the time for mildness has gone by ; all but those who are wilfully blind can see where these outrages tend, what they mean, in what they will end, if means be not employed to arrest their excesses ; all see, besides, that there is no longer any hope that the authors of those outrages can be softened by the admonitions, counsels, prayers, and representations of the Church. They have closed the doors to all these, they are deaf to all, they reply but to heap injuries upon injuries. It is impossible for those who attempt nothing, advance nothing, pursue nothing, but to subdue the Church and make her like the servant of a master, to destroy her utterly after having subdued her, to obey her as a mother, or to listen to the mistress as disciples.

“If we would not incur the reproach of negligence and sloth, the stain of having shamefully abandoned the cause of God, what can we do except rise above all earthly reasoning, set aside all worldly considerations, and execute that evangelical precept: ‘If any man hear not the Church, let him be to thee as a heathen and a publican.’ (Matt. xviii: 17.) ‘Let them learn, once for all, that they are submitted, by the law of Jesus Christ, to our command and to our throne; for we exercise a higher authority and command than theirs, unless it be but just that the spirit submit to the flesh, and the things of heaven to the things of earth.’ (S. Greg. Naz. Or. 17, Paris, 1768, p. 323.) Formerly, many pontiffs, commendable for their doctrine and their holiness, have been brought to these extremities against hardened kings and princes, because the cause of the Church required it, for any of those crimes which the sacred canons smite with anathema; shall we, then, fear to follow the example of those pontiffs, after so many outrages, so wicked, atrocious, and sacrilegious, so well known and so manifest to all? Should we not more wisely fear that we may be accused, justly and by good right, of having delayed our action, rather than entered upon it with temerity and precipitation, especially when we are apprised by this last outrage, the greatest of all with which they ceaselessly attack our temporal power, that we shall no longer be free and assured of the accomplishment of the important necessary duties of our apostolic ministry?

“From these causes, by the authority of Almighty God, of the holy apostles Peter and Paul, and by ours, we declare that all those who, after the invasion of this illustrious city, and of the ecclesiastical possessions, after the sacrilegious violation of the patrimony of Saint Peter, prince of the apostles, planned and executed by the French troops, have committed in Rome and in the possessions of the Church, against the ecclesiastical privilege, against the temporal rights of the Church and of the Holy See, the abuses or any of the abuses which we have denounced in the two consistorial allocutions before referred to, and in several protestations and reclamations published by our order—we declare that those who are above designated, and also their employers, abettors, counsellors, adherents, and others, who have ordered the execution of the said outrages, or who have themselves executed them, have incurred the major excommunication, and the other ecclesiastical censures and penalties inflicted by the holy canons, by the apostolic constitutions, and particularly by the decrees of the general councils, and above all by the Council of Trent (Sess. 22, chap. iv., de Ref.); and if need be, we once more excommunicate and anathematize them. We declare that they have incurred the penalties of the loss of all privileges, favors, and indulgences, accorded in whatsoever manner they might be, either by the Roman pontiffs our predecessors, or

by us. We declare that no one can absolve and free them from such censures except ourselves, or the sovereign pontiff then existing (unless in the article of death, for they must return under the said censures in the case of convalescence), and that no absolution can be granted them until they have retracted, revoked, abrogated, and abolished publicly, in whatsoever manner it may be, those outrages; until they have re-established fully and effectively all things in their original condition, and have given to the Church, to us, and to the Holy See, the worthy satisfaction which the principal points above enunciated demand. Therefore, we enact and declare, similarly by the tenor of the said presents, that not only those who are worthy of a special attention, but also their successors in office will not be permitted, on any pretext whatever, by virtue of these presents, to believe themselves free from the necessity of retractation, revocation, abrogation, and absolution, which they must make for the outrages before stated, nor from the satisfaction due to the Church, to us, and to the Holy See—satisfaction which must be real and effective; they must be willing that these obligations retain their force, otherwise they cannot obtain the benefit of absolution.

“Finally, whilst we are constrained to draw from its scabbard the sword of the Church’s severity, we may not forget that we hold upon earth, despite our unworthiness, the place of Him who in the display of justice forgets not mercy. Therefore we order, addressing ourselves to our subjects, and to all Christian people, by virtue of holy authority, that no person shall presume to occasion damage, nor injury, nor any wrong whatsoever, to those whom these presents concern, nor entertain prejudice against them, nor endanger their properties, rights, and prerogatives, on account of these presents, or under any pretext founded on them. For, in inflicting on those whom we condemn the penalties which God has placed within our power, and in avenging so many great injuries to God and to his holy Church, we entertain the hope of seeing *those who actually torment us converted, in order to be tormented with us.* (S. Aug. in Ps. liv. 1.) ‘If, peradventure, God may give them repentance to know the truth.’ (2 Tim. ii. 25.)

“Thus, then, raising our hands to heaven in the humility of our heart, whilst we again recommend to God the just cause which we defend, and which is much more his than ours, and which we assert with his help to be ready to drain to the very dregs the chalice which he first deigned to drain for it, we supplicate him, we conjure him by the bowels of his mercy, not to reject, *not to despise the prayers and supplications which we address to him night and day that they may repent and be saved.* Truly, no day could be so fortunate and so consoling to us as that on which the divine mercy shall be granted, and our sons, who to-day overwhelm us with so many tribulations, *take refuge in our paternal bosom and seek once more to re-enter the fold of the Lord.*

"We intend that the present letters, and all that they contain, shall not be attacked under the pretence that the above-mentioned, or any others whatsoever, who are in any manner whatsoever, or pretend to be, interested therein, to whatever state, grade, order, pre-eminence, or dignity they may belong, have not consented to the effect of these presents, and that their reasons have not been sufficiently heard, verified, and justified. We intend, moreover, that these letters shall never, under any pretext, color, or motive, be regarded as stained with the vice of subreption, or of obreption or nullity, or of failure of intention on our part, or of error of any description whatsoever. The contents of these letters shall never, under any pretext whatsoever, be attacked, rejected, retracted, called in question, or restricted by legal terms. It shall not be lawful to allege against them verbal reclamation, right of restitution to former state, or other legal remedy, of fact or favor: it can only be opposed that this remedy, after having been solicited, has been granted, and emanated, *motu proprio*, of our own motion, science, and plenary power: it is understood that it shall never serve in any manner, nor aid any one, in judgment or out of judgment. We declare that the present letters must remain entire, valid, and efficacious, that they shall have and shall obtain their full and entire effect, and that they must be observed inviolably by those whom they concern, and by those whom they shall concern hereafter. Thus, and in no other manner than is stated in these presents, must they be judged and defined by the judges ordinary, by the delegated auditors of the apostolic palace, by the cardinals of holy Roman Church, by the ambassadors extraordinary of the pope, and by the nuncios, and by all others enjoying or who shall enjoy any superiority or power whatsoever,—understanding that from all and from each of them is hereby withdrawn all faculty and authority to judge differently from what is herein set down. Finally, we declare null and void all that may be attempted against these letters on any authority whatsoever, knowingly or through ignorance.

"In consequence of the foregoing, and, as far as need be, notwithstanding the rule of our apostolic chancery as to the preservation of vested rights and the other apostolic constitutions and decrees, granted to whomsoever, and all other statutes and customs confirmed by oath and apostolic authorization, or any other confirmation—notwithstanding the customs, usages, styles, even immemorial, privileges, indults, letters, granted to whomsoever, whether invested with ecclesiastical or civil dignity, whatever their qualifications, even should they pretend to invoke an express and special designation, under any tenor and form whatever, even availing themselves of derogatory and other more efficacious, most efficacious, unusual and abrogating clauses and other decrees, even made directly antagonistic of *motu proprio*, knowledge, plenitude of power, and consistorially or however

otherwise, concessions made, written, renewed repeatedly, approved, confirmed and reaffirmed ;—we declare that we derogate by these presents from these constitutions in an express and special manner, and intend such derogation, although these acts, or some thereof, be not expressly inserted in these presents, worthy as they may be supposed of special notice, express and individual or of particular form ; in like case willing that these presents have the same force, as if the tenor of the constitutions and clauses to be observed was expressed by name, and word by word, and that in fine they obtain their full and entire effect, all things to the contrary notwithstanding.

“ Since it is a matter of notoriety that these letters cannot be published all over in safety, particularly in places where it is important that they should appear, we desire that these letters or their copies be affixed to the gates of the Lateran Church and the Basilica of the Prince of the Apostles, to those of the apostolic chancery, of the general *Curia* of Monte Citorio, and to the entrance of the Campo de Fiori of Rome ; and such posting and publication shall be equivalent to a personal service on each and all of those whom they concern.

“ We further desire that as much faith be placed, abroad, throughout, in all places, and in all nations, in each extract, copy, or impression of these presents, furnished with the signature of some person of ecclesiastical dignity, as would be placed in these presents were they themselves exhibited and shown.

“ Given at Rome, at Saint Mary Major’s, under the seal of the Fisherman, on the 10th day of June, in the year 1809, of our pontificate the tenth.

“ Pius, PP. VII.”

The issuing of the bull of excommunication caused a sort of suspense at Rome, and anxiety prevailed on both sides. In the palace they hourly expected a violent arrest, while, on the other hand, Miollis, it is pretended, with feeble resources at his immediate command, was in fear of beholding the pope issue forth in his pontifical attire to call his people to protect him.

Miollis, who undoubtedly had his whole course laid out for him, at last resolved to arrest the pope, and carry him from Rome by a *coup-de-main*. To execute his plans he summoned General Radet, inspector-general of the gendarmerie of Tuscany, who, on the 12th of June, had entered Rome with four hundred mounted gendarmes, evidently for the very purpose of carrying off the Holy Father like a malefactor ; although some French writers, following Radet’s tardy apology, would seem to think otherwise.

Re-enforced by eight hundred Neapolitan recruits sent by Murat, Radet, on the night of the 5th of July, collected his force on the Piazza de’ Santi

Apostoli, and in the barracks in the Piazza della Pilotta near Monte Cavallo, and received a written order from General Miollis, "to arrest Cardinal Pacca; and in case of opposition on the part of the pope, to arrest His Holiness also, and to convey both the pope and the cardinal to Florence."* The reader will necessarily smile at the absurdity of this statement, and look with suspicion on the whole French account, for it is not to be supposed that Radet was summoned from Tuscany with four hundred men and eight hundred more obtained from Naples merely to arrest Cardinal Pacca.

Radet divided his force, placed guards at the various churches to prevent any alarm, and when the officer of the pope's guard, placed on vidette on the salient tower, retired at thirty-five minutes past two on the morning of the 6th, he gave the signal. Thirty men scaled the garden-wall near the great gate called the Cortile della Panetteria, twenty-five guarded a little gate behind the street descending to the Lavatoja, while Colonel Siry, with fifty men, cut open with axes the windows on the street leading to the Porta Pia, and penetrating into the palace opened the great door for Radet, who, collecting his men, marched in, dispersing some workmen, and compelling the Swiss guard to lay down their arms.

Cardinal Pacca, who had seen the preparations the evening before, but after sitting up nearly the whole night, had now fallen asleep, was roused by the noise and saw the French pouring into the palace. He thus describes the scene that followed :

"Instantly I dispatched my nephew, John Tiberius Pacca, to awaken the Holy Father, as I had promised to do in case of an alarm in the night-time; and a few moments afterwards I went myself in my dressing-gown into the Holy Father's chamber. The pope immediately got up, and, with the utmost serenity of spirit, dressed himself in his episcopal robe and stole, and going into the apartment where he was in the habit of giving audience, found assembled there Cardinal Despuig, myself, some of the prelates who were inhabitants of the palace, and several officials and clerks of the secretary of state's office. The assailants had by this time broken with their axes the doors of the pope's suite of apartments, and had arrived at the door of the very chamber where the Holy Father and ourselves were. At this juncture, in order to avoid the chance of some more calamitous result, we caused this last door to be opened. The pope now arose from his seat, and going opposite the table, stood nearly in the middle of the room, while we two cardinals placed ourselves, one on his right hand and the other on his left; and the prelates, officials, and the clerks of the secretary of state's office, were on the right and the left of all.

* Radet's apology, in Pacca's Memoirs, vol. ii., p. 396.

"The door being opened, the first person that entered the room was General Radet, the commanding officer of the enterprise, followed by several French officers, for the most part belonging to the gendarmerie; and last of all came the two or three Roman rebels who had served as guides to the French, and had directed them during the escalade. General Radet and the above-mentioned persons having formed line opposite the Holy Father and ourselves, both parties stood face to face for some minutes in perfect silence, equally, as it were, confounded at each other's presence, while no one either uttered a single word or changed his position.

"At length General Radet, pale in the face, with a trembling voice, and hesitating as if he could scarcely find words to express himself, addressed the pope as follows. He said that he had 'a painful and disagreeable duty to perform, but, having sworn fidelity and obedience to the emperor, he was compelled to execute the commission that had been imposed on him, and, consequently, intimate to His Holiness, on the part of the emperor, that he must renounce the temporal sovereignty of Rome and the pontifical States; and,' he added, 'that in case of the non-compliance of the Holy Father with the proposal, that he had further orders to conduct His Holiness to General Miollis, who would indicate the place of his destination.'

"The pope, without being discomposed, but with an air full of dignity, replied in a firm tone of voice nearly in the following words: 'Since General Radet, by virtue of his oath of fidelity and obedience, considers himself obliged to execute orders of the emperor such as he has undertaken, he may imagine by how much the more we, who are bound by oaths many and various to maintain the rights of the Holy See, are under an obligation to do so. We have not the power to renounce that which does not belong to ourselves, neither are we ourselves otherwise than the administrators of the Roman Church, and of her temporal dominion. This dominion the emperor, from whom, after all we have done for him, we did not expect this treatment, even though he cut our body in pieces, will never obtain from us.'

"'Holy Father,' replied General Radet, 'I am conscious that the emperor has many obligations to Your Holiness.'

"'More than you are aware of,' replied the pope in an excited tone; 'and,' added His Holiness, 'are we to go alone?'

"'Your Holiness,' said the general, 'may take with you your minister, Cardinal Pacca.'

"Hereupon I, standing close at the side of the pope, immediately replied, addressing myself to His Holiness, 'What orders does the Holy Father please to give me—am I to have the honor of accompanying him?'

"The pope having answered in the affirmative, I requested permission to go to the room adjoining; and there, in the presence of two officers of the gendarmerie who followed me, and now pretended to be looking around

at the apartment, I dressed myself in my cardinal's habit, with *rochetto* and *mozzetta*, supposing that we were to be conducted to General Miollis, who was quartered in the Doria Palace, in the Corso. While I was dressing, the pope, with his own hand, made a memorandum of those attendants whom he wished to take with him, and, as was afterwards reported to me, had some conversation with General Radet, who, while His Holiness was engaged in putting some articles in the room in order, having observed,

“‘Your Holiness need be under no apprehension that any thing here will be meddled with;’

“‘The pope replied: ‘He who sets little value even on his own life, has still less regard for his property.’

“On my return to the pope's chamber, I found that he had been already obliged to depart, without even allowing sufficient time for the chamberlains to put the little linen he required for the journey into a portmanteau. Radet would, in fact, have wished the pope to change his dress for a less conspicuous and recognizable costume, but had not the courage to tell him so. I followed and joined His Holiness in another chamber, whence both of us, surrounded by gendarmes, police, and the above-mentioned Roman rebels, making our way with difficulty over the fragments of the broken doors, descended the staircase and crossed the principal cortile, where the remainder of the troops and police had collected. We then went out through the Great Gate opening upon the Piazza, where we found in readiness the carriage of General Radet, which was a description of vehicle called *bastarda*; and at the same time we saw in the Piazza a considerable detachment of Neapolitan troops, who, having arrived a few hours before, for the special purpose of taking a part in the great enterprise, were drawn up in line. The pope was now desired to get first into the carriage, and afterwards I was bid to follow; and when we were both inside, the Venetian blind, which was on the pope's side, of a description called *Persiana*, having been previously nailed down, both doors were fastened with lock and key by a gendarme. General Radet and a Tuscan quartermaster, named Cardini, mounted in front on the dickey, and the order to drive off was given. At this moment a few prelates, officials, clerks of the secretary of state's office, and others of our attendants, who had followed us down-stairs and were not allowed to accompany us to the carriage, stood pale and trembling at the Great Gate of the cortile.

“General Radet, at starting, instead of proceeding straight towards the Doria Palace as we expected, directed the carriage to be driven along the Via di Porta Pia, and thence up the road that diverges on the left hand towards the Porta Salaria, by which gate we went out; and thence, making a circuit of the wall by the road that leads parallel outside, we arrived at the Porta del Popolo, which was then closed, as were all the other gates of

the city. Along the whole distance thither we met squadrons or pickets of cavalry with drawn sabres, to whose officers General Radet, with the triumphant air of a person who had won a great victory, gave orders as we passed. At the Porta del Popolo we found post-horses in waiting.

"While the horses were being harnessed to the carriage, the pope mildly reproached General Radet 'for his want of veracity*' in saying that he was about to conduct him to General Miollis;' at the same time he complained of 'the violent treatment he had received in being thus removed from Rome without his suite, and absolutely unprovided with every thing, even with clothes other than those he had on his back.'

"The general replied, that 'His Holiness' attendants, whose names he had entered in the memorandum, would very speedily join him, and bring with them all the articles he required.' And in the mean time the general, in order to expedite their departure by all the means in his power, instantly dispatched a mounted gendarme to the Quirinal; and then, turning to me, observed that 'he felt much satisfaction at having been able to execute his commission so pacifically that not even one single person had been wounded.'

"'What, then,' said I, "did you take the palace for a fortress, and expect resistance?"

"'I was aware,' he replied, 'that your Eminence had directed your people to make no opposition, and not even to be seen on the Monte Cavallo with a musket in their hand.'

"The pope, a few minutes afterwards, asked me 'whether I had with me any money?'

"To which I replied: 'Your Holiness saw that I was arrested in your own apartments, so that I have had no opportunity of providing myself.'

"We then both of us drew forth our purses, and, notwithstanding the state of affliction we were in at being thus torn away from Rome and all that was dear to us, we could hardly compose our countenances on finding the contents of each purse to consist, in that of the pope of one papetto,† and in mine three grossi!‡ Thus the sovereign of Rome and his prime-minister set forth upon their journey literally, without figure of speech or metaphor, in true apostolic style, conformable with the precept of our Saviour addressed to the disciples:

"'Take nothing for your journey, neither staves nor scrip, neither bread, neither money; neither have two coats apiece.' (Matt. ix: 3.)

"We were without provisions, and we had no garments except those we wore, not even a shirt: and the habits, such as they were, were most inconvenient for travelling; for the pope wore his mozzetta and stola, and

* Della menzogna dettagli.

† About 10*d.*

‡ About 7½*d.*

I the rocchetto and mozzetta, together with the mantelletta. With regard to money, we had precisely thirty-five baiocchi between us.

"The pope, extending his hand, showed his papetto to General Radet, saying at the same time, 'Look here—this is all I possess, all that remains of my principality.'

"A thought now entered my mind, with reference to effects that might follow, injurious to the good Pius VII., that gave me a great deal of trouble; for I feared that the pope, horrified at the execrable and sacrilegious misdeed that was now in progress, and from the apprehension of the melancholy consequences it might bring to the Church, might in his own heart blame me for having always encouraged him, and might repent of the strong measures we had adopted. I was, however, speedily relieved from my inquietude by a voluntary observation of the pope himself, who, with a smile on his lips, and an air of extreme complacency, addressing himself to me abruptly, said—

"'What think you now, cardinal? were we right, or were we not right, on the 10th of June, when we signed the bull of excommunication? can you imagine we could possibly have done otherwise?'

"These words, and the manner in which they were delivered, greatly comforted me, and supplied me with new strength to resist the pains of body and sorrow of mind that I foresaw I was doomed to suffer during our troublesome and disastrous journey.

"The same night, in pursuance of orders I gave previous to our departure, the following pathetic address of Pius VII., which may be considered as the farewell of an affectionate father to his beloved children, was secretly placarded on the walls of the city:

"PIUS, PP. VII. TO HIS FAITHFUL SUBJECTS—HIS OWN BELOVED FLOCK:

"'Amid the troubles that surround us we shed tears of tenderness.

"'Blessed be God, even the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, the Father of mercies, and the God of all comfort, who comforteth us in all our tribulation.' (2 Corin. i. 3, 4.)

"'Seeing that the same calamity has befallen our own person that was announced by his divine Son our Saviour to the Prince of the Apostles, Saint Peter, of whom, without any merit of our own, we are the successor:

"'Verily, verily, I say unto thee, when thou wast young thou girdedst thyself, and walkedst whither thou wouldst; but when thou shalt be old, thou shalt stretch forth thy hands, and another shall gird thee, and carry thee whither thou wouldest not.' (John, xxi. 18.)

"'We well know and declare, not having committed a single act of violence, being at peace with all the world, and having offered up prayers continually for the peaceful reign of all princes, that we cannot lawfully be

removed from the city of Rome, our legitimate, pacific place of residence, the capital of our dominions, the special see of our Holy Roman Church, and the universal centre of Catholic unity, of which, by the Divine will, we are the supreme head and moderator on earth.

“ ‘ We do, therefore, in real verity, stretch forth our sacerdotal hands in resignation to the force that binds us and carries us whither we would not ; declaring, at the same time, the authors of the outrage committed upon us responsible to God for all the consequences ; while we, for our part, only desire, advise, and command our faithful subjects, our own flock of Rome, as well as the universal flock of the Catholic Church, earnestly to follow the example of the faithful of the first century, by whom, while Peter was kept in prison :

“ ‘ Prayer was made without ceasing of the Church unto God for him.’
(Acts, xii. 5.)

“ ‘ Successor, unworthy as we are, of that glorious apostle, we feel confident that all our loving children will perform this pious and perhaps last act of duty to their affectionate and common father ; and we, in recompense, with the most earnest effusion of our heart, bestow on them our apostolic benediction.*

“ ‘ Given at our palace of the Quirinal, 6th July, 1809.

“ ‘ PIUS, PP. VII.”’

(Place of the Seal.)

* Radet, who says, that when actually in the pope's presence he received Miollis' order to “ arrest the pope as well as Cardinal Pacca, and to convey both forthwith out of Rome,” thus describes the scene, although he does not explain why he, who had a simple order to arrest the pope, instead of doing so, entered the diplomatic service by commencing negotiations about the renunciation of the temporal power. Radet's apology of 1814 must be read by the light of his letter to Miollis in Artaud's *Histoire du Pape Pie VIII.*, p. 295, so truly characterized by Cardinal Wiseman as “ brutal and vulgar.” Five years had changed ideas.

“ Accordingly, I advanced respectfully a few paces nearer the Holy Father, and placing one hand on my breast, holding my hat with the other, and bowing to His Holiness, I said, ‘ that much as it cost my heart, my oaths and sacred duties imposed upon me the obligation of fulfilling with regard to His Holiness a mission sadly severe.’ At these words the pope rose from his seat, and looking at me with an air of imposing dignity, such as is familiar to those persons acquainted with him, said, ‘ Wherefore do you come at this hour, thus to trouble my habitation and my repose ? What is it that you want ?’ I answered, ‘ Most Holy Father, I come in the name of the government to repeat to Your Holiness their determination that you must officially renounce your temporal sovereignty.’ The pope, casting his eyes upwards, elevating his hand at the same time, and without showing any appearance of surprise, rejoined : ‘ In no deed that I have done have I acted without invoking the light of the Holy Ghost ; before you compel me to retract, you shall cut me in pieces !’ I besought His Holiness to ‘ consider the state of the country and the circumstances, under which his resistance would be the cause of disorder, and of shedding the blood of his children everywhere ; and I added, that I felt persuaded he would certainly be desirous of preventing the horrors of a revolt that must infallibly end in a massacre.’ His Holiness replied, ‘ that he disapproved every act tending to trouble the public order and cause the shedding of human blood ; that he was afflicted, but innocent of what I told him, and that he invoked the aid of the Almighty to re-establish order in his capital and in his

Cardinal Pacca thus describes the commencement of the pope's melancholy journey :

"At about eight o'clock, Italian time, our carriage left the Porta del Popolo, and we took the road to Tuscany. At the first relays in the Cam-

States.' He further observed, 'that he was far from expecting to see all the evils that I had described, or be treated himself so disgracefully and ungratefully by the chief of an amiable nation, to which he had shown so special proofs of his particular affection.' I replied, 'that we should never cease to reverence His Holiness as our sovereign pontiff, and to consider him the supreme chief of the Catholic Apostolic Roman Church ; that such was the law, such was the wish and order of our sovereign ; that on our hearts was engraven religion, fear, the love of God, and the love of our neighbor.' The Holy Father answered, 'I pardon him nevertheless, and all of you.'

"Finding that I could not obtain from the Holy Father the abdication of his temporal sovereignty, and pressed by time, I found myself compelled to declare to His Holiness, that 'my orders placed me under the melancholy necessity of conveying him away from Rome.' The pope replied, 'Be it so ; but I yield to force ; at least you will allow me and the persons who are to accompany me two hours to make preparations.' I replied, 'that my instructions left me no power to do so ;' but I added, 'that if His Holiness would deign to give me a list of the persons he wished to go with him, I would immediately transmit it to the governor-general, and request his orders on the subject.' His Holiness, who was then standing up, seated himself again at his writing-desk, and with his own hand wrote the list, which he did me the honor to confide to me. I then called an officer of gendarmerie, named Defilippi, to whom, in the presence of the pope, and all the persons present, I gave the list, charging him to carry it to his Excellency General Count Miollis ; also to inform the general of the Holy Father's wishes, and to return to me with the general's orders. The above-mentioned officer returned in less than ten minutes, and while I was still in the presence of His Holiness, presented himself with the general's answer, the same that I had already received secretly from the quartermaster, General Cardini. This answer, which he now repeated aloud, was word for word as follows : 'The order of his excellency the general is, that the pope and Cardinal Pacca must depart instantly with General Radet. The other persons will follow afterwards.' I bowed to His Holiness, who arose from his seat without speaking, and taking up a book which was upon his writing-desk, descended the step. The pope appeared to be suffering ; I advanced and supported him by the arm. I asked His Holiness 'if Cardinal Pacca was present ;' he answered in the affirmative. I beckoned to an officer, and desired him to request his eminence to prepare immediately for the journey ; the cardinal, dressed in a plain cassock, went with the officer through an adjoining chamber of the pope, the one behind His Holiness' writing-desk, and proceeded to his own room, which was merely separated by a partition, to change his dress.

"I assisted His Holiness to go into his own chamber, holding him up by the arm. At the door I necessarily drew my own arm back, in order to allow the pope full liberty to pass through, but his hand being accidentally at the time within mine, I could not resist the sentiment of veneration by which I was forcibly penetrated, and I piously kissed that sacred hand and the pontifical ring it bore.

"The pope had now entered his chamber. I was close to him, the cardinal had gone away, and no person had followed us. I profited by the occasion to propose to His Holiness to retire and give him an opportunity of confiding his secrets, and delivering any valuables that he might wish to preserve, to whomsoever he might think fit. His Holiness replied, 'To him who is careless of life, the goods of this world are of little value indeed.' The Holy Father then seemed overcome, and sat down on a chair at the head of his bed, which bed had neither heading nor curtains ; I then went back to the chamber whence I had come.

"I returned to His Holiness, and sent to inform Cardinal Pacca that the Holy Father was ready. His eminence followed me with Colonel Costé. The pope, with a book in his hand, was waiting for us ; I had the honor to give him my arm ; we descended the staircase and crossed the great quadrangle. The pope, when he arrived at the great gate facing towards the Piazza di Monte Cavallo, stopped and blessed the city of Rome. The majority of my little troop,

pagna we could perceive, while we changed horses, on the countenances of the few persons whom we saw there, an expression of vacancy and sorrow, that was evidently occasioned by the spectacle then before their eyes; and on passing through Monterosi several women who were standing at the doors of the houses, so soon as they recognized the pope carried away in the carriage like a prisoner, accompanied by gendarmes with drawn sabres, following the example of tender compassion of the women of Jerusalem, 'bewailed and lamented him' (Luke xxiii. 27), and beating their breasts, weeping, and stretching out their arms towards the vehicle, began to scream out:

together with some of the patrols and the guard of the Colonna palace, were drawn up at different parts of the piazza. A profound silence reigned. It wanted five minutes to four o'clock in the morning. My troop also received the benediction of the Holy Father with profound respect. There was not a single inhabitant either in the piazza or at the windows of the houses, at least no person permitted himself to be seen. I was astonished; neither was I the only person surprised by the spectacle. This military demonstration, the calm immovable appearance of the soldiers, was silently impressive, inspiring with a more profound sentiment, and giving a moral expression to an act which, from its nature, bore the double character of audacity and veneration.

"My carriage was on the spot: the pope approached it, though Cardinal Pacca got in first. Having assisted the Holy Father to mount the steps, I myself got upon the seat outside in front, Quartermaster Cardini placed himself at my side, while I ordered Colonel Costé to take command of the troops and preserve order in the Quirinal palace. I then bid the coachman drive towards the Porta Pia, but to turn short of the latter gate, and going out by the Porta Salaria, thence to coast the walls as far as the Porta del Popolo. Thither we were escorted by the gendarmerie; and there having sent back my own horses, we stopped to harness the post-horses, which, in consequence of orders I had previously given, were on the spot.

"While we were thus changing horses, I did all I could to distract the attention of His Holiness from his misfortunes. I asked if His Holiness found himself well? Whether he was still suffering? And I entreated that, since he was not provided with every thing necessary for the journey, he would deign to dispose of my services, and avail himself of the provisions I had prepared expressly for His Holiness and his Eminence Cardinal Pacca. The pope replied, 'I am well enough. The Lord suffered more than I suffer.' Then opening his snuff-box, that contained no more than a couple of pinches of the fine snuff he was in the habit of taking, I immediately took a bottle of my own stock and filled the box; which attention that I was happy to be able to offer seemed to please His Holiness. At the same time he confessed to me that he had not thought of taking with him any thing at all, and drawing from his pocket a small piece of silver, and with extreme complaisance showing it me at the end of his fingers, said: 'See this—it is all I possess.' Extracting from a pocket of the seat where I sat a bag of gold and silver, I begged His Holiness to accept it, telling him it belonged to myself, and that I entreated him to dispose of it for his own use, and for alms. The pope thanked me, but refused; nor was it till we had passed through the town of Radicofani that he accepted a trifle to give in alms.

"At this moment an officer, who had been dispatched from the Quirinal palace, came to report to me that some of the police had been detected pillaging the Holy Chapel, and that the principal culprit had been arrested; upon which I ordered him to be immediately confined in prison, and tried by a court-martial. The pope, on hearing the circumstance, observed, 'that the culprit was one of the police, not a soldier; for a French soldier,' said he, 'would never have committed a crime of a like nature.' Moreover, His Holiness, ever alive to the ineffably benevolent impression of his own sacred character, asked me, 'whether during the attack on the Quirinal palace blood had been shed?' On my replying, 'not a drop,' 'God be praised!' said he. . . . We then drove off."

“ ‘They are carrying away the Holy Father! they are carrying away the Holy Father!’

“ We were much affected by this demonstration of their sympathy, of which, however, the result was far from advantageous; for General Radet, apprehensive that the sight of the pope taken off in such a manner might, in the more populous parts of the country, excite a tumult among the inhabitants, requested His Holiness to allow all the blinds to be let down, in order that his person might not be recognized. The Holy Father gave his consent with the most pious resignation, and we continued for the rest of that day's journey close shut up in the carriage, through the hottest hours, under a roasting Italian sun in July, almost in want of sufficient air for respiration. About noon, the pope having expressed a desire to take some refreshment, General Radet caused the carriage to halt at the post-house, situated in a lonely spot in the mountains near Viterbo, where, in a miserable room, that contained only one old broken chair, the only one in the house probably, the pope, seating himself at a table covered with an extremely dirty tablecloth, ate an egg and a slice of ham. We then continued our journey, which was painful in the highest degree, owing to the excessive heat. Towards evening the pope was thirsty, and as we were not then in the neighborhood of any house, the Quartermaster Cardini filled a bottle from the stream that ran on the road-side, and brought it to the Holy Father, who drank, and was refreshed exceedingly. Through all the different places we passed, nobody had now any idea that the pope was in the carriage.

“ After a hard journey of nineteen hours, during which the pope suffered severely, and frequently complained to me on the way—though at that time I was not aware of a complaint that afflicted him, and which was considerably increased by the motion of the vehicle—we arrived at about three o'clock, Italian time, or an hour before midnight, at a small mountain inn at Radicofani, where, as we had no clothes to change, our linen—bathed in perspiration as we were, and under a cold temperature, for there the air is continually cold, even in the middle of the summer—dried on our backs. When we entered the inn, nothing at all was ready. The pope was conducted to a very small chamber; I was consigned to another close adjoining, and gendarmes were placed sentries at our doors. Having first gone into the pope's chamber, there, dressed in my cardinal's habit, with the rocchetto and mozzetta just as I had left Rome, I assisted the maid-servant of the house to make His Holiness' bed, and afterwards to lay the tablecloth for supper. At our frugal repast, the Holy Father, whom I waited upon, had the complaisance to invite me to sit at the table with himself, though for my own part I can truly say that now, during supper, as well as through the whole day's journey, I used my utmost endeavors to comfort

the spirit of the Holy Father, and be to him the 'faithful messenger' mentioned in the Holy Scriptures—'who, as the cold of snow in the time of harvest, refresheth the soul of his master.' (Proverbs, xxv. 13.) Moreover, notwithstanding the melancholy prospect before me, the Lord preserved my hilarity of spirit and natural gayety of heart to such a degree, that soon after our arrival at Radicofani I received much satisfaction in being told by General Radet that he had frequently observed a smile on the pope's countenance at what I was saying to him. I felt, therefore, comforted and consoled by the reflection that I had been selected by Providence as the Cyrenean of the worthy persecuted pontiff, under the horrible circumstances in which we were placed.

"When supper was over, the Holy Father, having laid down, without undressing, on a hard, uncomfortable bed, I retired to the chamber assigned to myself, and there gave way to the melancholy reflection of having left, without assistance, among strangers, and in a retired spot in the country, my sovereign and the visible head of the Church, alone and infirm as he was.

"Not even once did the pope either show the smallest sign of displeasure or utter a single word expressive of repentance with regard to the strong measures which had been adopted against Napoleon and the French government; on the contrary, he displayed a surprising degree of energy and fortitude,—so much so, indeed, that in holding conversation occasionally with General Radet, although he always addressed the general in a manner consistent with the dignity of a sovereign, his voice at times assumed such a tone of asperity that I felt it my duty humbly to beseech him to moderate his feelings, and resume his naturally gentle and benevolent character.

"General Radet, having the most pressing instructions from his government (from Milan probably) to conduct the pope to the Carthusian convent near Florence,* on the same day, the 7th, was consequently anxious to depart immediately after breakfast; while the Holy Father, on the contrary, wrought to a considerable state of excitement, resolutely declared 'he would not stir from the spot before the arrival of his attendants and servants from Rome.'

"He was absolutely, he said, unprovided with every thing; and he felt persuaded that if we continued to travel as we had done the day before, they would not overtake us at all.

"Fortunately, to the pope's great satisfaction, a part of the suite of His Holiness, who had left Rome the day before, arrived at Radicofani in two carriages. Our party now consisted of Monsignor Doria, master of the bedchamber, Monsignor Pacca, Don Giovanni Soglia, private chaplain, the

* Certosa di Firenze.

Surgeon Ceccarini, Joseph Moiraga, adjutant of the bedchamber, a cook, and a groom.

“Between twenty-two and twenty-three o'clock, we left Radicofani, and had only proceeded a little distance when we encountered a crowd of people, who, in consequence of not being allowed to approach nearer the inn, had collected on the road. Here General Radet allowed the carriage to halt, and permitted every one of those who were assembled to advance and receive the pope's benediction; while a few even came close enough to kiss his hand. I cannot adequately express the fervent, tender devotion of these good people's behavior to His Holiness, which, as a similar feeling was exhibited by the entire population of the part of Tuscany through which we passed, it becomes my duty to record. We travelled all night, and about daybreak on the morning of the eighth arrived at the gates of Sienna, where post-horses were waiting outside the city under a strong escort of gendarmes. General Radet did not conceal from the pope the fact that he had been obliged to use these precautions for fear of a riot taking place among the inhabitants of Sienna on our appearance; and he added, that they had only a few days before shown their ill-humor on seeing Monsignor Patriarcha Ferraja, vice-regent of Rome, escorted through the city by gendarmes. Hence we pursued our journey to Poggibonzi, where General Radet allowed us to halt during the hottest hours of the day; we stopped at the inn accordingly, but were obliged to remain shut up in the carriage for not less than twenty minutes, in consequence of the officer of gendarmes, who had the key of the carriage door in his pocket, having remained behind with the other vehicles. So soon as we entered the inn, General Radet introduced a great many persons to the pope, who, females almost exclusively, kissed the foot and the hand of His Holiness.

“After resting at Poggibonzi, we departed three hours after midday, and took the road towards Florence, making our way through an immense crowd of people who had collected, and, exhibiting extraordinary signs of fervent devotion, were crying aloud for the apostolic benediction. Being at this time but a short distance from the inn, the postillions, either owing to carelessness or awkwardness, or perhaps on account of their being hurried into a gallop by General Radet for the purpose of getting clear of the people, not paying sufficient attention to the unevenness of the ground, suffered one of the wheels of the carriage to get upon the bank, so that our vehicle was overturned with great force, and fell into the middle of the road. The seat was broken to pieces, and the Holy Father and myself were thrown one upon the other, the pope undermost, though we were relieved in a few seconds from our unpleasant position by several of the crowd, who, while others were screaming and calling out ‘Holy Father, Holy Father!’ lifted the carriage on its wheels in an instant. A gendarme now opened the

door, which was fastened with lock and key, while his companions, with pale, terrified countenances, had much ado even with their drawn sabres to keep the people at a distance. The moment the Holy Father got out of the carriage he was received in the arms of the multitude, who all at once rushed towards him, some prostrating themselves on their faces on the ground, others kissing his feet, and a few contenting themselves with touching his garments with an air of respect, as if every thread were a sacred relic; all, however, were most anxious in their inquiries whether he had suffered injury. The Holy Father, with a smile on his lips, thanked them for their affectionate attentions, speaking almost in a jocular manner of the accident; while I, as the people were becoming irritated against the gendarmes, and were calling them by the opprobrious name 'Cani! cani!' fearing, as the gendarmes were few in number, there might be attempted a rescue that might lead to fatal consequences, threw myself into the middle of the crowd, and exclaimed in a loud voice, that, 'thanks to Heaven, no harm had happened, and I entreated every human being present to remain quiet and peaceable.'

"The tumult caused great alarm to General Radet and the gendarmes, but soon subsided; and then the Holy Father and myself got into the little carriage of Monsignor Doria, and we pursued our journey.

"The good Tuscan people in like manner, wherever we stopped, besought the benediction of the Holy Father with tears and exclamations, and in spite of the gendarmes, who did all they could to keep them off with their sabres, pressed forward close to the carriage for the purpose of kissing his hands; invariably manifesting an expression of feeling on seeing him in the state he was in, that created a touching spectacle.

"At about one o'clock, Italian time, having arrived at the Certosa di Firenze, Monsieur le Crosnier, colonel of gendarmerie, and one Biamonti, commissary of police, came to the door to receive the pope; but no other person, except the prior of the convent, was suffered to approach and pay their compliments to the Holy Father; the friars especially were extraordinarily vexed at finding themselves surrounded by gendarmes and officers of the police, who, under the pretext of treating them with polite attention, continually watched their motions. The persons above mentioned conducted the pope to the apartment ready prepared for him, being the identical room in which ten years before the immortal Pius VI. was detained, as it were a hostage. General Radet then assured us, that as there had not yet arrived an order to proceed on our journey, we might not only make up our minds to a quiet night's repose, but to a halt the next day also, which fell on Sunday. With this pleasing illusion, after a magnificent supper, I retired to the chamber assigned to me, feeling really glad at the idea of rest, desirous of refreshing myself, and anxious to

recover by undisturbed repose the sleep lost in the three preceding nights.

"I had, however, been hardly three hours in bed, when I was awakened from the depth of sleep, and informed that a colonel had arrived from Florence, who had been sent hither by the Grand-Duchess Elisa, and that he insisted upon the pope and all of us getting up immediately. It was also stated to me, that the said colonel had brought a carriage for the purpose of conveying His Holiness from the Certosa, they knew not whither. Neither would he allow us time to celebrate, or even hear, a portion of the Mass previous to our departure. My senses were confounded at the announcement, and agitated by a thousand conflicting thoughts I arose in haste, and going towards the apartment where the Holy Father lay, I met the colonel above mentioned, whose name was Mariotti, accompanied by a colonel of the gendarmes. Both these officers confirmed the information I had already received as to the destination of the pope; and with regard to myself, I was now further informed that I was not to be allowed to accompany the Holy Father, but that I was to be conducted by an officer of the gendarmerie by the Bologna road to Alessandria, at which latter place, they said, I should rejoin His Holiness. I immediately proceeded to his apartment, where I found him suffering all the symptoms of deep affliction, in the state of a man overcome, in the truest sense of the expression, by the most profound sorrow. His face was actually livid. So soon as he saw me, he said: 'I see plainly all these outrages are committed with the design to kill me; neither shall I be able to sustain my life much longer.' I did all I could to console him, though I myself had serious need of a comforter: and I communicated to him the intimation that had been made to me of being separated from his sacred person; with which intelligence, by all he had the kindness to express, he seemed penetrated very deeply. I had no opportunity to say any more, before our conversation was interrupted by Mariotti, who forthwith compelled the Holy Father to take his departure, so that I had only time to follow him to the carriage; and then, feeling myself deeply affected, I retired to my own chamber."

The pope was hurried off so abruptly that he had barely time to ask the prior of the Carthusians for a breviary. He was accompanied by Monsignor Doria, Soglia, Joseph Moiraga, and a French officer named Mariotti. He reached Alessandria on the 15th, guarded very rigorously. Yet on the way crowds of the peasantry assembled to ask his blessing, and the French jailer was compelled at times to stop. At one place he asked for a drink of water, and all pressed around with water and refreshments. One peasant handing in some fine fruit, whispered: "*Vuole? dica?*" and at a word from Pius, the bandits bearing him off would have been scattered like chaff, but he earnestly begged the people to make no resistance. So rudely was he

carried along that not even his baggage accompanied him, and the successor of Saint Peter had to solicit the charity of necessary under-clothing.

Three miles from Genoa, at a villa called Castagna, a new jailer named Boisard received the prisoners. The pope was placed in one litter and Monsignor Doria in another; the rest of the suite were ordered to proceed on foot to the shore, where they entered a felucca and at daybreak reached San Pietro della Arena, whence they proceeded to Alessandria. After three days' stay there, Pius VII., still suffering from a nervous fever, was conducted to Grenoble, where all came forth to seek his blessing. The garrison of Saragossa, here confined as prisoners, asked to be led to the pope, and received his benediction with true Spanish devotion.

The pope was here treated with less rigor, though closely guarded. An offer of a carriage was declined, unless to return to Rome. A garden was assigned for his reception of those who came to salute him, but the bishop of Grenoble was always excluded. Even the vicars-general of Cardinal Fesch came to offer their homage to His Holiness, and aid him with money.

After a short stay at Grenoble, the pope was conveyed to Valence and then to Avignon, where the people, so long subject to the popes, manifested the utmost enthusiasm. It was with difficulty that his jailers could convey him through the excited multitudes. When they reached the bridge of Var to enter Nice, the pope descended from his carriage. Beyond the bridge the pious queen of Etruria knelt between her two children to receive his blessing. "What a change!" she exclaimed. "All is not bitterness," replied the Holy Father; "we are not, my daughter, either at Florence or Rome: but behold this people; hear their transports." Behind her were ecclesiastics in regular order, nobles with their decorations, the people in neat attire; ten thousand kneeling in silence to receive the blessing of a captive pope, before he passed through flower-strewn streets to his place of confinement.

Alarmed at this reception, his jailer took by-paths, but the people, following the example of a pious lady, lined the wayside trees with lanterns. At last Pius VII. reached Savona, and after being placed a few days in a private house, was removed to the residence of the bishop, who was ordered to vacate it.

Napoleon, flushed with victory, returned to Fontainebleau on the 26th of October, 1809, and one of his first cares was the position of the Holy Father, and his relations to him. He did not disavow any of the atrocities performed by his subordinates; he accepted them all, and by a *senatus consultum* of February 7th, 1810, formally united the Roman States to the empire.

A dispatch from the prefect of Montenotte gave an account of the pope's

views : " We have sworn," says Pius VII., " to defend our temporal power *usque ad effusionem sanguinis*, and having none but spiritual arms, had to use them as our predecessors did. No one of them was ever reduced to the same position as ourselves. Dissensions arose, Clement VII. suffered, but they were arranged in a few months, and this lasts for years. The whole sacred college has been dispersed : we have been torn from our palace. These violences are intolerable, and require a reparation to the Holy See. If his majesty will give way in nothing, things will positively long remain in this state. Long is saying too much, because we are old. Our successor will, perhaps, be able to arrange them. We will leave that care to him. Experience," he said, " had taught him, and he was but too well aware that sacrifices went for nothing ; that those he had already made should have secured him repose, were that possible ; that he now saw too well by the past that the object was religion ; unable to attack it in front because it was too difficult, they attacked it in flank ; the parish priests were everywhere reduced to the smallest pension, the parishes and bishoprics were too large for a single man ; that the priests of paganism had never been so dependent ; that they wished to make the pope a pope of the French, but that, amid all these schemes, none but God could save his Church."

Meanwhile, at Rome, the French police, on the 1st of January, 1810, seized all the archives of the tribunals and ecclesiastical congregations. The papers of the Penitentiary were transferred to the Dataria, and the officers dismissed. Seals were placed on every thing belonging to the Holy See. The pontifical seals, and especially the Fisherman's ring, left by Pius VII. in the hands of Monsignor de Gregorio to expedite some bulls and briefs, were seized, and the last used by Radet to seal documents. No cardinal was now left in Rome except Cardinal Casoni.

Cardinal Pacca was imprisoned at Fenestrelle ; Cardinal Antonelli, dean of the sacred college, having been removed by force from Rome the year before, was sent to Spoleto, whence he was subsequently transferred to Sinigaglia, and died there in exile ; Cardinal Casoni, in consideration of bodily ailments, was permitted to remain in Rome ; and to Cardinal Carafa, though infirm and an octogenarian, leave was granted, as a special mark of indulgence, to reside in Tolentino, whence subsequently he was removed to Mont' Alboddo. Cardinal Braschi, being grievously tormented with the gout, was suffered to reside in Cesena ; and Cardinal Della Porta, having fallen sick on the journey, was laid up at Florence, and very soon afterwards died there. Cardinal Crivelli was sent to Milan, and Cardinal Carandini to Modena. The two Neapolitan cardinals, Caracciolo and Firrao, were both exempted from deportation ; as regards the first, in consequence of illness, and as regards the other, on account of his accepting the office

of almoner of the new king of Naples. Cardinal Locatelli, bishop of Spoleto, procured the indulgence of quiet and retirement by performing certain acts of condescension, that may be excused by the continual state of weakness of his physical frame and his habitual infirmities.

With the above exceptions, all the other Italian cardinals were conducted to Paris, where the disturber of the Church, obliging them to appear at court, appeared to take particular pleasure in making them a public spectacle for his own amusement, twitting them before his courtiers, and taking every possible opportunity of mortifying them, by censuring their own or the pope's private conduct, and speaking jestingly of the bull of excommunication that the pope had fulminated against himself.

Such was the position of the court of Rome—the Holy Father a prisoner, deprived of every thing, cut off from his counsellors, the cardinals scattered or imprisoned. As the Church throughout the world became aware of this, it was at once perceived how great danger existed of the pontiff's being driven by ill-treatment or violence to consent to or sign acts which at liberty he had indignantly repelled. Nay, with the unscrupulous infidel party, whose ideas now seemed to prevail, there was ground to fear actual forgery.

The Catholic bishops in the United States issued a protest which may serve as a view of the general feeling of the Church. In it they decline to consider as valid any act of the pope while restrained of his freedom.*

Meanwhile, Napoleon proposed to marry the Archduchess Maria Louisa, of Austria, and resolved to divorce Josephine. He knew too well the firmness of the pope to apply to him to annul a marriage celebrated by Cardinal Fesch, with full though unwritten dispensations. Napoleon, apparently with ulterior views, had insisted on the secrecy of the marriage, and now made it a ground of nullity. He created an ecclesiastical court, in which, Josephine making no defence, and Cardinal Fesch's dispensations not appearing in evidence, the marriage was adjudged void.

The newly projected marriage induced Napoleon to consent that the Chevalier de Lebzeltern, an Austrian envoy, should visit the pope. When he spoke to the sovereign pontiff of the embarrassment of the bishops, and of the imminent dangers that threatened the Church and the Holy See, if he did not endeavor to extricate himself from the state of inactivity and nullity in which he was, Pius VII. replied: "We have foreseen them all: it is the only thought that occupies our mind. This interruption of all relations with foreign clergy, the difficulty of our communication with French bishops even, are the subject of our deepest grief. Although detained here, without free correspondence, without news, except the vague items

* See Niles' Register, vol. i.

we glean from occasional numbers of the *Moniteur* which the general sends us, we have well conceived the embarrassment of the bishops. We have accordingly never ceased complaining to the latter of our situation in this respect. It is a perfect schism *de facto*. We ask nothing for ourselves from the emperor: we have nothing to lose. We have sacrificed all to our duty. We are old, without needs. What personal consideration, then, could divert us from the path which our duty and conscience prescribe, or make us desire aught for ourselves? We wish no pension, we wish no honors; the alms of the faithful will suffice. There have been popes poorer than we, and we think of nothing beyond the narrow circuit where you see us; but we ardently desire that our communications be re-established with the bishops and the faithful. It suffices that the applications of these latter reach us freely, and that we have the means of exercising our functions. We have constantly told General Berthier: Do not leave us alone—and we are so completely isolated that we have had to make a secretary of a domestic whose handwriting was legible. Do not prevent our fulfilling our spiritual ministry by absolute want of the necessary individuals, and because the access of the faithful to us is not free. We have done what depended on us, having alone issued more than five hundred dispensations, and assisting with all our means the bishops of the French empire, whose petitions reached us. But not only does physical strength fail us, but there are matters that need examination and discussion; and there are formulas to be observed—strange indeed, yet necessary—as to which we understand nothing.”

On the 2d of April Napoleon married the Archduchess Maria Louisa. The cardinals residing in Paris, and in health, were all invited to be present at the ceremony. They had all, to the number of twenty-six, witnessed the civil marriage at Saint Cloud, but it was not so in regard to the religious ceremony the next day.

Several of the cardinals, therefore, in the instance of Bonaparte's marriage with the Archduchess of Austria, and with reference to the conduct of the Paris authorities in daring to decide, by their own exclusive judgment, an affair of such importance, considered the act to be an infringement of the rights of the Holy See, and consequently abstained from attending the ceremony of the nuptials. Thirteen omitted to make their appearance on that occasion—namely, Cardinals Mattei, Pignatelli, Della Somaglia, Litta, Brancadoro, Gabrielli, Scotti, di Pietro, Luigi Ruffo, Saluzzo, Galleffi, Opizzoni, and Consalvi. Cardinal Despuigh also was prevented from attending owing to temporary illness; and Cardinal Dugnani absented himself on the pretext of indisposition,—a device that Cardinal Erskine also had recourse to for the purpose of excusing himself from being present at the *ecclesiastical* marriage,—though, on the other hand, he made his appearance

at the so-called *civil* marriage. All the other cardinals were present at both the *funzioni*, though the emperor was less gratified by their presence than he was irritated at the absence of the remainder : which act of contumacy, conjecturing as he did at once the cause of their non-attendance, galled him to the quick. The thirteen cardinals above mentioned were very soon made to suffer the penalty of their transgression, and every one in consequence received an order, prohibiting him to display the insignia of the rank of a cardinal, or to appear in public dressed otherwise than in plain black clothes : from which regulation arose the titles distinctive of the two classes, recusant and non-recusant—viz., *cardinali neri* and *cardinali rossi*.* Moreover, the *cardinali neri* were forthwith mulcted of the pension that the government had accorded to them in lieu of the ecclesiastical emoluments of which they had been deprived.

The pension above referred to, assigned to the cardinals summoned to Paris by the emperor, in compensation for their income and emoluments, amounted to an annual payment of thirty thousand francs. Not a few, and for the most part those who had less need than many others, accepted and received it regularly until the fall of Napoleon. Some, considering it to be given in recompense for the Church property they had been deprived of in Italy, accepted it like the persons above mentioned, but, after the lapse of a few months, becoming better acquainted with the Holy Father's opinion on the subject, refused to receive it any longer. Some, from the very beginning when the offer was first made to them, generously declined. All the thirteen cardinals were soon afterwards dismissed from Paris, and banished to different cities of the neighboring provinces. Cardinals Mattei, for instance, Dean of the Sacred College, and Pignatelli were sent to Rhetel in Champagne ; Della Somaglia and Scotti, to Mazières ; Saluzzo and Galleffi, to Sedan, and thence afterwards to Charleville ; Brancadoro and Consalvi, to Rheims : Luigi Ruffo and Litta, to Saint Quentin, in Picardy ; and di Pietro, Gabrielli, and Opizzoni, to Saumur, in Burgundy. The conduct of the thirteen cardinals has no need of justification.

Meanwhile, the greater number of the cardinals who suffered exile were supported by the voluntary oblations of generous hearts that compassioned their condition and made collections for their relief. The pope himself was under the necessity of having recourse to the charity and gratuitous offerings of the faithful, which even tyranny was unable to prevent reaching him ; nay, on the contrary, tyranny itself was shamed by its own weakness, on observing the increasing sentiment of devotion and respect exhibited by religious, sympathetic minds, and the offering up prayers by the whole Church for the captive pontiff, as was done for Saint Peter in the early days

* Black Cardinals and Red Cardinals.

of Christianity. At the same time Rome was groaning under the yoke of the usurper, and instead of her mild paternal government reigned violence and confusion; the prelates and heads of religious orders, and the official functionaries, were driven from their posts, if not conducted to France; the tribunals were dissolved; the congregations suppressed; the ecclesiastical archives transported at a heavy expense to Paris; the insignia of the pontifical dignity annihilated; and, finally, the ring of the Fisherman was taken and preserved as a trophy.

At Rome, the oath was proposed to the bishops in the pontifical States. The bishop of Tivoli yielded; but those of Amelia, Aquapendente, Civita Castellana, Assisi, Nocera, Foligno, Sezza and Terrasina, Sutri and Nepi, Todi, Orvieto, and Narni, refused. The French did not attempt to enforce it with the parish priests, as they would all have refused.

On the 21st of July, Cardinal Caprara died at Paris. The pope was no longer satisfied with his conduct, and on the 26th of August previous, shortly after his arrival at Savona, he addressed him a letter, which reached him only after great delay. After enumerating all the wrongs done the Church, the unyielding pope said to this cardinal, dazzled by the glory of Bonaparte: "Weigh these facts yourself in the scales of the sanctuary, and not in those of human prudence. If his majesty wishes peace, let him restore to us our See, our ministers: and let him restore to the Apostolic See its States, constituting the patrimony of Saint Peter, and not ours; to the faithful, the inviolable right of free communication with their father and supreme pastor, of whom captivity deprives them. Let him permit the cardinals to return to us; let him restore bishops to their flocks, and then the desired harmony will be restored. Yet, amid the disasters of our horrible situation, we cease not to pray God, who holds in His hands the heart of men, for him even who is the author of so many evils; and we shall deem all our suffering overmuch rewarded, if it please the Almighty to recall him to better ways. If, in the hidden judgment of God, this is not to be, we shall the more deplore in heart all the evils to ensue, and which no one can, in justice, impute to us."*

In 1810, nineteen French bishops addressed a joint letter to the Holy Father, in which, under pretext of seeking an amplification of the powers granted them for matrimonial dispensations, they renewed the request for

* There is something terribly grand in the study of the first Napoleon. Viewing him in face of the popes, after seeing their eighteen hundred years of history, how treacherous, bigoted, avaricious, unscrupulous, and tyrannical does he not appear! He might have been a Charlemagne. What was he? The Church is a fact, a great fact, a terrible fact, a fact that statesmen and warriors cannot unmake. It is a stubborn fact, and crushes the clumsy bores that try to place it in their palace walls. It has but one place; let them learn it: it is the corner-stone. Build on it, and they build secure.

the confirmation of the nominations to episcopal Sees, with expressions which were regarded at Savona as a threat to provide for the preservation of the Church of France by itself, if abandoned by the pope. Of the many rights of the Holy See, here was left only the right of confirming and canonically instituting bishops. Then the pope, to obviate this danger, on the 5th of November, 1810, sent to Cardinal Maury, nominated by Napoleon archbishop of Paris on the refusal of Cardinal Fesch, and, on the 2d of December, to Averado Corboli, archdeacon of Florence, whose See Napoleon had given to the bishop of Nancy, and, on the 18th of December, to d'Astros, vicar capitular of the Church of Paris, briefs firmly declaring that any institution by bishops was null. Napoleon took offence; he wished to uphold his prejudices in favor of the clergy who supported his views and rigors, against those who honestly opposed them.

Mr. Emery, alone, in the councils of Napoleon, endeavored to lead the emperor to a just course.* Excited by the evil-minded around him, he ordered measures of rigor against some cardinals, as he could not yet proceed further against the pope. Cardinals di Pietro, Gabrielli, and Opizzone, were transported to Vincennes, together with the courageous prelate de Gregorio, and Fontana, the general of the Barnabites. Doria, a prelate who had clung devotedly to the pope, was banished to Naples. Some other old attendants were sent to Fenestrelle. They could now counsel only blackness, perfidy, perjury; they could only speak—these men who cried liberality and freedom—they could speak only of prisons, fetters, dungeons. Let us say it, once and for all. Modern liberalism has an intense hatred of Catholicity; it deems any thing and every thing permitted to overthrow it. Any other denomination may be free—the Catholic must be in fetters. Every ecclesiastical organization is to be respected except the Catholic.

Napoleon found other means to insult the Holy Father. The following details are given by Moiraghi. An order came from Paris to examine the pope's papers.† Every scrap of paper, bearing any signs of writing, was put under seal. On the 7th of January, while walking in his little garden, thinking of any thing but an assault on his apartments, his rooms were examined with the most scrupulous care. All his dispatches were examined; his breviaries and Little Office of the Blessed Virgin were carried off. When Pius VII. was informed of this rigorous visit, he heard it with his ordinary meekness, and made no remark. He simply said: "And the

* Wiseman's Recollections, p. 77.

† How can American and English statesmen be blind as to the necessity of Papal independence? How can they labor to bring about a state of things in which the appointment of bishops, revered by thousands in their respective countries, shall be controlled, or even examined, by a hostile power?

Office of the Blessed Virgin, and our breviaries also? It is just!" Count Berthier, governor of His Holiness's palace, disappeared. An intendant, fit tool of a tyrant, informed them that each Italian, including the pope, should receive only five paoli a day.

This absurd and ridiculous order was enforced only two weeks, because the people of Savona sent provisions to the pope and his retinue. Moiraghi had several precious objects confided to him by the pope, which, by a sort of instinct, he insisted on handing back. He was soon after carried off to Fenestrelle.

Insolence was next to be carried to its height. They had the pope as a prisoner of war—a captive monarch. They treated him as though he had been convicted of felony in some petty court of France. These wretches lost all respect for his character, for international law, for ordinary justice, for humanity. Napoleon was giving precedents for St. Helena, and justifying, in advance, any and every treatment that could be inflicted on him.

One day the following order was handed to the pope :

"The undersigned, in accordance with orders emanating from his sovereign, His Imperial and Royal Majesty, Napoleon, emperor of the French, king of Italy, protector of the Confederation, etc., is directed to notify Pope Pius VII. that he is forbidden to communicate with any church of the empire, or any subject of the emperor, under penalty of disobedience on his part and theirs; that he cease to be the organ of the Catholic Church—he who preaches rebellion, and whose soul is full of gall; that, since nothing will make him well-behaved, he shall see that His Majesty is powerful enough to do what his predecessors have done, and depose a pope.

"CHABROL.

"SAVONA, July 14, 1811."

Such a document is utterly inconceivable; but it shows how completely Napoleon forgot that the Catholics of France are, after all, a very small part of the Catholic world, and that the monarch who represented them, as he represented French Protestants and French Jews, had really, in fact, a very small part in discussing the general affairs of Catholicity, and no right whatever to arrogate that he had all to say, and that he was the supreme arbiter in matters as to which he was personally ignorant.

The emperor having thus forbidden the pope to hold any intercourse with the French bishops, assembled a committee to consider what was to be done in regard to dispensations, intercourse with the Holy Father being interrupted; and also, how canonical institution was to be given to the bishops, if the pope persisted in refusing confirmation. This committee, which might have answered, "Set the pope free," was composed of Cardinals Fesch, Maury, Caselli, the archbishop of Mechlin, the bishops

of Nantes, Treves, Evreux, Vercelli, Mr. Emery, and Father Fontana, the last attending only three meetings. It replied, by a majority, that the Church of France should provide for its preservation. The emperor consequently convened the cardinals, bishops, and all who composed his council. At the outset, Bigot de Préameneu, minister of worship, introduced propositions subversive of all the authority of the Holy See. But Mr. Emery, the famous Sulpitian, and, it would seem, the only thorough Catholic around the emperor, wrote to Cardinal Fesch that Bigot's ideas could not be yielded to without destroying the Church. Cardinal Fesch accordingly went to Napoleon, and made earnest remonstrance. "The bishops," said he, "will resist to a man, and you will make martyrs."

Napoleon wavered, but the false counsellors soon did away with the impression made. The cardinals, bishops, and others were suddenly summoned to meet the emperor, in the latter part of March, 1811. Napoleon kept them waiting two hours, and then entered with great pomp. He immediately launched forth in a series of invectives against the pope. Although his address was a tissue of false principles, false and distorted statements of facts, atrocious calumnies, maxims totally subversive of Catholic doctrine, not one of the cardinals or bishops present raised his voice to testify to the truth. It is humiliating to state so plainly the weakness of a body generally so intrepid. When Napoleon ended, he looked around, and said to Mr. Emery, who had come reluctantly, "What do you think of the pope's authority?" Mr. Emery looked around to the bishops, as if asking their permission to represent them, and then replied: "Sire, I can have no opinion on that point but what is contained in the catechism taught by your orders in all the churches. To the question, '*What is the pope?*' the answer is—'He is the Head of the Church, the Vicar of Jesus Christ, to whom *all* Christians owe obedience.' Now, can a body exist without its head—without him to whom, of divine right, it owes obedience?"

Napoleon seemed to be taken aback by this simple and conclusive argument, but, as he remained silent, Mr. Emery continued—"We are forced in France to uphold the four articles of the Declaration of the Clergy, but the doctrine must be received entire. Now, the preamble of that declaration affirms that the pope is the head of the Church, to whom all Christians owe obedience; and, moreover, it is added, that these four articles, decreed by the Assembly, are not passed so much to limit the power of the pope, as to prevent the not conceding to him what is essential." He then developed the four articles, showing that they recognized in the pope an authority so great and universal that it could not be dispensed with in the Church. Mr. Emery then declared that, if a council was held, it would have no force, being disjoined from the pope.

In reply to a question of Napoleon, who saw himself beaten on this point, Mr. Emery said that the pope would not give up his right of instituting bishops, as some of the French bishops suggested. Before the interview closed he asked a bishop—"Is Mr. Emery's definition from the catechism true?" And the bishop having answered affirmatively, Napoleon retired. Unfortunately, Mr. Emery, who alone, at this juncture, seemed courageous enough to speak the truth, soon after fell sick and died.

Napoleon next convened a national council of the bishops of the empire and of the kingdom of Italy.* It met on the 17th of June, 1811, and Cardinal Fesch was declared president. This council had pretended to decide that Sees should not be vacant more than a year; that, six months after the application to the pope for institution, if he did not consent, the metropolitan, or, in case of vacancy, the senior bishop of the province, should proceed to institute the bishop elect.†

Several bishops had been sent to Savona, in May, and had obtained some concessions from the pope, who here first gave way.‡ It was now resolved to send some of the pliant cardinals to confirm the pope in the ideas of obedience to which the French government sought to reduce him. With the emperor's permission, Cardinals Joseph Doria, Anthony Dugnani, Anthony Roverella, Fabricius Ruffo, and de Bayanne were chosen. They promised to induce the pope to let matters be arranged, as is evident from documents found among Cardinal Roverella's papers after his death. With these cardinals were associated Bertazzoli, archbishop of Edessa, and several French bishops.

The true faithful, who knew the suffering state to which the captive pontiff had been reduced, looked with undisguised alarm at the mission of these false friends and treacherous counsellors, who reached Savona early in September.

Meanwhile, the English, who had endeavored to prevent the pope's visit to France, in 1804, and had ineffectually endeavored to rescue him when held a prisoner at Rome, now secretly informed Pius VII. that a frigate, cruising near Savona, would, on a given signal, approach and deliver him from his captivity. But his jailers redoubled their vigilance and precautions, and escape became impossible. Some attributed these plans of escape to the French police, who hoped to bring about a struggle by which the pope might be slain.

Roverella was a dictatorial man, whose views were implicitly followed by Bertazzoli, and Cardinals Doria and Dugnani. Cardinal de Bayanne acted for his government. Ruffo, an able executive man, was neither a theo-

* See his peremptory order to the bishops, in Pacca's Memoirs, vol. ii., p. 84.

† See the decree in Pacca's Memoirs, vol. ii., p. 107. ‡ See Pacca's Memoirs, vol. ii., p. 97.

logian nor a canonist, more versed in military affairs than in bulls and briefs. The negotiation was what might have been expected. The pope felt bound by his first false step—his promise to the deputation. Surrounded by agents of the tyrant, who predicted to him unnumbered woes, caused solely by his resistance, he not only permitted bulls of confirmation to be sent with the old formulas to different bishops, but also approved and confirmed, by a brief then printed, the decrees of the council held at Paris. In this extraordinary brief, of which Cardinal Roverella was the principal author, the pope, in the first place, recognized what had been done at Paris, without his sanction or the presence of a legate; and, moreover, what was unheard of, he expressed his joy at it as a happy event, and accepted the decree, as a new testimony of the filial devotion of the Gallican Church to the See of Peter.

The French bishops at once telegraphed their victory to Paris, but were astonished to hear that the emperor would not accept the brief. The concessions, great as they were, were not enough; and the captive pontiff was not to regain his liberty on such easy terms.

The next winter and spring passed quietly at Savona. Napoleon was too busy with his Russian campaign to continue his war on the aged man who alone braved his anger. On the 9th of June, 1812, Pope Pius VII. was suddenly ordered to change his dress, so as to conceal his dignity, and prepare for a journey to Paris. He set out on the next morning. After a painful journey, without any respite, he reached the hospice of Mount Cénis, at midnight. At Stupinigi, near Turin, Monsignor Bertazzoli, whom the government had sent, entered his carriage, and continued with him to the end of the journey. At the hospice the pope fell so dangerously ill, that the officers who escorted him sent to the government at Turin, to ask whether they should stop or carry their prisoner on. They were ordered to carry out their instructions. Consequently, the pope, who had received the Holy Viaticum on the morning of the 14th, was compelled to resume his journey on the following night. But this infirm pontiff was to show, amid these outrages, a constitution proof against the most savage barbarities. They travelled night and day. On the 20th of June, in the morning, he reached Fontainebleau; but, as no orders had been received to admit him, he was taken to a neighboring house. During this transit across France, Pius VII. was never allowed to leave the carriage; food was taken to him there, and he was kept under lock and key, in the vehicle in the smaller towns, while the horses were changed.

Cardinal Pacca attributes the treatment of the pope to a desire to reduce him to such a state of incapacity as to make him a fit tool in the hands of the emperor's creatures.

Pope Pius VII. reached Fontainebleau in a most critical state, and was

confined to his bed for several weeks. But though a prisoner in his rooms, he had a bed, and could breathe more freely than in his dungeon couch. He had been able, too, to assume the dress becoming his rank.

The red cardinals were then permitted to approach the pope, or rather were sent to mould him to the tyrant's wishes. They represented to him the truly deplorable state of the Church, which might, they said, be called headless, as the faithful were no longer allowed to communicate with their supreme head, nor he to exercise his apostolic ministry. They described the no less unhappy state of Rome, almost deprived of its clergy, as well as the difficulty experienced in other nations. They exaggerated the dangers of a schism, if things continued as they were. They depicted the power of the infidel party in France, to which Napoleon had to yield; they spoke of the exile of the black cardinals. Thus they made a deep impression on the mind of an aged man, broken by years, by sickness, and by a harsh treatment, equalled only by that of the galley-slaves.

The Russian campaign gave Napoleon an answer to his mockery. He had asked Eugene: "Will his excommunications make the muskets fall from the hands of my soldiers?" And he had seen them fall. "They did not cast them down," says Segur;* "hunger and cold wrested them from them." "They fell from the bravest hands," says Salgues;† "arms fell from the icy hands that bore them."

Even Protestant writers acknowledged the striking result. Alison says: "'What does the pope mean,' said Napoleon to Eugene, in July, 1807, 'by the threat of excommunicating me? Does he think the world has gone back a thousand years? Does he suppose that the arms will fall from the hands of my soldiers?' Within two years after these remarkable words were written the pope did excommunicate him, in return for the confiscation of his whole dominions; and in less than four years more, the arms *did fall from the hands of his soldiers*; and the hosts, apparently invincible, which he had collected, were dispersed and ruined by the blasts of winter; he extorted from the supreme pontiff at Fontainebleau, in 1813, by the terrors and exhaustion of a long captivity, a renunciation of the rights of the Church over the Roman States; and within a year after he himself was compelled, *at Fontainebleau*, to sign the abdication of all his dominions; he consigned Cardinal Pacca and several other prelates, the courageous counsellors of the bull of excommunication, to a dreary imprisonment of four years amid the snows of the Alps; and he himself was shortly after doomed to a painful exile of six on the rock of Saint Helena. There is something in these marvellous coincidences beyond the operations of chance, and

* History of the Grand Army.

† Memoires pour servir à l'histoire de France sous le gouvernement de Napoleon Bonaparte, p. 164.

which even a Protestant historian feels himself bound to mark for the observation of future ages. The world has not gone back a thousand years, but that Being existed with whom a thousand years are as one day, and one day as a thousand years. And, without describing any deviation from ordinary laws to these events, or supposing the common Father, 'who sees with equal eye, as Lord of all,' the varied modes of worship of his different creatures, had interposed in a peculiar manner in favor of any particular Church, we may, without presumption, rest in the humble belief that the laws of the moral world are of universal application; that there are limits to the oppression of virtue even in this scene of trial; and that when a power, elevated on the ascendancy of passion and crime, has gone such a length as to outrage alike the principles of justice and the religious feelings of a whole quarter of the globe, the period is not far distant when the aroused indignation of mankind will bring about its punishment."

As Napoleon, defeated, with his magnificent army scattered, his prestige gone, crossed Germany, he heard protests, complaints, remonstrances, against his treatment of the pope. The Poles lost their confidence, and complained loudly.

But his eyes did not open. His only thoughts were for his own ambition. He sought now to gain the pope to an apparent accord; and at the opening of the year 1813, sent a chamberlain to compliment the pope. This obliged the pope to send some one of his court to thank the emperor, and he selected Cardinal Joseph Doria. While this cardinal was at Paris, it was agreed to renew negotiations. The emperor selected Duvoisin, bishop of Nevers, to represent his interests, while Pius could not easily find among those left near him a champion to equal him in ability and address.

Duvoisin followed Doria to Fontainebleau, and submitted these propositions:

1st, "That the pope, and future pontiffs his successors, should promise, previous to assuming the pontificate, never either to ordain, nor to execute any thing contrary to the four famous propositions of the Gallican clergy.

2dly, "That the pope and his successors should, for the future, have the nomination of only the third part of the members of the sacred college, and that the other two parts should be nominated by Catholic princes.

3dly, "That the pope, by a public brief, should disapprove and condemn the conduct of all those cardinals who refused to be present at the sacred ceremonial of the nuptials of Napoleon and the Archduchess Maria Louisa; and that the emperor, restoring the said cardinals to his favor, to the end that they might acknowledge and subscribe their names to the above-mentioned brief, would grant them permission to rejoin the Holy Father.

4thly, "That from the benefit of the act of grace or amnesty comprised in the last article, the Cardinals di Pietro and Pacca be excluded, and

that neither of them be ever more permitted to approach the pope's person."

The conferences soon began between the bishops of Treves and Evreux on one side, and on the other, Cardinals Joseph Doria, Dugnani, Fabricius Ruffo, and de Bayanne, with Monsignor Bertazzoli, all of whom resided in the imperial palace. When they saw that the pope was utterly prostrated, and utterly unable to resist their demands and arguments, they calculated on the effect of a slow fever and a kind of apathy, attended with desire of death, and resolved to leave to the emperor the glory of concluding the treaty. On the evening of the 19th of January, Napoleon proceeded to Fontainebleau with the Empress Maria Louisa, and presented himself directly to the pope. He took him in his arms, kissed him on the face, and bestowed on him a thousand marks of cordiality and friendship. No business affairs were treated of at this interview.

But the next day there were others. In one of these Napoleon is said to have seized the Holy Father by the hair, and insulted him grossly; but Pius, questioned as to the fact, has always declared that it was not so. "No," he said, "he did not proceed to such indignities, and God permits that, on this occasion, we have not to utter a falsehood." Yet Napoleon's words show that he assumed towards the pope a tone of authority, and even of contempt, and had the hardihood to say: "You are not sufficiently versed in the knowledge of ecclesiastical sciences;" an assertion as false as it was rude, and unseemly in one as ignorant of such matters as the great conqueror.*

Meanwhile, the cardinals, and especially Bertazzoli, plied the pope with their arguments. He was now seventy-one. His life exhausted by pain, ill-health, disgust for food, he yearned for the faithful cardinals; he felt all the helplessness of his situation, with not one wise noble counsellor to sustain him; death was apparently approaching rapidly. In this state he could

* "We must naturally reject," says Cardinal Wiseman, "every unauthenticated story of rudeness personally shown to the holy pontiff. A celebrated interview of Fontainebleau has been made the subject of a picture by an eminent artist (Wilkie); and dramatic accounts have been given of what there passed. The Italian biographer of Pius VII., who published his work two years after the pope's death, in Rome itself, then full of intimate friends, admirers, and companions of his misfortunes, who had heard his own narrative of his sufferings, gives a very different account of the conclusion of this interview from that generally reported; and he is by no means disposed to partiality in favor of the emperor. After giving a description of a conversation, animated on both sides, and carried on in so loud a tone as to resound through the neighboring rooms, he relates in full the pope's calm summary of all that he had done and suffered for the preservation of the Church and of religion. It ended by a firm but mild expression of his determination to undergo any thing rather than consent to what was demanded. He continues: 'Napoleon, who had listened attentively, was moved by this firmness of purpose, joined to such an apostolic simplicity. He was calmed, *embraced the pope*, and, on leaving, said, 'Had I been in your place, I would have done the same.'" (*Pistoletti*, vol. iii. p. 142.) Was not this taking the captor captive, and subduing in the noblest sense? And what more honorable homage could have been paid to the conduct of the pope?

do little more than mechanically write his name, and he did so on the 25th of January, to a paper which Napoleon immediately signed after him.

This so-called concordat of Fontainebleau is as follows :

“ His majesty the emperor and king, and His Holiness, being desirous to put an end to the differences that have existed between them, and to provide against the difficulties that, in many instances, have arisen in the affairs of the Church, have agreed to the following articles, intended to serve as the basis of a definitive adjustment :

1. “ His Holiness shall exercise the functions of the pontificate in France and in the kingdom of Italy, in the same manner and under the same forms as his predecessors.

2. “ The ambassadors, ministers, and *chargés d'affaires* of foreign powers residing at the court of the Holy Father, as well as the ambassadors, ministers, and *chargés d'affaires* of the pope residing at foreign courts, shall enjoy the immunities and privileges enjoyed by other members of the *corps diplomatique*.

3. “ The dominions, or, in other words, the immovable property, heretofore possessed by the Holy Father and *unalienated*, shall be exempt from every species of imposition, and shall be administered by his agents, or by other persons intrusted with the management of his affairs. Those portions, on the contrary, at present *alienated*, shall be replaced by the yearly revenue of two millions of francs in compensation.

4. “ Within six months after the regular notification of the names of the archbishops and bishops of the empire and of the kingdom of Italy nominated by the emperor, the pope shall give canonical institution, according to the articles herein contained and by virtue of the present covenant.* Previous information shall be given by the metropolitan. In case the pope, at the expiration of the above-mentioned period of six months, shall have failed to grant the institution, the metropolitan, and failing the metropolitan, or in the case of the metropolitan being himself the nominee, the oldest bishop of the province shall proceed to institute the bishop nominated, in such a manner that the See shall never remain beyond the space of one year vacant.

5. The pope shall nominate to ten bishoprics; whether in France or in Italy, as shall hereafter be mutually agreed upon.

6. “ The six suburban bishoprics shall be re-established, and the pope shall have the nomination. The property actually existing shall be restored ; and for the property sold, an equivalent shall be given. After the death of the bishops of Anagni and Rieti, their dioceses shall be united to the above-mentioned six bishoprics, in conformity with a plan that shall be agreed upon between his majesty and the Holy Father.

* Conformemente ai concordati, e in virtù del presente indulto.

7. "With regard to the bishops of the Roman States who, in consequence of present circumstances, may be absent from their dioceses, the Holy Father shall be at liberty to exercise in their favor his right of giving bishoprics *in partibus*. A pension shall be given to them, equal to the revenue which they enjoyed previously, and they shall be appointed to vacant Sees either within the empire or in the kingdom of Italy.

8. "His majesty and His Holiness shall hereafter, at their leisure, take into their consideration the necessity of making a reduction in the number of bishoprics in Tuscany and in the States of Genoa. The same with regard to the establishment of bishoprics in Holland and in the Hanseatic Departments.

9. "The Propaganda, the Penitentiary, and the archives, shall be established at the place of the Holy Father's residence.

10. "His majesty restores to his favor the cardinals, the bishops, the priests, and the laymen, who, on account of *actual occurrences*,* had incurred his displeasure.

11. "The Holy Father persuades himself to comply with the above-mentioned dispositions, in consideration of the actual state of the Church, and from the confident hope with which his majesty has inspired him, that his majesty will grant his protection and provide for the numerous exigencies of religion, consequent upon the times in which we live."

The circumstances preceding this act are not positively known. We know only that, to induce him to take the pen handed by Cardinal Joseph Doria, his own counsellors made him believe them to be merely preliminaries, to be kept secret till they were considered in the council of all the assembled cardinals. Then, the pope, urged on by these cardinals, and constrained by the presence of the emperor, who regarded him steadily though kindly, turned to some of his assistants to ask their advice by a look. All seemed to indicate that he should yield. Still, at the moment of signing, Pius showed that he did so against his will. The treaty was of a most unusual character, signed by two sovereigns, one held captive by the other. Napoleon wished apparently by this course to avoid all ratification.

As a consequence of this act, the imprisoned cardinals were to be set at liberty. Napoleon at first refused to enlarge Pacca. He lavished presents on the complaisant members of the sacred college, announced to the empire the conclusion of the concordat, and ordered a *Te Deum* in the churches.

So long as the emperor remained at Fontainebleau the pope concealed his feelings; but no sooner had Napoleon retired, than the Holy Father sank into a profound melancholy, and was again prostrated with fever. When the faithful cardinals, and especially di Pietro, arrived, Pius VII. at

* *Avvenimenti attuali.*

once discussed with them the articles he had signed, and soon beheld them, as his fears had suggested, in a far different light from that presented by his treacherous counsellors. Filled with bitterness and grief, he refrained for several days from celebrating Mass, until he yielded to the exhortations of a learned and pious cardinal. The cause of his deep affliction was no secret to the French bishops and the cardinals residing in the palace. Napoleon, then, fearful that Pius might retract and revoke the articles, broke the agreement and made them public, announcing them to the senate through the Archchancellor Cambacérès. At that moment Cardinal Pacca reached Fontainebleau. He thus, with his usual candor and grace, describes his first interviews with the pope :

"On entering the ante-chambers I perceived several French bishops, and passing thence into the room where was the pope himself, I met His Holiness, who had advanced a few steps forward towards me. At first sight of the Holy Father, I was thoroughly shocked and astonished to see how pale and emaciated he had become, how his body was bent, how his eyes were fixed and sunk in his head, and how he looked at me—with, as it were, the glare of a man grown stupid.

"He embraced me, and then, with an extraordinary coldness of manner, said, 'he did not expect me so soon.'

"I replied, that 'I had accelerated my journey on purpose to have the consolation of throwing myself at his feet, and of testifying to him my admiration of the heroic constancy with which he had endured his long severe imprisonment.'

"To this His Holiness, as it were quite overcome with grief, replied in the following precise words. 'But,' said he, 'we have been dragged through the dirt! Those cardinals absolutely forced me to go to the table and sign my name.' *

"He then took me by the hand, and leading me to his chair, made me sit down beside him. Then, after asking me a few brief questions about my journey, he said: 'You may retire, for this is the time I expect to receive a visit from the French bishops. Apartments are provided for you in the palace.' Taking leave then of His Holiness, I was conducted by the custode of the palace to the apartments assigned to me, which were very small, being in fact one large room divided in three, that so formed the suite, opening upon the grand corridor. Similarly contrived accommodations were also allotted to the residence of other cardinals and the French bishops.

"The solitude and silence of the place, the expression of sadness that

* *Ma ci siamo sporcificati! Quei cardinali mi strascinarono al tavolino e mi fecero sottoscrivere.*

appeared on every countenance, added to the recent spectacle of profound grief I had witnessed in the person of the pope, and, above all, the unexpectedly cold reception I had experienced from His Holiness, occasioned me a degree of surprise, and a sorrowful compression of the heart, that is far more easy for any indifferent person to imagine than for myself to describe. Not more, however, than a few minutes had passed when I was partly relieved from my affliction by the appearance of the pope's almoner, Monsignor Bertazzoli, since a cardinal, who came to tell me, 'that the pope was obliged to dismiss me at such short notice as he had done, in order to acquit himself of the regular audience he gave to the French bishops at that hour; but,' he added, 'His Holiness would with much pleasure see me again before the hour of dinner. I must be cautious,' he said, 'of speaking in the presence of certain persons belonging to the pope's family;' which gentle hint, as I knew the people he intended to indicate, was quite sufficient.

"On returning to His Holiness I found him in a truly pitiable state of body and mind, that I feared might have a fatal termination. Their Eminences the Cardinals di Pietro, Gabrielli, and Litta, having already arrived at Fontainebleau, were the first to enlighten him as to the manner he had been taken by surprise, and the consequence of the mistake he had committed; of which mistake he now conceived a legitimate horror, thoroughly aware, as he had become, how the counsels and suggestions of evil advisers had caused him to fall headlong from his former glorious position. He was consequently overwhelmed by a depression of spirits the most profound, so much so, that in the course of speaking to me of what had happened, he frequently broke forth in the most plaintive ejaculations, saying, among many similarly interjectional expressions, that the thought of what had been done tormented him continually; that he could not get it out of his mind; that he could neither rest by day nor sleep by night; that he could not eat more than barely sufficient to sustain life; and that (these were the precise words he uttered) he should die, he said, 'like Clement XIV., out of his senses.' I said and did as much as I possibly could to console him, especially conjuring him to tranquillize his mind, and reminding him, that of all the evils it was yet possible to inflict upon the Church, that of his death would be the worst and most calamitous; and I added, that 'as in a very few days he would find himself surrounded by the remainder of all the cardinals who were in France, on whose zeal for the interests of the Holy See and devotion towards his sacred person he might implicitly place his confidence, there might yet be found in their united counsels a remedy for the mischief that had occurred.'

"At the words 'find a remedy,' his countenance became in a slight degree recomposed, and interrupting me, he said, 'Does your eminence really believe in the probability of a remedy?'

“‘Yes, most blessed Father,’ I replied; ‘for almost all the evils of life, when we have the will to seek a remedy, a remedy is to be found.’”

“The proposal of the prompt revocation of the concordat was agreed to by a great majority, including a considerable number of black cardinals, among whom was his Eminence Cardinal Consalvi, who communicated the result of our deliberations to the Holy Father. His Holiness, notwithstanding he doubtless suffered not a little in accordance with human nature, by being compelled to make a clamorous retractation of his signature to a solemn treaty, affixed only a few days before, was nevertheless supported by his virtues on the occasion, and was not only undisturbed by the bitter alternative proposed and taken, but actually hailed the suggestion with joy, and fully approved it.

“We therefore immediately began to take into consideration the manner of carrying the latter determination into effect; and accordingly in the course of a few days, finding ourselves one evening assembled in a house inhabited by Cardinal Pignatelli—where we came to visit the cardinal, who was confined by illness—we, that is to say, the cardinals Saluzzo, Ruffo, Scilla, archbishop of Naples, Scotti, Galeffi, Consalvi, and myself, the doors meanwhile being effectually secured and guarded, entered upon the discussion of this most important subject. Some of us were of opinion that the pope should declare the articles of the concordat null and void on a sheet of paper signed with his own hand, which being submitted to the sacred college, they should make public by means of numerous manuscript copies. To which proposal I replied, by observing that it did not appear to me to be consistent with the good faith and purity that ought invariably to shine forth in the actions of the supreme pontiff; who not only ought on all occasions to be substantially right, but should also avoid, in the mode of conducting an operation, every possible chance of affording a plea for censure. I added, that we ourselves ought at all events to shape our proceedings according to the precepts of the Gospel, and that we should be giving the emperor just reason to complain, were we to sanction the revocation suddenly and unexpectedly of an agreement approved and solemnly subscribed by himself and by the pope,—an act which, if performed not only without giving the other party any reason whatever, but without a moment’s premonitory notice, were the same as if one man were to fire a pistol at another man behind his back. In short, I proposed that the pope should retract the concordat, and communicate his retractation directly to the emperor by a letter, such as we should all agree upon. My egregious colleagues, Pignatelli and Saluzzo, observed in reply to the above proposal, that by carrying it into effect, we ran a risk of having the retractation kept entirely from the knowledge of the public, since the emperor, so soon as he became cognizant of the pope’s intentions, would exert all the means in his

power to prevent any written paper whatever emanating from the Holy Father and the cardinals. Their eminences, Consalvi and Litta, were both of my opinion, and proposed that a little while after the letter in question was dispatched to the emperor, the pope should cause a copy of it to be read to all the cardinals resident at Fontainebleau, and authorize them to make known to the public, in such manner as they were able, the fact of his retraction. By such a step, they said, you will preserve the appearance of acting with due respect to the emperor, while at the same time the cardinals, sooner or later, cannot fail to find means to make the world acquainted with the pope's retraction of the articles of the concordat. My proposal, thus modified, was agreed to by all who were present, and also by two most worthy dignitaries of the purple, to whom it was speedily communicated, namely, Mattei and di Pietro: finally, Cardinal Consalvi submitted it to the Holy Father, who approved it.

"A few days afterwards the pope began to compose a minute, intended to be preserved for an authentic document, as the basis of his letter to the emperor, which he proposed to copy from it; to the end, that the latter appearing all in his own handwriting, no other person than himself should be exposed to the imperial indignation.

"The writing of this letter and minute cost the pope the labor of several days, in consequence of his being unable to endure long-continued application, owing to the state of physical debility and lowness of spirits by which he was at that time oppressed; with reference to which, and in order that the strict, jealous degree of custody in which the Holy Father was kept may be fully known, I do not imagine it will be superfluous to state a little more particularly how the business proceeded. In the first place, he could not leave any written paper of importance either in the chamber where he slept, or in his sitting-room, being aware that every morning, either while he was himself celebrating, or while he was attending the Holy Mass in the chapel, the dependents of the government made a practice of visiting the apartments, and narrowly examining every thing that lay upon the tables, or was locked up in the cupboards. Having keys of their own for the purpose, they opened the latter as well as all the other pieces of furniture that contained his papers and his clothes. Under such circumstances, every morning after His Holiness returned from Mass, Cardinal di Pietro, Cardinal Consalvi, or some other confidential person, called upon him, bringing with them the sheet of paper on which he had written the day before, when His Holiness, either in their presence, or after they were gone, resumed his work for a short period. At all events, at half-past four o'clock in the afternoon I always waited on His Holiness; and after having added a few lines to what he had written, and having concealed both the minute and the letter under my clothes, I carried the papers to the

house where Cardinal Pignatelli resided; whence the next morning the same were conveyed as above stated, by a safe hand, to the pope at the palace. These contrivances lasted for several days, owing to the delays to which the good Pius was subjected,—frequently by having occasion to make a necessary alteration in the minute, or because, on account of some words being left out in the fair copy, or a blot of ink having fallen on the paper, he had to begin it again.

“For my own part, I very well remember that every day when I carried away the writing, as before stated, and crossed the quadrangle of the palace in front of the French sentinels, my agitation of mind was such—for fear the government, being suspicious or cognizant of what was going forward, might cause me to be stopped and searched—that notwithstanding the severity of the climate in Paris, and the season was winter, I was always in a state of perspiration. At last, after several days had elapsed, the letter was finished, all in the handwriting of the Holy Father, who therein declared the concordat, including all the articles he had previously signed, to be null and void; though at the same time he expressed his readiness to renew the negotiation, with an earnest desire to arrive at a definitive adjustment of all differences; provided that the new agreement were established on a basis that required nothing irreconcilable to his duties.

“The following is the letter of Pius VII. to Napoleon :

“‘MAJESTY :

“‘Deeply as the confession we are about to make may wring our heart, severe as may be the displeasure with which your majesty receives it, the fear of divine judgment—to which period, on account of our advanced age and declining health, we are fast approaching—renders us, as it ought to do, superior to every other consideration, and to all the anguish which we suffer at the present moment.

“‘Constrained by our sense of duty, and with the sincerity and frankness that befit our dignity and our character, we hereby tell your majesty, that from the 25th of January, the day when we signed the articles proposed to serve as the basis of the definitive treaty referred to by those articles, our mind has been incessantly lacerated by feelings of the most bitter remorse and lively repentance, and we enjoy neither peace nor repose.

“‘We perceived speedily, and serious daily meditation has continued the more to convince us, the error which the desire to terminate in the speediest manner possible the disagreements that have arisen out of the affairs of the Church, and at the same time give satisfaction to your majesty, was the cause of our committing.

“ ‘Our grief of heart was for a while moderated in some degree by reflecting that the evils inflicted on the Church by ourselves, through the means of our signature, were capable of remedy by a subsequent definitive document ; but our sorrow was increased immeasurably, when to our surprise, and contrary to the plan of operations concerted with your majesty, we saw the identical articles, which were in fact nothing more than the groundwork of a future arrangement, printed and published to the world under the title of CONCORDAT. Bitterly bewailing in our heart the occasion afforded by ourselves of scandal to the Church, and convinced of the necessity of repairing a fault since made known to its members by the publication above alluded to, it is with infinite pain we undertake at once, and without delay, to manifest our sentiments, and make our remonstrance ; solely actuated at the same time by the prudential consideration of proceeding cautiously and without precipitation in an affair of such magnitude. Knowing, therefore, that within a short period we shall have the assistance of the sacred college, which is our council, we have determined to await their presence, to the end that we may be enlightened in our consultations, and thence direct our judgment ; not as to the retractation that we have felt ourselves bound to make of an act already done—and as God is our witness we were from the first moment firmly resolved upon—but to consider the most proper mode of executing our purpose.

“ ‘We have accordingly not been able to perceive any method better, or in closer accordance with the respect we entertain towards your majesty, than to address ourselves directly to your majesty through the present letter ; in which, standing in the presence of that God before whom we must shortly render an account of the use we have made of the power he has given us as his vicar for the government of the Church, we declare, with apostolic sincerity, that our conscience opposes insuperable obstacles to the execution of various articles of the document we have signed ; for to our grief and confusion we perceive too clearly that by our promises, made incautiously—though in the frailty of humanity, dust and ashes as we are, and God knows with honest intentions—we have inadvertently used our power, not to the Church’s edification, but to the Church’s destruction.

“ ‘With regard to the document in question, signed by ourselves though it be, we say to your majesty the same that was said by our predecessor Paschal II. to Henry V., when, under circumstances similar to those under which we are now placed, he had reason from motives of conscience to repent of and retract concessions that were already written and signed : “Since,” said that illustrious pontiff, “we acknowledge what we have written as a deed ill done, so, as a deed ill done, we confess it, desirous as we are through the help of the Lord to amend it thoroughly, and in such

a manner that neither evil may result to the Church nor damage accrue to our own soul's welfare."

"We are ready to acknowledge that, among the above-mentioned articles, there are some which, by alteration in language, and by making other changes and modifications, are capable of emendation; but at the same time we consider others to be intrinsically obnoxious, and being contrary to justice, and irreconcilable to the religion of the Church established by our Lord Jesus Christ, impracticable and perfectly inadmissible.

"How can we, for example, commit an act of such palpable injustice as, without giving any canonical reason, deprive of their Sees so many venerable bishops, accused of no other crime than of having followed our own instructions; or how can we, in like manner, without giving any canonical reason, permit the destruction of the Sees themselves? Your majesty surely cannot have forgotten how loud a cry arose in France and in Europe, in the year 1801, at the exercise of our power in depriving the French bishops of their Sees, notwithstanding they were previously summoned and required to give their resignation? The extraordinary measure in question was nevertheless, in consequence of the urgent necessity of the case, admitted, and in those calamitous times considered indispensable as the only means of putting a stop to a grievous schism, and of reconducting a great nation to the centre of Catholic unity. But no such weighty reasons exist at the present day whereby, before God and man, we can justify the measure proposed to be undertaken by one of the articles in question.

"How can we, in like manner, agree to a regulation so subversive of the divine constitution of the Church of Jesus Christ, who established Saint Peter and his successors its primate, as to transfer our power to the metropolitan, thereby permitting the metropolitan to institute those nominees whom the supreme pontiff, weighing the various circumstances of their case, thinks proper in his wisdom not to institute; consequently, creating him who is inferior to the supreme hierarchy, and owes it submission and obedience, a judge and reformer of its conduct? Can we introduce into God's Church the unheard-of innovation that the metropolitan has power to institute, in opposition to the head of that Church? Under what well-regulated government was there ever conceded to an inferior authority the power to do what the head of the government determines not to do? By making such a concession, should not we open a door to disorder and schism, equally prejudicial to the Church and to the State, and oblige the Roman pontiff to cease to hold communion with the nominees instituted by the metropolitan, in opposition to his decision, and in spite of his authority? Are we at liberty to deprive the Holy See of one of its primary rights—we, who are bound by the most solemn oaths to support and defend its prerogatives, even to the shedding of our own blood?

“ ‘ Your majesty perhaps will say, that in our brief issued at Savona we have already made this concession, at least under some modifications ; but that brief was not only afterwards rejected by your majesty, but your majesty’s refusal to accept it was announced formally and officially. Our answer, therefore, to your majesty is the same sincere confession of the error into which, on that occasion also and in the situation in which we were placed, we, a frail human being, had fallen, anxious as we were then as now, and influenced by the hope that presented itself, to obviate the evils likely to accrue to the Church, without having, at the same time, made the necessary reflection, that by the introduction of the system we were enunciating we laid open an entrance to other evils more fatal and more permanent than those we endeavored to avoid. That brief, however, having been refused by your majesty, our concessions contained in it become a nullity, and we consider your majesty’s refusal as a trait of divine Providence that watches over the government of the Church. Even had it happened otherwise, and had the brief in question continued in force, since the reasons above propounded apply no less to the brief than to the articles of the concordat, we should have been equally obliged to revoke it.

“ ‘ We can by no means conceal from your majesty that our conscience has continually reproached us for not having made reference in the articles in question to the rights of dominion belonging to the Holy See, that our ministry and the oaths pronounced by us on our assumption of the pontificate oblige us to maintain, to vindicate, and to preserve ; those rights we ought at least to have asserted in the body of the document ; nor does the letter addressed to us by your majesty on the 25th of January afford a sufficient excuse for our omission.

“ ‘ For the above-stated and other most weighty reasons, our imperative duties absolutely forbid the execution of the articles alluded to, as well as others, expressly cited in the folio number five, dated 25th of January ; which, not to take up your majesty’s time unnecessarily, we here omit to mention.

“ ‘ We fully recognize the stipulations agreed upon, and were aware of our obligation to fulfil them, but, since we have perceived them to be in opposition to divine institutions, and to our own duties, we nevertheless feel it incumbent on us to yield obedience to the law of a superior power, and refrain from the observance of that which is determined to be illicit.

“ ‘ Under the indispensable obligation of declaring our resolution to your majesty, by the act we are now fulfilling, we have also an earnest desire to assure your majesty that we are ready, nay, eagerly anxious in good truth and earnest, to effect with your majesty a definitive adjustment of all our differences, including every point propounded in the articles, on the condi-

tion that a strict adherence to our own duties be taken as the basis of future proceedings.

“ ‘ Whenever we may receive information that your majesty agrees with us in the views that, with our paternal confidence and in apostolic freedom, we have herein endeavored to explain, we shall experience a joyful anxiety in immediately making dispositions for the commencement of a new treaty, having for its object the definitive adjustment so much to be desired. By such an adjustment we have no doubt that the necessary remedy will be applied to many grave disasters that the Church now labors under, relative to which we have not failed heretofore to cause our representations to reach the foot of your majesty’s throne ; and that there will be put an end to those other troubles which of late years have afforded so great cause for grief and just remonstrance ; all which calamities, in a definitive adjustment of the matters in question, we could never overlook without neglecting the obligations of our ministry.

“ ‘ We beseech your majesty to consider these our sentiments, with the same sincerity that we have felt in communicating them. We entreat your majesty, by the bowels of Jesus Christ, to give comfort to our heart, that yearns for nothing more earnestly than to effect that state of reconciliation which has always been the object of our wishes. We pray your majesty to take into your consideration the glory that would result to your majesty, and the advantage that would accrue to your dominions, from the conclusion of a treaty, whereby might be extended to the Church a state of true peace, such as might be forever firmly maintained by our successors.

“ ‘ May God, to whom we lift up our most ardent prayers, deign to pour upon your majesty the copiousness of his heavenly benediction.

“ ‘ PIUS VII.

“ ‘ Fontainebleau, 24th March, 1813.’ ”

On the morning of March 24th, the pope summoned Colonel Lagorse and handed him the letter for the emperor, directing him to convey it at once to Paris. This order was given to the colonel in the tone of a man at peace with his conscience. The pope then summoned his cardinals to an audience successively, and informed them that, having already transmitted to the emperor a letter revoking and retracting all the concessions made in the fatal concordat of January 25th, he would have desired to assemble the sacred college, but to avoid the charge of too public a meeting, he had resolved to read to each one separately the allocution and the letter in question.

This courageous act seemed to infuse new life into the venerable pontiff. His countenance became more serene ; he resumed his native cheerfulness, with his peculiar smile ; his eyes recovered their charm ; he no longer com-

plained of want of appetite, or inability to sleep ; and he avowed that he now felt relieved from a burden that was crushing him day and night.

Napoleon was disconcerted. Violent at first, and urged to severity by some of the irreligious around him, he concluded to ignore the letter. Cardinal Maury, however, waited upon the pope, and urged his retraction of the letter in such terms as to excite the severe censure of the Holy Father.

The French bishops were ordered to leave the palace ; the people of the town and strangers were no longer permitted to attend the pope's Mass. Pius was allowed to have none around him but his cardinals. On the 5th of April, Cardinal Pietro was taken from his bed, and, without his cardinal's insignia, hurried off to Auxonne, not to recover his liberty till Napoleon was himself a prisoner. The emperor notified the pope that the cardinal had been removed as convicted of being an enemy of the State. Colonel Lagorse also read to all the cardinals an order :

"That the emperor was displeased with the cardinals for having, ever since their arrival at Fontainebleau, continually restricted the pope from a condition of free agency ; that, provided they were desirous of remaining at Fontainebleau, they must abstain from all manner of interference in matters of business, whether by writing letters to persons either in France or in Italy, or by speaking to the pope on public affairs ; they must, on the contrary, keep themselves in a state of perfect inaction, and make no visits to the Holy Father otherwise than strictly social and complimentary. Failing in the above conditions, they would expose themselves to the hazard of losing their liberty."

Colonel Lagorse having read the above paper, asked Cardinal Pacca whether he could allow himself to perform all that the emperor required ?

The cardinal, in his memoirs, thus describes what ensued :

"With regard to the first commission, that particularly related to the Cardinal Consalvi and myself, I made no reply ; but as to the second, I said, 'That it was always my endeavor to adhere to a line of conduct such as could give the emperor no ground for complaint or suspicion ; but that I could not promise all that was required of me in the paper just read, inasmuch as the pope might possibly give me an order at variance with it.'

"'Then,' replied Colonel Lagorse, 'suppose the pope were to command you to speak to any person on politics, or to write and publish an official paper, would your eminence do so?'

"'Indisputably I would,' said I ; 'for I have often solemnly sworn to be faithful and obedient to him.'

"'Then,' rejoined the colonel, 'you will at least give me your acknowledgment in writing of having received the emperor's orders.'

"Upon which I took the pen, and, having written upon the paper the words 'Seen by me,' I signed my name, 'B. Cardinal Pacca.'"

Napoleon then, by two decrees of February 13th and March 25th, declared laws of the empire these repudiated preliminary articles ; but he did not dare to attempt to enforce them, fearing a general outburst of Catholic feeling.

The Holy Father, by the advice of the cardinals, then drew up an allocution, dated May 9th, 1813, and communicated it as he had done the other.

This allocution was as follows :

“ To our venerable Brothers and beloved Children in Christ, the Cardinals of the Sacred Roman College residing in Fontainebleau :

“ You well know from our former communications, venerable brothers and beloved children in Christ, how lively has been our repentance, what agonizing remorse has incessantly pierced our heart, since on the very day when, having affixed our signature to the articles of the folio written in the imperial palace of Fontainebleau, and dated 25th of January, for the purpose of serving as the basis of a definitive treaty stated therein, about to be entered into between ourselves and his majesty the emperor of France and the king of Italy—the ink being scarcely dry, we discovered that under the circumstances in which we were then placed, and owing to our earnest desire of terminating, in the shortest manner possible, the confusions arising out of the affairs of the Church, we had been led into a grievous error. You know the one sole reflection that served in some degree to moderate our grief, rested on the hope that the mischief incautiously occasioned by our affixing our signature to those articles, might be removed subsequently in the course of the final preparation of the treaty ; and to what a pitch of despair we were driven when, to our infinite amazement, we saw those identical articles which, according to their very heading, were no more than the base of a future adjustment, printed and published, under the title of Concordat, in the very teeth of the agreement entered into with his majesty !

“ You know that, in the depth of our sorrow, for the sake of the Church thus scandalized by the publication of these articles, and convinced of the necessity of removing the damage so created, with how great difficulty we restrained ourselves from expressing our sentiments without reserve at the very moment, and that we were finally induced to refrain from doing so solely by the desire of proceeding with more prudence, and of not committing any precipitate act in an affair of such importance ; wherefore, considering that a meeting of the sacred college would shortly be held in our presence, we determined to await your arrival, and, guided by the lights of your understanding, thence come to a resolution—not upon the step which our duty obliged us to take towards the reparation of the error we had committed, as to which, God is our witness that our resolution was firmly

decided—but as to the best mode of putting our purpose into execution. Finally, you know that of all the modes of procedure capable of being adopted, the mode which we believed to be the most consistent with the respect we profess to his majesty, the emperor and king, was to address ourselves in full confidence directly to his majesty; and that accordingly, whatever were the pain the act we were about to perform might inflict upon our heart, we actually did address a letter to his majesty, dated 24th March, in which, standing, as we observed to his majesty, in the presence of that God to whom, as his vicar, we must render a strict account of the use made of our power, we declared, with evangelical sincerity and apostolic freedom, such as befit our dignity and our character, that our conscience opposed insuperable obstacles to the execution of articles that must inevitably tend, not to the Church's edification, but to the destruction of the very power given to us by the Almighty for its government.

“Confessing, at the same time, the error we had committed, not by default of right intention, but owing to human frailty, we, in imitation of our predecessor, Paschal II., who, in a similar case of concessions made to Henry V., found reason to repent, used the same expressions to his majesty which that pontiff had used before us, saying to his majesty: ‘Since we acknowledge the writing as a deed ill done, so as a deed ill done we confess it, hoping, through the Lord’s assistance, to amend it thoroughly, and in such a manner that neither evil may result to the Church nor damage to our own soul’s welfare.’ We further signified openly to his majesty, that we acknowledged some of the articles to be, with proper changes and modifications, capable of amendment, but we pronounced others to be intrinsically obnoxious, in consequence of being contrary to justice, subversive of the divine constitution of the Church and the religion of Jesus Christ, who established the primacy of Saint Peter and his successors, and at variance with our own duties and the obligations contracted by us on our assumption of the pontificate.

“We did not omit to lay before his majesty, so far as the limited compass of our letter would permit us, the principal and most weighty reasons that absolutely prohibited the execution, and rendered the admission impossible of certain of the articles; neither did we fail to state, that, fully sensible as we were of the force of the obligations we had contracted, these obligations, nevertheless, being in opposition to divine institutions and to our own duties, we considered ourselves justified in yielding to a still stronger obligation that forbade their observance.

“Moreover, with reference to the article of the concordat numbered four, since in a brief issued by us at Savona, moved by a desire of obviating the grave disasters that were overhanging the Church, we had made a concession similar, under certain modifications, to the concession contained in the

article aforesaid, failing, at the same time, to reflect that by what we were granting we were opening a door to evils still more fatal and permanent than those it was in contemplation to remedy ; we considered it expedient to make reference, in our letter to his majesty, to the brief aforesaid, and to represent that, his majesty having rejected that brief officially, the concession contained in it was consequently invalid. And we further added, that had we been even obliged to regard it still in force, yet nevertheless, since the reasons that militated against the article militated in like manner against the brief, we should have been under the necessity of revoking it as we had revoked the folio of Fontainebleau.

“After declaring all these things to his majesty, we at the same time gave him our assurance that we were ready and earnestly anxious, so long as the definitive adjustment in question were prepared on a basis reconcilable with our duties, to proceed to the termination of all the differences remaining as reserved points in the aforesaid articles. Thereby, we added, would be repaired the various evils afflicting the Church, against which we had many times sent our remonstrances to the foot of the imperial throne, and the grievances that had of late years afforded motives of grief and of just remonstrance be put an end to. All which subjects of complaint we could by no means, on entering upon a definitive treaty, omit to take under our consideration, without betraying the obligations of our ministry, and without inflicting grievous damage on the most sacred interests of the Church and of our holy religion.

“Finally, we concluded our letter by giving our assurance to his majesty, that in the event of the approval of his majesty of the views and principles enunciated in our letter, we were prepared to enter upon a new treaty immediately, such as would have for its object a peremptory, definitive adjustment of differences, and place the Church in a true permanent state of peace that might be effectively maintained by our successors.

“All these things, venerable brothers, we wrote to his majesty the emperor and king ; we also addressed to yourselves on the same day, the 24th of March, an allocution, whereby we announced our retraction of the concordat, signed on the 25th of January at Fontainebleau, and further declared our will and intention that that document, as well as the brief issued by us previously at Savona, be both considered void and non-existent, to the end that no prejudice result to the divine constitution of the Church and the rights of the Holy See.

“We added, finally, that although we believed that, under the circumstances in which we were placed, what we had already done was sufficient for the intended purpose, we were yet ready, provided it were required by circumstances, and deemed expedient, to renew this our present allocution, under a form of deeper solemnity.

“ With intense anxiety we awaited the result of our letter to his majesty ; while the solidity of the arguments we had adduced, our effusion of heart in their delivery, and the consciousness of having ever shown earnestly and unremittingly a disposition to do every thing not actually forbidden by our duties towards the preservation of peace, gave us reason to entertain the most lively expectation of the successful fulfilment of our wishes. What, then, was our surprise, how acute the poignancy of our grief, when, after suffering a state of suspense considerably protracted, not having received an answer to our letter, we saw appear in the public journals a series of articles, whereby the pretended concordat of the 25th of January was represented to the public as if it were then actually in existence and in force, notwithstanding the retraction made in our letter and the reasons by which that retraction was supported ! Nay, even greater still was our astonishment and grief of heart when one of our councillors, the most worthy Cardinal di Pietro, was torn from our bosom and banished to a distant spot ; when the remainder of the cardinals, placed under severe restriction by the government, even to the extent of being rendered absolutely mute and inoperative, were forbidden to hold conversation with ourselves on the most trifling affairs of business ; were prohibited from writing any letter whatever ; were commanded to remain in a state of perfect inaction, and, so far as regards giving their assistance in our councils, to limit their personal intercourse with ourselves to visits merely nugatory. These were the regulations which were prescribed in writing to our cardinals, together with the explicit menace of the loss of their liberty in the event of failure in the conditions, or of otherwise rendering themselves unwittingly liable to the suspicion of the government. Finally, how has our heart been infused to overflowing with bitterness, by seeing printed and proclaimed in the journals, not only the imperial decree, bearing date the 13th of February, whereby the pretended concordat of Fontainebleau is declared the law of the empire, ordered to be inserted in the Bulletin of Laws, and to be transmitted to all the tribunals and public authorities ; but also another decree, dated the 25th of March, the very day after we had addressed our letter to his majesty, on the 24th, and dispatched it by the identical officer in the imperial service whom his majesty himself appointed to reside with us in the palace ; by which latter decree the pretended concordat is declared obligatory upon all archbishops, bishops, and chapters of the empire, and kingdom of Italy ; the punishment of transgressors against its provisions is determined by a special clause to that effect ; and the execution of the fourth article is prescribed with such variations, that the tenor of the article itself is perverted and aggravated. The metropolitans, for example, on the pretended authority of the concordat, which, for the reasons we have already stated, and for further reasons which we shall give in the sequel,

gives no such authority, are thereby commanded to institute, within the space of six months, the nominees by ourselves objected to.

“ The danger, therefore, of an inevitable and grievous misfortune becomes but too imminent, and one that no precautionary nor conciliatory measures of our own have power to avert. For if, on the one hand, we were to admit the execution of the pretended concordat to its full extent ; and if, on the other, our scruples of conscience, and the sacred duties of our apostolic ministry, compel us to reject it, it is evident, whichever line of conduct we were inclined to adopt, that nothing short of the succor of the Almighty, in whose hands are the hearts of men, which he bends as he sees fit, can possibly prevent the arising of a serious schism throughout the country ; so have we been constrained, and so are we constrained, to declare the concordat null and non-existent. But the more grave the Church’s danger, the more forcibly does our pastoral solicitude compel us to provide against it to the utmost of our capability, notwithstanding we are actually in a state of close imprisonment, without the privilege of having communication with any person save yourselves, to whom at the same time is barely permitted, according to the prohibition before alluded to, to remain inoperatively passive in our presence and listen to our voice. We, therefore, can do nothing more than deposit in your bosom our sentiments, in order that on some future day you may bear witness for us of the real state of our mind and inclination on the important affair in question. With such an object in view, therefore, we have considered it to be our bounden duty, by means of the present allocution, composed by ourselves and written in our own hand, thus fully to express our feelings and our desires in the present crisis ; communicating its contents to each of you successively, to the end that for future reference you may be possessed of an irrefragable proof of our determination, that may serve no less as a normal guide for your own future proceedings, than for a document tending to the preservation of the rights of the Holy See.

“ We cannot, however, persuade ourselves that any of our metropolitans, so far forgetful of the laws of the Church and of his own proper duties, ever could presume to give institution, after the interval of six months, to nominees ; or believe himself authorized so to do by the fourth article of the pretended concordat. For it were impossible he should not be aware, that the folio of the 25th January is not actually a concordat, but a document that merely contains articles to serve as the basis of a future treaty, as is expressly stated in its preamble. Neither have the communications that have passed between ourselves and his majesty the emperor relative to those articles had any meaning, capable of invalidating the fact, that the document in question is nothing more than the groundwork of a thing about to be done, and that it is not a perfect concordat ; where-

fore the metropolitans must necessarily understand the impossibility of an act not only not consummated, but even hardly begun to be executed, conferring any manner of right to interfere with the general discipline of the Church in so grave a question. They must also further consider that, even if the concordat were a real and true one, the same of itself would be insufficient, incomplete, and incapable of being acted upon without the additional authority of a confirmatory bull from ourselves for the purpose of empowering the institution to be given, and of sanctioning the introduction of a form of discipline different from the previous practice of the Church, confirmed by its apostolical constitution and by general councils, which we are implicitly bound to respect.

“With regard to the necessity of a confirmatory bull from ourselves on the present occasion, it were superfluous to seek to corroborate our assertion from the examples of former times and preceding concordats, since we have a more recent instance to refer to in the concordat of 1801, which, in order to render it valid, was authorized and proclaimed by ourselves by a bull, issued on purpose, which bull, as is known to all persons, was afterwards carried into execution by the decree of our legate the late Cardinal Caprara. Finally, the pretended concordat, by virtue of which it is proposed to act, has actually ceased to exist, has been declared void, and revoked by ourselves, as if it never had been made: we now declare it void, and revoke it once more and again. Neither can it be asserted, under any valid pretext, that our declaration of its non-existence is not sufficiently known and authentic, since the letter written by us on the 24th of March to his majesty, and all the events relative thereto, that have happened subsequently, are matters of general notoriety: in addition to which, we have ourselves communicated the fact to some of those archbishops and bishops, with whom, previous to our more rigid state of restraint, we were permitted to have intercourse. Indeed, the degree of publicity we have given to this our revocation is even more than sufficient; especially as, in the consideration of the validity of an act about to be performed, the slightest well-founded doubt ought certainly to afford sufficient ground for the abstaining from innovation. Neither can any stress be laid on the concordat on the score of its irrevocability; not only because it consists solely of the folio of the 25th of January, which, as has before been shown, is not a concordat, but because, if it even were a perfect document, obligations contracted upon it, under any circumstances, are impossible to be complied with; since, as the metropolitans must be well aware, so long as an obligation, no matter under what circumstances it be contracted, be contrary to divine institutions, its observance is therefore illicit. The truth of this fact, well known in the abstract, has further been confirmed and recognized in similar cases to the present; for example, in

the instance above cited, of our predecessor Paschal II., as well as by the Lateran council, and councils of Italy, Germany, Spain, and even France, which latter includes the Viennese council of 1112, convened in Dauphiny by the archbishop of Vienne.

“ All these considerations afford us sufficient grounds for believing that the metropolitans can certainly never permit themselves to do, in the matter in question, what they have no right to do in any manner or under any circumstances ; but rather we expect that they will not fail to present their respectful, humble remonstrances at the foot of the throne, for the purpose of showing the impossibility under which they find themselves of giving the institution in question. Such is the opinion that we have just reason to entertain of the metropolitans of France and of the kingdom of Italy ; but if, unhappily, the event should happen contrary to our well-grounded expectations, then, in such a case, the sacred duties of our ministry and the gravity of the subject compel us to declare explicitly that such institution, given in defiance of ourselves, would be invalid ; invalid would be the jurisdiction of the persons instituted, and they themselves illegitimate, intrusive pastors ; the consecration sacrilegious, as well on the part of the institutors as of the instituted ; and the whole act, together with all the parties concerned in it, considered by us schismatic.

“ We should be, moreover, constrained to discard the offenders from our holy communion, subject to all the pains and penalties that in such cases are prescribed by the sacred canons. Neither should we hesitate to carry the same into effect under the usual forms practised in like circumstances by our predecessors : provided, be it understood, that we possess the power ; which, if we have it not, we nevertheless now exercise and declare by the only possible means we can use in our actual position.

“ But relying on the mercy of the Lord, we trust that such a melancholy contingency may never happen ; and we still entertain a hope that his majesty the emperor and king, bending his mind to new counsels, may become inclined to listen to our prayer, and yielding to the proposal contained in our letter, may agree to the undertaking a new treaty, which, formed upon a basis reconcilable with our duties, may complete the definitive adjustment of all the differences that have arisen, and satisfy the object of our wishes. In the bitterness of our soul do we offer up to heaven continually our most fervent prayers towards such a consummation, for which we earnestly exhort yourselves, venerable brothers and beloved children, to offer up your prayers also ; while we, with all the effusion of our heart, confer on you the apostolic benediction.

“ PIUS, PP. VII.

“ Fontainebleau, 9th May, 1813.”

A bull to regulate the next conclave was also drawn up, to provide for any possible contingency.

Meanwhile, a new form of persecution was adopted. Scribblers were sent to spy and misrepresent the pope, to make him ridiculous in the eyes of men; as though a Napoleon would have wasted negotiations, threats, duress, on an imbecile. His refusal to walk, attended by a jailer, his disinclination to read the literature of the day, his monk-like simplicity of bed, of apparel, and even his care of his own scanty wardrobe, all furnished matter of derision to men who had deprived him of every thing, and who could not appreciate the really grand self-sacrifice of Pius. He was a prisoner, deprived of every thing; his very papers, his breviary, were not regarded as his. He was reduced once more to his old monastic life, his vow of poverty, so long observed, so tenderly loved, that he now rejoiced to feel some of the effects of it. The blind enemies of Catholicity could not read the lesson so patent to every Catholic heart. Pius contended for his temporal dominions, but not that he cared individually aught for pomp or honor, or even for those worldly comforts that the ordinary citizen enjoys. By evincing how little sufficed for his wants, how little he felt the privation of power, he showed that in his struggle with the emperor he contended solely for a principle which conscience forbade him to abandon.

"The august traveller," says Cardinal Wiseman, "was without even a change of clothes or of linen. And later still, when no longer in the hands of men like Radet, he was in possession of only one dress, a stuff cassock, given to him by the king of Spain, totally unsuited to the season in which he was obliged to wear it. This he mentioned to a friend, an Englishman, at Rome, in 1820, from whom I derive the statement. Indeed, those who have desired to lower him before the world have dwelt particularly on the want of dignity which they discovered in his performing for himself common menial services, and even mending his own garments. They have set him down for this as a craven and poor-spirited creature, endowed with no sense of honor, pride, or self-respect.

"There can be no doubt that in all this there is nothing dramatic, nor, in the vulgar sense, heroic. Such a prisoner, such a captive, creates no scenes, gives no impassioned pictures for the pencil or the pen. You cannot invest him with the pathos of St. James's or the Temple,* nor get soft or tender speeches or dialogues out of him; nor—with the dignity of two hundred and fifty-three pontiff predecessors on his head, with the privileges of the first fisherman, whose ring he wore, inseparable from his very title, and with the firm conviction, or rather consciousness, that he held the

* Charles I. and Louis XVI.

very thunder of spiritual might undivided in his hands, from Him whose vicar his captors owned him to be—can one outburst of noble scorn, as the world would call it, one blighting defiance, one solemn appeal to the faith, however drugged to sleep, of those around him, be detailed, or really be discovered, among the records of his captivity. Romance or poetry could not presume to seize on it, as they have done on Duguesclin's, or Surrey's, or King Richard's. For there is nothing that the imagination can feed on, or enlarge, or elevate. It is the entire simplicity, naturalness, and unaffected submission to the will of God, without an effort to excite sympathy, diminish severity, or strike out an effect, that makes the singular beauty of this touching episode.

"In the history of the first Charles it is recorded that when brought to Windsor, on his way to trial and execution, he was, for the first time, deprived of the kingly state with which he had been served even during his previous captivity. 'This absence of ceremony,' says Lingard, 'made on the unfortunate monarch a deeper impression than could have been expected. It was, he said, the denial of that to him, which, by ancient custom, was due to many of his subjects; and, rather than submit to the humiliation, he chose to diminish the number of the dishes, and to take his meals in private.'*

"I remember reading, many years ago, the narrative written by an infanta of Spain,† of her expulsion or flight from Madrid; and recollect being struck by the pathetic terms in which she records the day whereon, for the first time in her life, she took her meal off earthenware, feeling it an immense hardship for one who had never before, since her birth, eaten from any thing less costly than gold plate.

"It is in strong contrast with such examples of pitiful murmuring, that the uncomplaining and cheerful traveller from Rome to Savona stands. For, indeed, he had been trained for privation and suffering. 'Behold, they who are clothed in soft raiment are in the houses of kings.' Such was the royal Stuart, such was the gentle Bourbon. But Pius had been educated in the rough habit, and with the plain diet of the monk, in fastings often, and in watchings, and in many trials of subjection and obedience.

"It is not difficult to live over again our earlier life: the officer easily plays the soldier in battle, a painter never forgets how to sketch. And so the monk, in his simplicity and habits of endurance, had lived in Pius through episcopacy, cardinalate, and papacy. During the first two he had not even changed the color of his robes, symbolical of a mourning and penitential life. Nor had the tiara obliterated the religious crown, shaven

* Lingard's E. H., Charles I., ch. iii., 5th ed.

† Afterwards queen of Etruria.

on the day of his clothing as a child of St. Benedict, in symbol of that thorny crown which sovereign and monk are equally called to wear. Old as he now was, the days easily came back, when he was girded by another, and led whither this one willed; when his wardrobe was scanty and scarcely his own, and when he had no servant at his beck, but knew well how to serve himself, and, if needful, others. 'Redire in naturam puero-rum,' to become as little children, is more difficult for a grown man than it was for a sovereign like Pius to return to his novitiate, whether he was cooped up in a tight well-closed carriage on the road to Radicofani, or in a prison on the Mediterranean. It is surely a proof of great stolidity in the general to write, speaking of this journey, 'Je les tiens comme en cage,' forgetting that a carriage, though locked up, does not make, any more than 'iron bars, a cage;' and not to put another reading on the occasional smile of his prisoners than he did, and write instead, "Ils se rient parfois *de nous*."

"In fact, this previous life of absolute abandonment to the care of Providence, of total ignorance whence the very necessities of life were provided, but of certainty that something would be found, the day-by-day attention to spiritual or intellectual things, without domestic solitudes or secular cares, that had filled up the monastic period of the pope's life, was only the practical illustration of a principle which his early piety taught him at his mother's knee, of reliance on God, and simple surrender to His will. Thus ripened and strengthened, the principle must have become one of boundless trustfulness and unshaking faith. It was a confidence, without anxiety, in Him who feeds the fowls of the air and clothes the grass of the fields. But under what circumstances? It was a trust in Him who bountifully caters for the sparrow, indeed; but felt and expressed when the poor bird was actually in the kite's claws. It was a hope, in Him who arrays His lilies more splendidly than Solomon in all his glory; but sure and full, when the scythe was already levelled by the mower, bending to the stroke.

"Hence the captivity of Pius VII. is no drama, nor is he a hero. For each is more. The one is a holy history, a sacred episode in the annals of the Church—ay, and in those of human virtue. It is changing the light of a picture, taking it out of the glaring and garish brightness of midday into a darker and cooler evening atmosphere. All around is subdued and still, and the coloring becomes mellow, and small details almost disappear, and even the expression looks more placid and yet graver. But every feature is there, and the character is unchanged: the same the smile, the same the tender eye, the same the speaking lip. No grand peculiarities are developed: the beauty is the absence of change. And he who is said to be no hero is much more. There is something almost awful in the un-

ruffled calm which pervades the narrative of nearly continuous imprisonments in the latter portion of the Acts. St. Paul is confined at Philippi and Jerusalem, Cæsarea and Rome, warily guarded as an important person, now by sea and now by land. But it is all given as a matter of course. No particulars of the jail, no description of the dungeon, scarcely an incident of years spent by him, girt with a chain or in free custody. Above all, no account of how he bore it; none of his looks, his words, his sufferings; none of his patience, his cheerfulness, his prayer, his union with Christ. We are supposed to understand all this, and not to require telling that St. Paul in the stocks of the inner dungeon of Philippi, singing God's praises, was the same as St. Paul speaking with noble courage before Festus; that it was the privilege of the apostolic character to be as serene in a dungeon as gracious on the episcopal chair. And so, in course of time, when the lesser details and spare anecdotes of Pius's captivity shall have been first diluted, then melted away in the growing mass of historical material, the writer of his abridged life will find it sufficient to say that he bore his captivity, its perhaps unintentional rigor, its accidental aggravations, and its occasional insults, as became his high dignity and noblest inheritance, and in the character and spirit of an apostle."

After the battle of Lützen the empress notified the pope. Pius replied with calmness and dignity, but took occasion to complain of the treatment to which he was subjected, and of the violence done him by carrying off a cardinal at Fontainebleau.

When a congress at Prague was spoken of, to discuss the affairs of Europe, the pope dispatched a letter, drawn up by Cardinal Consalvi, to Monsignor Severoli, nuncio at Vienna. This letter, in fact a protest addressed to the Emperor Francis, was secretly conveyed to its destination by Count Thomas Bernetti, subsequently a cardinal and secretary of state to Gregory XVI.

"To our most Beloved Son in Christ, Health and Apostolic Benediction.

"It has come to our knowledge that a Congress, for the purpose of securing the interests of the different European States by a general peace, is about to assemble at Prague, under the mediation of your imperial and royal majesty.

"Your majesty's piety and sense of religion, your majesty's love of justice, your majesty's filial devotion and interest for our person, notified to us by his excellency Count Metternich, while we were under detention at Savona, no less than by the part taken by your majesty during our late grievous misfortunes, furnish so many reasons to induce us to approach **your** majesty on the present occasion, entertaining a well-founded confidence that we approach not your majesty in vain.

“Head of the Catholic Church as we are, and sovereign of the pontifical States, we advance our claims for the recovery of the aforesaid States, of which we find ourselves deprived on account of having declined to take part in the past and present wars, and having kept ourselves in the state of neutrality that befits us in our quality of common Father, and as the interests of religion, diffused through the different dominions of so many princes, equally require.

“Far from having ever renounced the sovereignty of our States, we have, on the contrary, at all times and in all places, loudly reclaimed our rights: rights that are confirmed by the possession of more than ten centuries—a period of possession probably the longest of any existing dynasty.

“Again, on the present occasion, we reclaim those rights, not doubting that we do so with reason; as the justice of our cause and the sacred interests of religion require of us for the preservation of the free, impartial exercise of our spiritual power as Head of the Catholic Church all over the Catholic world.

“While the free, impartial exercise of such a power is a point of universal interest to nations, the necessity of the independence of the Head of our religion, even without adding other arguments, has been but too clearly demonstrated by recent events, and in our own person. Our own sole example has sufficiently shown the degree of liberty accorded to a supreme pontiff, under circumstances when, himself deprived of his sovereignty, subjected to the power of another prince, and compelled to reside in another’s dominions, he labors in his ministry, impeded by obstacles which, under such a state of thralldom, political jealousies place in the way of his authority. In good truth, the universal Church has not, for many years, been governed by the chief invested by her Divine Founder with the authority.

“In our own name, therefore, and in the name of the Holy Apostolic See, we reclaim the restoration of its rights, throughout the whole of the dominions that form, not our patrimony, but the patrimony of St. Peter—a patrimony that, as has been acknowledged even by writers inimical to the Holy See, God has given to the Head of his Church, to enable him to exercise his celestial power in governing the souls and in preserving unity among the entire body of the faithful, distributed, as they are, over so many empires and nations frequently belligerent.

“The imperative obligation that impels us to make this our present appeal to your majesty proceeds not from the ambition of dominion, neither from the desire of possession, but we are inspired by our sacred duties towards God, the Church, and our people; not less by the oaths which, on our assumption of the pontificate, we have taken to preserve, defend, and vindicate the rights and possessions of the Holy Apostolic See.

"Were it possible, we would not fail, on the present occasion, to dispatch to Prague a diplomatist, to represent and enforce our arguments before the Congress; but, under our present situation, we are by no means certain that we have even the power to cause this our present letter safely to reach your majesty; hoping, nevertheless, that our letter may be presented to your majesty, we pray your majesty, in quality of mediator in the peace about to be treated of, to use your majesty's intercession to the end that ourselves, as well as others, may be represented by a diplomatist in Congress; and, with more earnest anxiety, we confide to the care of your majesty the protection of a cause which is not only our own, but the cause of the Holy See and of the Catholic religion.

"Filled with confidence in the character and sentiments that so much distinguish your majesty, we cease not, in the bitterness of our heart and in the midst of our disasters, to offer up our prayers to God for your majesty's prosperity, and the prosperity of your majesty's august family, to whom, with the most lively affection, we give the apostolic benediction.

"PIUS, PP. VII.

"FONTAINEBLEAU, 24th July, 1813,

"In the Fourteenth year of our pontificate."

Napoleon was, however, uneasy. The position of affairs could not last, and some step might be taken that would place the papal government in full action beyond his States. He again sought to negotiate. The Marchioness Brignole, a lady of honor to the empress, was sent to Cardinal Consalvi with propositions. The answer was distinct: it was no longer the time, and Paris not the place. Then came Monsignor Fallot de Beaumont, successively bishop of Voison, Ghent, and Placentia. His Holiness declared that he could not change his opinion. De Beaumont was at once sent back to offer Rome and the provinces as far as Perugia. Pius insisted that the restitution of his States was an act of justice, and no matter for a treaty; that, moreover, every thing done out of Rome would be ascribed to duress. In the course of conversation, he said that he asked only to return to Rome, and as soon as possible; that he needed nothing, and that Providence would guide him. In this audience, too, he used these remarkable words: "Our sins may possibly render us unworthy to behold Rome again, but our successors will recover the States that belong to them. But assure the emperor that we are not his enemy: religion will not permit us to be. We love France; and, when we are at Rome, it will be seen that we shall do what is becoming."

On the 22d of January, 1814, a line of empty carriages drew up in the court of Fontainebleau; and Colonel Lagorse informed Cardinal Mattei, and other members of the sacred college, that he had orders to see that

the pope set out next day. The cardinals advised the pope to insist on being attended by three of the sacred college. Soon after, Lagorse presented himself to the pope, and, in a respectful tone, informed him that he was to start the next morning. The pope insisted on being attended by some cardinals, but Lagorse replied that his orders were that only Monsignor Bertazzoli should accompany him in his carriage; his physician, Dr. Porta, and one of the emperor's surgeons, were to follow in another carriage.

The next morning, after hearing Mass, Pope Pius VII. received all the cardinals who were at Fontainebleau. There, with a serene countenance, he told them that, being on the point of being again separated from them, ignorant of his destination, and uncertain when he should have the consolation of seeing them again around him, he had summoned them to impart his views and intentions. He continued, in these words:

"We are fully persuaded that you, whether together or again scattered to various countries, will maintain a conduct becoming your dignity and character. Nevertheless, we advise you, in what place soever you be transferred, to show by your conduct the grief you must justly feel to see the Church given up to such terrible and deplorable calamities, and to behold its head a prisoner. We commit to the cardinal dean of the sacred college an autograph paper, containing instructions; it will be communicated to you by that eminence, to serve as your rule and guide.* We cannot doubt but that you will display your fidelity to the oath taken on your promotion to the cardinalate, and that you will be found zealous defenders of the rights of the Holy See. We *expressly command you*† not to lend yourselves to any stipulations for a treaty, either as to things spiritual or things temporal, such being on that point our firm and absolute will."

The cardinals, many affected to tears, promised implicit obedience. Then the pope, taking some slight refreshment, continued to converse cheerfully, with his old gayety, springing from the hope of once more beholding his Rome. He then proceeded with the cardinals to the chapel, and, blessing the people assembled there, descended to the court, and, amid the sobs of all who looked on, unconscious what his destiny might be, Pius VII., with Monsignor Bertazzoli, entered the carriage.

The same day, Cardinals Mattei, Dugnani, della Somaglia, and Pacca set out, followed the next days by the rest. Meanwhile, Pius VII. was conducted to Motte Beuvron, Brives, Montauban, Castelnau-dary. At this place the prefect of l'Aude, Baron Trouvé, addressed him with marks

* These instructions were drawn, it was supposed, by Cardinal Consalvi. They provided for every possible contingency. Each cardinal there beheld his line of conduct laid down precisely, and could not disregard such injunctions.

† Unusual words in the mouth of one as clement as he was pious.

of most respectful devotion; many ladies sought an audience, and so earnestly, that one had her ears boxed by a gendarme. The whole people showed such joy to see the pope, that Legorse indignantly asked, "What would you do if the emperor was passing here?" They pointed to the river, and replied, "Give him a drink." As this rendered him furious, they cried out, "Don't you want a drink yourself, colonel?" Pius VII., however, checked as much as he could these manifestations, which showed how rapidly Napoleon's star was waning. "Courage and prayer," repeated the Vicar of St. Peter.

That star had paled, indeed, when, on the 2d of April, ten days after the departure of Pius VII. from Fontainebleau, a provisional government, which had succeeded the emperor in Paris, issued the decree: "The provisional government, learning with grief the obstacles raised to the pope's return to his States, and deploring this continuation of the outrages to which *Napoleon Bonaparte* subjected His Holiness, orders that all delay to his journey instantly cease, and that, throughout his route, the honors due him be paid. The civil and military authorities will see to the execution of the present decree."

This was sealed with the arms of the prince of Benevento, and signed by Talleyrand, prince of Benevento, the duke de Dalberg, General Count Beurnonville, Monsignor de Jaucourt, and the abbé de Montesquiou.

Eugene Beauharnais treated the pope with great respect, and facilitated his passage to Parma, whence he passed to Cesena. Here Joachim Murat, king of Naples, asked to present his homage to the Holy Father, and was instantly admitted to an audience. Murat intimated that he did not know the object of the Pontiff's journey. "We are going to Rome," said Pius VII.; "can you be ignorant of that?" "But how does your Holiness resolve thus to go to Rome?" "It seems to us that nothing can be more natural?" "But will your Holiness go in spite of the Romans?" "We do not understand you," replied the pope. "The chief nobles of Rome," said Murat, "with the rich citizens, have begged me to transmit to the allied powers a memorial, signed by them, in which they ask to be henceforth governed only by a secular prince. Here is the memoir, of which I have sent a copy to Vienna. I have kept the original, and lay it before your Holiness, that you may see the signatures." At these words Pius took the memoir from Murat's hands, and, without reading or even opening it, cast it into a chafingdish that stood near, where it was instantly consumed. "There is nothing now," said the pope, "to interfere with our going to Rome, is there?" Then, without displeasure, or any mark of annoyance, he took leave of the man who sent troops, in 1809, to carry him off a prisoner. This incident, which was made known by Joachim himself, showing such spontaneous clemency to dangerous subjects, such forgetfulness of

individual wrong, is truly one of the grandest in the life of Pius VII. After this, Murat, who had instigated the memorial, no longer raised objections to the triumphal march of the pope.

Lucien Bonaparte, an exile in England, the sturdy republican who would never accept a crown, wrote to the pope to congratulate him on his return to Rome, and expressing his desire that Napoleon "would return to the bosom of the Church, and acquire a right to the indulgence of the Father of Mercies and the prayers of his Vicar."

On the 30th of April the pope wrote from Cesena to felicitate Louis XVIII., and call his attention to the constitution passed by the senate, as well as to protest against Murat's occupation of Rome. He also asked the restoration of the papal archives.

Pius VII. reached Ancona on the 12th of May, and was received with incredible transports of joy. His horses were taken from his carriage, which was drawn along by sailors, amid the thunder of artillery and the glad tones of the bells. At the Piazza of Saint Augustine he left the vehicle, and gave his benediction from a triumphal arch; thence he passed to the merchants' guild, where he blessed the sea. The next day he crowned a statue of the Blessed Virgin "Queen of all Saints," and on the 14th set out for Osimo. A guard of honor in red escorted him to Loretto. On the way he welcomed Madame Letitia, who came to seek an asylum in Rome, and Cardinal Fesch, whom he treated with great kindness. As soon as he heard of the cardinal's approach, Pius said: "Let him come, let him come; we still behold his vicars-general flocking to meet us at Grenoble. Pius VII. cannot forget the courageous tone with which he took the oath prescribed by Pius IV."

Meanwhile, commissaries, on the part of the Holy Father, took possession of Rome. Monsignor Naro, major-domo, found in the pope's apartments at the Vatican a deposit of articles of great value, comprising all the pontifical vestments with their jewels, and a quantity of gold amounting to about thirty thousand dollars, which had been concealed in 1809, when it was feared that the pope might be removed from Monte Cavallo to the Vatican.

On the 20th of May the pope sent Cardinal Consalvi to Paris, bearing a brief which accredited him to Louis XVIII. By another brief of the same date the pope protested against the treaty of Tolentino.

On the 24th the pope made his solemn entry into Rome, with Cardinal Mattei, the dean of the sacred college, and Cardinal Pacca, before him. The general who escorted the pope's triumphant march was the same Pignatelli Cerchiara who had aided Radet in storming the palace. At the Piazza del Popolo, James Bresca welcomed the pope with a choir of twenty-two orphan boys and forty-five girls, all dressed in white, and waving golden palms, which they ended by offering to the pontiff.

Yet there were still uncertain minds in Rome, men won to French ideas or compromised by other motives; but when the affair at Cesena became known, the signers were the warmest to welcome the pope. One of these approached him to solicit pardon, but the Holy Father interrupted him: "And do you think that we have no fault to reproach ourselves with? Let us agree to forget all the past."

Meanwhile, Pius VII. began to restore his authority in the parts still occupied by Murat's troops; but the Austrians continued to hold the legations, which Eugene Beauharnais had abandoned, as he retired on Milan. Cardinal Consalvi was sent to represent the pope with the allied sovereigns at Paris, and Cardinal Pacea was made pro-secretary of state. Monsignor della Genga, afterwards Leo XII., was dispatched to felicitate Louis XVIII., who resolved to send, as extraordinary ambassador to Rome, Monsignor Cortois de Pressigny, formerly bishop of Saint Malo.

Cardinal Consalvi's first step was to ascertain the views of the government in regard to affairs of religion. The French cabinet rejected the concordat of Fontainebleau, which was reasonable, even Bertazzoli disavowing it, but they desired to overthrow that of 1801. Cardinal Consalvi urged Pius to temporize, and, meanwhile, addressed to all the powers a most able argument in defence of the pope's rights to his former territory.

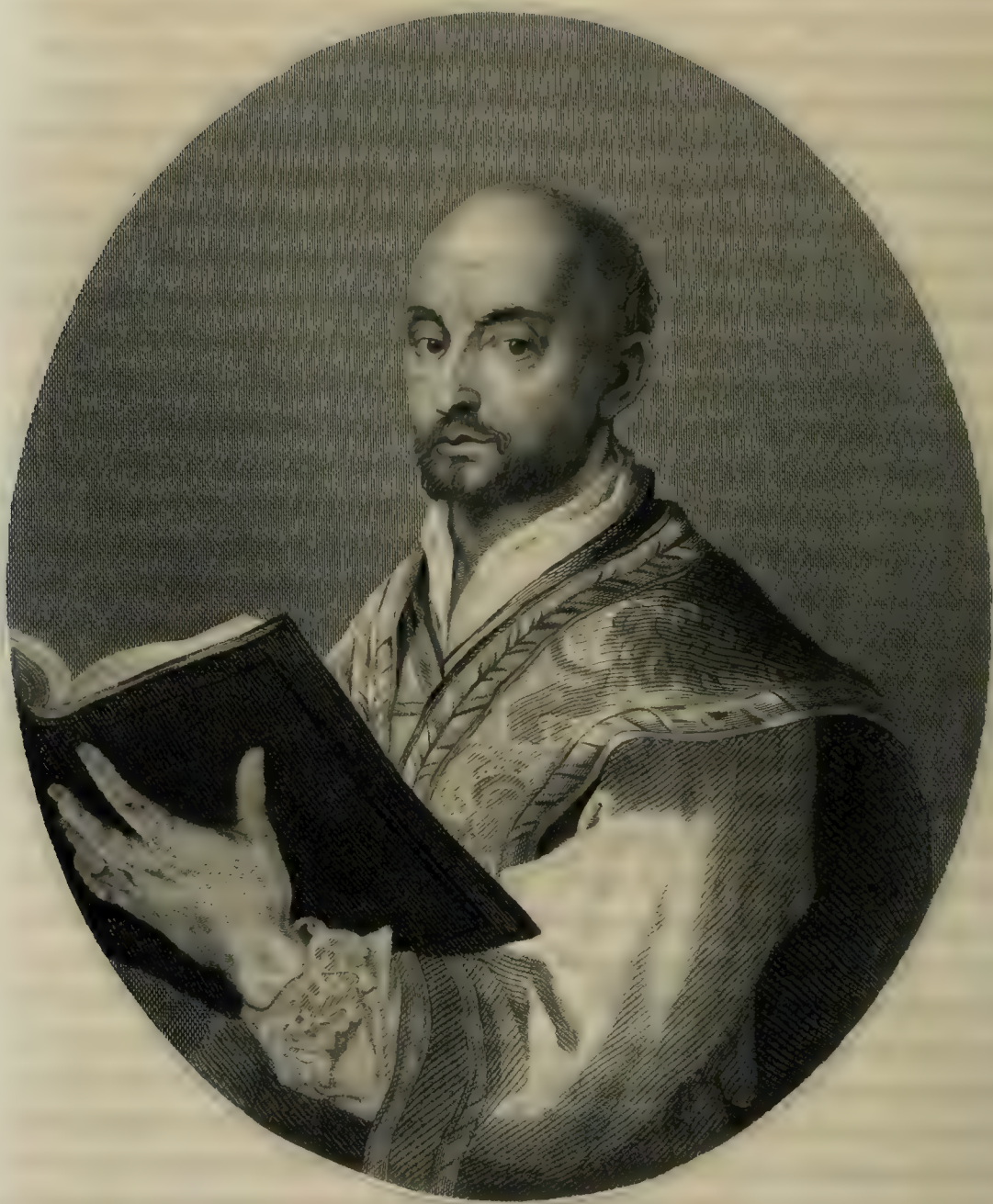
One of the first great acts of the pope, after his return to Rome, was the restoration of the Society of Jesus, by his bull of August 7, 1814. On that day, the octave of the feast of Saint Ignatius, the pope heard Mass in the Church of the Gésù, and then proceeding to an interior chapel, read the bull in the presence of the cardinals and a numerous assembly, all Rome displaying an outburst of joy which contrasted strongly with the sadness visible on every face when Clement XIV. suppressed the same society.

This bull is as follows :

"PIUS, BISHOP, SERVANT OF THE SERVANTS OF GOD, FOR A PERPETUAL REMEMBRANCE OF THE FACT.

"The care of all the churches committed, such being the disposition of Providence, to us, unequal in our lowliness to the task, either by merits or by strength, compels us to employ all the means in our power, and such as divine Providence mercifully supplies unto us, in order that we may seasonably, without distinction of nation or people, meet the spiritual wants of the Christian world to which the various and manifold changes of the times and of the State give rise.

"This burden of the pastoral office it was our desire to discharge, as Francis Karew, then living, and other secular priests, who had formerly been members of the Society of Jesus, suppressed by our predecessor Clement XIV. of happy memory, and who had been for many years in the



ST. IGNATIUS LOYOLA

vast empire of Russia, presented to us their petition whereby they asked that power might be given them to unite in a body corporate under our authority, so that they might more easily, according to the scheme of their peculiar institute, apply themselves to the instruction of youth in the rudiments of faith, and imbuing them with good morals and habits, preach, hear confession, and administer the other sacraments. We deemed that their prayer should be more readily granted, because the Emperor Paul II., then reigning, earnestly recommended the same priests to us in his most friendly letter of the 11th of August, A. D. 1800, in which, after giving expression to his singular good-will towards them, he declared that it would be most pleasing unto him, if by our authority the Society of Jesus should, for the good of the Catholics in his empire, be there established.

“Wherefore, having carefully weighed the immense advantage which would accrue to those vast regions, almost destitute of evangelical laborers, and the incalculable increase to the Catholic Church which such ecclesiastics, men whose tried morality was heralded and commended by such praises, would bring by their untiring toil, their intense zeal for the salvation of souls, and their unwearied preaching of the Word of God; considering all this, we deemed it consonant to reason to yield to the wishes of so great and beneficent a prince. Therefore, by our letters in form of a brief, dated March 7th, 1801, we empowered Francis Karew and his other associates, residing in the Russian empire, or who might repair thither from other quarters, to assemble into one body or congregation of the Society of Jesus, in such one or more houses, to be nevertheless within the limits of the Russian empire, as the superior should appoint; and we deputed as general of said congregation the said Francis Karew, priest as aforesaid, with necessary and suitable powers, during the pleasure of ourselves and the Apostolic See, so that they might retain and follow the rule of Saint Ignatius of Loyola, approved and confirmed by our predecessor Paul III. of happy memory, in his apostolic constitutions, and that the members thus associated in one religious body might imbue youth in religion and morality, might govern seminaries and colleges, and with the approbation and consent of the ordinaries of the places, freely hear confessions, announce the Word of God, and administer the sacraments; and we took the congregation of the Society of Jesus under our own and the Holy See’s immediate patronage and subjection, and reserved to ourselves and our successors the prescribing and decreeing of such things as should seem proper in the Lord to strengthen and secure it, and to remove such abuses and corruptions as might have crept in; and for this purpose we expressly repealed all apostolic constitutions, statutes, customs, privileges, and grants, in whatever way made and confirmed, contrary to these presents, especially the apostolic letters of our said predecessor, Clement XIV., beginning *Dom-*

inus et Redemptor noster : but so far only as they shall be at variance with our said brief granted for the Russian empire only, and beginning *Catholica*.

“ Not long after, we resolved to extend the determination which we had concluded to adopt for the Russian empire to the kingdom of the Two Sicilies, at the instance of our most dear son in Christ, King Ferdinand, who begged of us to establish the Society of Jesus in his dominions and States, in the same manner as it had been established in said empire ; because in these most melancholy days he deemed it most called for by the times, to employ the labors of the regular clerks of the Society of Jesus, in forming youth to Christian piety and the fear of the Lord, which is the beginning of wisdom, and in instructing them in science and learning, especially in colleges and public schools. Desirous, as our pastoral office required, to gratify the pious wishes of so illustrious a prince, which had in view naught but God’s greater glory and the salvation of souls, we, by a new brief, beginning *Per alias*, expedited on the 30th day of July, A. D. 1804, extended to the kingdom of the Two Sicilies our letters given for the Russian empire.

“ Urgent and pressing petitions were daily laid before us from our venerable brethren, the archbishops and bishops, and illustrious persons of every rank and class, calling, with the unanimous consent of almost the whole Christian world, for the restoration of the said Society of Jesus, especially when the fame was everywhere spread of the most plentuous fruit which the society has produced in the countries above mentioned ; and the fruitful progeny of which, it was thought, would, as it daily increased, give new beauty and extent to the field of the Lord. The dispersion of the very stones of the sanctuary, by the recent calamity and changes, which we can better deplore than recall to mind ; the relaxation of discipline in religious orders, splendor and mainstay of the Catholic religion and Church, to the restoration of which our thoughts and solicitude is directed, demand our consent to such just and universal wishes.

“ For we should deem ourselves guilty of a most grievous crime in the sight of God, if amid such necessities of the Christian commonwealth we should neglect to use those wholesome succors with which God in his singular providence supplies us, if placed in the bark of Peter, now tossed and shaken by unceasing storms, we should turn away stout and able oarsmen, who offer themselves to us to break the waves of the tempestuous sea which threatens us each moment with shipwreck and destruction.

“ Impelled by so many and so momentous reasons, and by grave causes, we at length resolved to accomplish what in the very threshold of our pontificate we earnestly desired to do.

“ Having therefore implored the divine assistance in fervent prayer, and taken the counsels and advice of very many of our venerable brethren. the

cardinals of the holy Roman Church, we have resolved to ordain and decree, of our certain knowledge and the fulness of the apostolic power, as we do, in fact, by this our constitution ever to remain in force, ordain and decree that all concessions and grants made by us in favor of the Russian empire and the kingdom of the Two Sicilies solely, be now deemed extended and taken as extended, as we truly extend them to our whole ecclesiastical States, as well as all other States and kingdoms.

“Wherefore, we grant and concede to our beloved son, Thaddeus Brozowski, priest, the present general of the Society of Jesus, and to others lawfully deputed by him, all necessary powers during our good pleasure and that of the Holy See, freely and lawfully to admit and receive all such persons in the said States and kingdoms, as desire to be admitted and received into the regular order of the Society of Jesus, who united in one or more houses, in one or more colleges, in one or more provinces, under the obedience of the general for the time being, and distributed as things will permit, may conform their mode of life to the prescriptions of the rule of Saint Ignatius Loyola, approved and confirmed by the apostolic constitutions of Paul III. ; and we also grant and declare that they may likewise freely and lawfully apply to the instruction of youth in the rudiments of the Catholic religion and good morals, and direct seminaries and colleges, and, with the approbation and consent of the ordinaries of the places in which they may happen to dwell, hear confessions, preach the Word of God, and administer the sacraments.

“And we do now and from this time take under our and this Holy See’s immediate patronage, protection, and obedience, all the colleges, houses, provinces, and members there united, or which or who may thereafter be united or aggregated thereto: reserving to ourselves and the Roman pontiffs, our successors, to ordain and prescribe such things as it shall seem proper to ordain and prescribe, in order to confirm and strengthen the said society more and more, and cleanse it from abuses, if perchance, which God forbid, any may have crept in.

“We further advise and exhort, as far as we can in the Lord, all and singular the superiors, provosts, rectors, members, and scholars of every kind in this society, thus restored, to show themselves in all times and places faithful followers and imitators of their so great Father and founder, observe accurately the rule drawn up and prescribed by him, and endeavor with the utmost zeal to fulfil the useful admonitions and counsels which he delivered to his sons.

“Lastly, we especially commend in the Lord the frequently mentioned Society of Jesus, and the several members thereof, to our beloved sons in Christ, the illustrious and noble men, the temporal princes and lords, and also to our venerable brethren the archbishops and bishops, and others of

what dignity soever possessed ; and we beg and exhort them not only not to permit and suffer them, said members, to be disturbed by any one, but also to welcome them with due kindness and charity.

“ Decreeing the present letters, and all things contained therein, are and shall be ever and perpetually firm, valid, and efficacious, and shall have and obtain their full and entire effect, and must be inviolably observed by those whom it concerns, and from time to time shall concern, and must thus and not otherwise be also judged and defined by all judges, under what authority soever they act : and that any thing which may happen to be attempted to the contrary hereof, by any one, under any authority, knowingly, is null and void.

“ Notwithstanding the apostolic constitutions and ordinances, and especially the aforesaid letters, in the form of a brief, of Clement XIV. of happy memory, beginning *Dominus et Redemptor noster*, expedited under the signet of the Fisherman, on the 21st day of July, A. D. 1773, which to give effect to these presents we hereby intend expressly and specially to repeal, and all others whatever to the contrary.

“ And it is our will that absolutely the same credit, in and out of judicial proceedings, be given to transcripts or copies of these letters, even printed, subscribed by the hand of some notary public, and attested by the seal of some person in ecclesiastical dignity, as would be given to these presents if produced and shown.

“ Let no man, therefore, presume to infringe, or with bold rashness oppose this deed of our ordination, statute, extension, concession, grant, declaration, faculty, taking, reservation, admonition, exhortation, decree, and repeal.

“ Should any one presume to attempt it, let him know that he will incur the indignation of Almighty God, and of his blessed apostles Peter and Paul.

“ Given at Rome, at Saint Mary Major's, in the year of our Lord's incarnation 1814, on the 7th day of August, in the fifteenth year of our pontificate.”

Pius VII. rewarded the friendship of Lucien Bonaparte, and gave him a right of residence by creating him prince of Canino.

On the 26th of September the pope for the first time addressed an allocution to the sacred college, resuming the affairs which had occurred since the last occasion of his addressing them in Rome.

The pope now resumed his old quiet habits in the Quirinal palace ; he received the felicitations of the Catholic princes, and even of those whom he could not number among his flock. He sought to restore the true relation of affairs in France, to recover the legations held by Austria, and to induce

Murat to renounce unjust pretensions. The affairs of more remote lands, so long overlooked, now claimed his care; he sought to raise up in Italy, as in France, Hospital Nuns and Sisters of Charity; he endowed pious establishments in the United States; he reorganized the laws of his States, pardoned the erring, relieved suffering provinces; in a word, he began to infuse a new life into every branch of his government, whether of his States or of the Church.

Suddenly, however, Europe started from its slumber. Napoleon, spurning Elba, landed in France. The news filled Rome with alarm. Eliza, who had been Governess-general of Tuscany, said: "Bonaparte is in France; if he is arrested, we must hold the pope as a hostage." Murat demanded passage for twelve thousand men. Pius VII. refused it, and resolved to leave Rome. Notifying the diplomatic corps of his departure, he set out on the 22d, on hearing that the Neapolitans had entered Terracina. Rome was to be governed by a junta, composed of Cardinal la Somaglia and the prelates Reganti, San Severino, Falzacappa, Ercolani, Giustiniani, and Riva-rolì. The pope proceeded to Leghorn, and there requested the commandant of the English frigate Aboukir to convey him to Genoa, but that officer replied that his vessel was intended to carry the merchandise of his Britannic Majesty's subjects. Pius, accordingly, continued by land to the Gulf of Spezzia, whence he sailed for Genoa. In giving audience to Mr. de Pressigny, the French ambassador, the pontiff used these remarkable words: "Ambassador, have no fears; this is a storm which will last three months."* Pius VII. had measured the new reign within ten days.

Napoleon reached Paris on the 20th of March, and reorganized his government. His foreign minister, Caulaincourt, at once addressed Cardinal Pacca, and on the 4th of April Napoleon himself addressed the pope a letter full of expressions of peace and devotion to the Holy See. Cardinal Fesch was dispatched as Minister to Rome, and directed to declare that the emperor had no designs upon the temporal possessions of the pope, thus dispensing with all political questions. As to spiritual matters, his majesty adhered to the bull issued at Savona, inasmuch as the French clergy attached importance to that bull, though for the present the emperor would not touch ecclesiastical affairs. He desired, however, that the pope would give canonical institution to the bishops nominated before his departure from Fontainebleau.

But Napoleon's career was too brief to enable men to see whether his course would undergo any change. Waterloo overthrew absolutely the new empire, and he who had treated the pope so harshly became a prisoner.

The pope soon after left Genoa and returned to Rome, stopping at

* Signor Ambasciatore, non dubitate di niente: questo è un temporale che durera tre mesi.

Savona to offer up his devotions before a picture of the Blessed Virgin, where he had knelt and fervently implored the divine assistance in 1811.

On this fourth entrance he was received with sincere joy by his people, and this time was completely free, Murat, whose occupancy of Rome had made his stay so perilous, having fled after experiencing two crushing defeats from the Austrians, whom he had engaged successively near Reggio and Tolentino.

The Congress of Vienna, which settled the relative position of the European States, and with such judgment that it secured comparative peace to Europe for half a century, by the one hundred and third article of the treaty thus established the temporal power of the pope :

“The Marches, with Camerino and their dependencies, as well as the duchy of Benevento and the principality of Ponte Corvo, are restored to the Holy See. He re-enters into possession of the legations of Ravenna, Bologna, and Ferrara, excepting the part of Ferrara lying beyond the left bank of the Po. His imperial and royal apostolic majesty, and his successors, will have a right to garrison the posts of Ferrara and Comacchio.”

All now awaited the return of Cardinal Consalvi, to return him thanks for a success due so much to his extraordinary ability. Nor could it be overlooked that the courageous resistance of Pius VII. had induced the powers to perform this great act of reparation and justice.

Cardinal Consalvi at first, amid the plenipotentiaries assembled at Vienna, the heads of so many powerful nations, had no influence, and his qualities were unrecognized ; but he was soon sought. Ere long, initiated in the secrets of all, asking only what was notoriously just, seasonably advancing the virtues, the noble character, the gentleness of his master, the wise principles of the Roman court, he won the good-will of all. Those most diverse in religious sentiment were the warmest in their demonstrations of appreciation. Served by such talents, and by the high reputation which Pius VII. had acquired in Europe with men of every creed, Rome obtained what she claimed. Her nuncios were allowed the right of precedence in ceremonies before all ambassadors, even those of other creeds, and of addressing sovereigns in the name of the diplomatic body.*

Cardinal Consalvi returned to announce to the pope that his States were to be more flourishing and secure than they had been since the days of Charlemagne. Cardinal Fesch now sought an asylum in Rome, which Pius readily granted ; and he welcomed with pontifical kindness the mother of the fallen emperor. During his last absence from Rome, the junta in whose hands he had left the management of affairs had thought proper to confine Cardinal Maury in the castle of Saint Angelo.

* Prussia alone objected.

On the 4th of September the pope addressed an allocution to the cardinals. He mentioned the restitution of the legations by Austria, which had yielded in the matter to the urgency of France, England, and Russia. The pope then recapitulated his recent acts, and thanked especially those princes who, unfortunately separated from the Church of which he was the head, had so nobly upheld the justice of his claims. These were the emperor of Russia, the prince-regent of England, the kings of Prussia and Sweden. For the loss of Avignon he expected indemnity; and the occupation of part of Ferrara would, he hoped, be but temporary.

Cardinal Consalvi had not neglected the interests of religion. One of his great objects was the freedom of Catholicity in the British empire. For this he had made a visit to London. His negotiations with the British government had, undoubtedly, some influence; but they excited the most intense suspicion in the heart of the Irish and even of the English Catholics. It was believed, and, indeed, a party of the more aristocratic English Catholics proposed to give the English government the nomination to the bishoprics. The Irish Catholics, seeing in this only a continuation of their degraded position, and a new rivet in their chains, feared that the minister of Pius VII. was betraying them into the hands of their enemies, and that they were no longer to be free even in the house of God, but must look up to minions of British power for the ministrations of religion.

The pope now, through Canova, reclaimed from France the works of art of which she had been stripped. Louis XVIII. was reluctant to deprive his capital of so much beauty. He cited the treaty of Tolentino, but the pontifical government replied—"In the treaty of Paris, and in the Congress of Vienna, no mention was made of the treaty of Tolentino; none of the many treaties made with Bonaparte were upheld; they even took back the archduchess sent to Paris, and with her the child of which he is the father. Will you set aside treaties between lion and lion, to uphold a treaty between a wolf and a lamb?"

Many States recovered their fine works; but Canova deemed it more prudent to leave as presents the colossal statue of Tiber, a Pallas, and a Melpomene. Yet, even yielding these, he found it difficult to find means or men to transport the other works from Paris.

The French government was hardly yet in full relation with Rome. There was no nuncio at Paris, and Louis XVIII. was not certain whether to accept the concordat of 1801 or not. He finally, though prematurely, announced that he had induced all the bishops of the old hierarchy to resign absolutely, and then prepared to initiate negotiations for a new, and, as it were, spontaneous concordat, in which the former would be absorbed.

Restored to his position in Rome, Pius VII. resolved to fill up once more the vacancies in the sacred college, and, in 1816, created twenty-eight car-

dinals, among whom were—the courageous Monsignor de Gregorio, Fontana, author of the bull, and the prelates della Genga, Caleppi, Severoli, Castiglioni, and George Doria.

A discussion sprang up with the Neapolitan government in regard to the old tribute of the palfrey, but it is unnecessary here to follow the negotiations.

On the 6th of July, 1816, the pope, by a *motu proprio*, reorganized his States. This had been required of him at the Congress of Vienna, had been agreed to by Consalvi, and was now carried out by Pius VII. Yet it was in itself unfortunate. It was an adoption of French systems, and, to a certain extent, a destruction of old municipal rights. The law was preceded by an introduction treating of uniformity of systems, centralization of power, the independence of the judiciary, the division of the States into provinces, and, finally, the responsibility of agents. A series of codes was announced, embracing a civil code, codes of civil and criminal procedure, commercial and penal codes. At this time the States of the Church contained two millions three hundred and fifty-four thousand seven hundred and nineteen inhabitants, divided in eighteen legations, forty-four districts, and seven hundred and twenty-six municipalities.

On the 25th of August, 1816, the count de Blacas, French minister at Rome, signed a convention, in fourteen articles, with the Holy See, somewhat resembling that agreed upon the next year, and known as the concordat of 1817. The pope, at the same time, wrote to Louis XVIII., complaining of the bad faith of the constitutional bishops, and complaining that the old bishops had not only refused to resign, but had, by writing and conduct, assailed the Holy See. "We willingly forget the offences offered to us personally, but we cannot forget those offered to the authority and dignity of the Church and of its head. Now, in case any of these bishops are nominated to Sees, they cannot obtain canonical institution from us, unless they first give the Church and the Holy See suitable satisfaction."*

All the old bishops had not, however, resigned; and Louis now asked that, as a condition of their resignation, all the bishops of the concordat of 1801 should resign. The illness of the pope prevented any action on this proposition.

In 1817 the pontifical government took possession of the papers of Cardinal York, which had fallen into private hands and were about to be removed. Some, it is supposed, were sent to the king of Sardinia, and the rest delivered to the English government.

The court of Vienna had sought to regulate some affairs concerning the

* Letter of September 6, 1816.

organization of the clergy, the sale of several ecclesiastical domains, and the navigation of the Po. These treaties were signed, and the ratifications arrived from Vienna on the 26th of January, 1817.

The pontifical government sought gradually to withdraw itself from Austrian influence; but this had at first been so overwhelming, that the first retrograde steps had to be slow and measured. Rome organized a military force sufficient to show its independence, guard its frontiers, and maintain the tranquillity of the provinces. It was only six thousand strong, but it was proposed to increase it gradually to twice that strength. When it reached that, it was in view to seek the restoration of Ferrara.

Meanwhile, negotiations with Bavaria, which had been for a time suspended, were restored on a proper footing; and a similar state of affairs prevailed with Piedmont. The king of Naples, to avoid the long-disputed claims of Rome as to investiture and tribute, dropped his former title, and declared himself king of the Two Sicilies. The pope protested against any diminution of his rights by a mere change of name; and the court of the king of the Two Sicilies replied by a very positive counter-protest, in which it declared that it recognized no right of the sovereign pontiff, except such as it possessed as head of the Church over all Catholics.

At this moment the king of Spain solicited and obtained a bull, permitting him to levy for six years unusual imposts on the clergy.

Pius VII. had, as we have seen, welcomed the Bonapartes in his dominions, and had invested Lucien with a title; but the allied powers did not regard the family of the fallen emperor with generosity, and remonstrances were made with the Holy Father, who was compelled to subject them to a surveillance foreign to his character.

In the year 1817, Cardinal Maury, who had incurred the displeasure of the Holy See, by his too evident yielding to the Napoleonic ideas, died at Rome, at the age of seventy-one, restored to favor, and enjoying a pension liberally granted to him by the Holy Father. Cardinal Maury is well-known by his famous *Essay on Pulpit Eloquence*,* and by his *Panegyric on Saint Louis*.

The French government modified the first plan of concordat, and after much vacillation and uncertainty, arising from their ignorance of what they really desired, a new concordat was signed by Cardinal Consalvi and de Blacas, the French ambassador, on the 11th June, 1817.

As this treaty led to further negotiations, we insert it:

“In the name of the Most Holy and Undivided Trinity:

“His Holiness, the Sovereign Pontiff Pius VII., and his Most Christian

* An English translation has recently been published in New York.

Majesty, animated with the most Christian desire to arrest entirely the evils which have for so many years affected the Church in France, and let religion resume its ancient splendor in the kingdom, since at last the happy return of the descendant of Saint Louis to the throne of his ancestors permits the ecclesiastical regime to be more suitably regulated, have consequently determined to make a solemn convention, reserving the power to provide more amply hereafter, by common consent, for the interests of the Catholic religion. In consequence, His Holiness, the Sovereign Pontiff Pius VII., has appointed as his plenipotentiary his eminence Hercules Consalvi, cardinal of the Holy Roman Church, deacon of Saint Agatha, *ad suburram*, his Secretary of State; and his majesty the king of France and Navarre, his excellency Peter Louis John Casimir, count de Blacas, marquis d'Aulps and des Rolands, peer of France, grandmaster of the wardrobe, his minister extraordinary and plenipotentiary, near the Holy See; who, after exchanging their full powers, found in due and good form, have agreed on the following articles:

1. "The concordat passed between the Sovereign Pontiff Leo X. and Francis I., king of France, is restored.

2. "In consequence of the preceding article, the concordat of July 15, 1801, ceases to be in force.

3. "The articles styled organic, made and published without His Holiness's knowledge, April 8, 1802, simultaneously with the said concordat of July 15, 1801, are abrogated, in that they contain matter contrary to the doctrine and laws of the Church.

4. "The Sees suppressed in the kingdom of France, by His Holiness's bull of November 29, 1801, shall be restored, in such numbers as shall be mutually agreed as being most advantageous for the good of religion.

5. "All the archiepiscopal and episcopal churches of the kingdom of France, erected by the said bull of November 29, 1801, are preserved, as well as their actual titularies.

6. "The disposition of the preceding article touching the preservation of the said actual titularies in the archbishoprics and bishoprics now existing in France, is not to prevent particular exceptions founded on grave and legitimate causes, nor present the transfer to other Sees of some of said titularies.

7. "The dioceses, both of Sees actually existing and of those to be hereafter erected, after soliciting the consent of the actual titularies and the chapters of the vacant Sees, shall be circumscribed in the manner most adapted to their better administration.

8. "There shall be assured to all the Sees, now or hereafter erected, a suitable income, in funded property and State revenue, as soon as circumstances permit; and, meanwhile, the pastors shall receive a sufficient salary

to improve their lot. Provision shall also be made for the endowment of the chapters, parishes, and seminaries existing and to be established.

9. "His Holiness and his Most Christian majesty know all the evils which afflict the churches of France; they know, too, how religion will profit by the prompt increase of the now existing Sees. Therefore, not to retard so eminent an advantage, His Holiness will publish a bull to proceed without delay to the erection and new arrangement of dioceses.

10. "His Most Christian majesty, wishing to give a new testimony of his zeal for religion, will, in concert with the Holy Father, employ all means in his power to arrest, as soon as possible, the disorders and obstacles which oppose the progress of religion, and the execution of the laws of the Church.

11. "The territories of the ancient abbeys, called *nullius*, shall be united to the dioceses in the limits of which they may fall by the new circumscription.

12. "The restoration of the concordat followed in France till 1789 (stipulated by article one of this convention) shall not work the restoration of the abbeys, priories, and other benefices existing at that time. Nevertheless, those to be founded hereafter shall be subject to the regulations prescribed in the said concordat.

13. "The ratifications of the present convention shall be exchanged within a month, or sooner, if possible.

14. "As soon as the ratifications are exchanged, His Holiness will confirm the present convention by a bull; and also publish a second bull for the circumscription of the dioceses.

"In testimony whereof, the respective plenipotentiaries have signed the present convention, and set thereto the seal of their arms.

"Done at Rome, the eleventh June, one thousand eight hundred and seventeen.

"HERCULES, CARDINAL CONSALVI,
"BLACAS D'AULPS."

Four of the old bishops, those of Cambrai, Avignon, Angouleme, and Dijon, still refused to sign.

On the 19th of July, Pius VII. published a bull confirming the concordat; and on the 27th another, giving the circumscription of ninety-two dioceses. The next day he addressed the cardinals on the matter, in an allocution, and at the same time named as cardinals Alexander Angelic de Talleyrand, former archbishop of Rheims, Cæsar William de la Luzerne, former bishop of Langres, and Louis Francis de Bausset, former bishop of Alais. He then declared two cardinals reserved *in petto*, Francis Cæsarini de Lioni, dean of the Rota, and Anthony Lante, dean of the apostolic chamber.

On the 9th of August a concordat was signed with Piedmont, and that court became entitled to a nuncio of the first rank, who, after his years of nunciature, should be promoted to the cardinalate.

On the 28th of January, 1818, a concordat was signed with Mr. d'Italinsky, for Poland. In this treaty with Russia it was decided to erect an archbishopric at Warsaw, and eight episcopal Sees in the new kingdom; and very moderate fees were stipulated for the bulls of institution.

On the 16th of February a concordat was agreed upon with the king of Naples.

While Pius VII. was thus bringing into harmonious concord the relations of the various powers with the Holy See, he received through Mr. Harcourt, English minister at Naples, a letter addressed to the pope by the prince-regent of England. This first direct and new intercourse between the Holy See and the court of London made a great sensation at Rome, and gave hope that the English government, which had already placed a consul-general in the Roman States, would soon send a minister.

The vacillating French court finally withdrew its consent to the concordat of June 11, 1817, and sent Mr. Portalis to Rome, to reopen negotiations, and treat the concordat as the result of a mutual error. They wished, in fact, to fall back on the concordat of 1801, which Pius VII. had abandoned reluctantly; but that step taken, the new concordat confirmed by bull, bishops nominated, and thirty-four of them instituted, he saw no means of rescinding it.

The health of Pius VII. was feeble, especially subsequent to a fall which he met with on the 26th of June, 1817, accompanied by alarming circumstances; and he was the more anxious to bring the affairs of the Church in France to a definite form. He accordingly addressed a bull to Cardinal de Perigord, and solicited the advice of the French bishops. Louis XVIII., however, full of the old ideas of the days of the parliaments, appellants, and philosophers, retained the bull. On the 30th of May, 1819, the bishops, to the number of forty, wrote warmly to the pope. Pius VII. replied by a brief, which finally arranged all.

Rome was, meanwhile, visited by several sovereigns and princes. The Emperor Francis, the Archduchess Marie Louise, ex-empress of France, the Archduke Michael, brother of Alexander I. of Russia, were all received in the Eternal City. There, too, in January, 1819, died Mary Louise, ex-queen of Spain, soon followed to the grave by her husband, Charles IV. The same year witnessed the death, in the Jesuit Novitiate, of Charles Emmanuel IV., ex-king of Sardinia.

The Protestant princes of Germany, through their envoys, Turekheim and Smyth, presented to the pope a "Declaration of the Protestant Princes and States united in the Germanic Confederation;" to which Pius VII. replied

by an exposition. After praising the zeal of these princes, the sovereign pontiff objected to a statement that the Church *is ruled by the bishops*, ignoring his authority ; he also objected to the attempted distinction between fundamental and non-fundamental articles, substantial and accidental principles. He firmly refused the proposal made to style the Catholic Church, in those States, the Christian Catholic Church.*

Coming to things more important than these, matters foreign to the treaty, the pope took up the proposed alterations in the election of bishops, which he disapproved. He wished the choice confined to the canons, but expressed his willingness to grant the princes what he had proposed to the English government in the matter of the Irish bishops. "The chapter, before proceeding to a canonical election, will hand to the local government a list of candidates. The government may exclude such as are not pleasing, provided enough are left on the list for the free election of the bishop."

The pope wished the See of the archbishop to be at Mentz, in the centre of the five dioceses comprising the new province. This See was selected to maintain the glory and renown of Saint Boniface, which had, for more than ten centuries, shed lustre on that city.

The various States adopted the views of Pius VII., and requested him to proceed to the allotment of dioceses.

George IV., as king of Hanover, accrediting anew the former minister, instead of closing in the usual formal style, commended himself to the most pious prayers of His Holiness ; and Pius VII. rejoiced at this further token of a tendency in England to enter into nearer relations with Rome. He directed the reply to the letter to be as near as possible in the terms usually addressed to Catholic sovereigns.

Troubles in Spain at this time created some difficulty ; while a revolution in Naples placed the pope in jeopardy. The new government seized Benevento and Ponte Corvo, and both Austrians and Neapolitans invaded the papal territory. Pius VII. insisted that the Austrians should not enter Rome, and in February, 1821, apartments were prepared for the pope at Cività Vecchia, and French frigates anchored there to protect him if necessary ; but the Austrians soon repressed the revolution in Naples, and restored King Ferdinand.

In 1818 application was made to the Holy See for a clergyman to proceed to Saint Helena, to act as chaplain to the fallen emperor. The first choice fell on one who proved, on examination, not worthy. At the instance of Cardinal Fesch, a Corsican clergyman, Bonavita, was sent, and Pius VII. interceded with the British government to lighten the captivity of the great

* It was in the same spirit proposed in England to style us Reformed Catholic Dissenters ! and Catholic gentlemen, Catholic clergy even, favored it.

warrior. When he heard of Napoleon's death he permitted a funeral service to be celebrated at Rome by Cardinal Fesch, and expressed in consoling words. He inquired as to his last moments, and was most anxious to feel assured that he died in the peace of the Lord. He was attended in his dying hours by Rev. Mr. Vignali, who had succeeded Bonavita.

In 1821 a concordat was signed with Prussia, which, as enlarged by the treaty of Vienna, contained a large Catholic population, whom it treated with kindness. Pius VII., in an allocution of August 3d, 1821, expressed his gratitude for this. By the concordat, the archbishopric of Gnesen was transferred to Posen; and the bishops of Heilsberg, Culm, and Breslau were made suffragans. To the archbishop of Cologne were assigned, as suffragans, Paderborn, Treves, and Munster. The See of Aix-la-Chapelle was suppressed.

Austria also asked some arrangement in regard to the dioceses of Prague and Olmutz. It was agreed that these two archbishoprics should alternately exercise ecclesiastical jurisdiction in the kingdom of Prussia.

On the 13th of September, 1821, the pope issued a bull against the Carbonari, a secret political society formed for revolutionary purposes in Italy.

The army was also reorganized, and out of a population of two million four hundred and ten thousand, one man in five thousand was enrolled. The carbineers, or gendarmes, who had replaced the sbirri, were also reorganized.

On the 22d of April, 1822, Pius, whose feebleness daily increased, fell between his armchair and his priedieu. His attendants ran in and raised him. He had received no injury beyond a slight bruise in the side, of which he soon recovered.

Rome soon after lost her great sculptor Canova, and the pope ordered the most solemn honors to be paid to him in a funeral service, which was attended by the diplomatic body, foreign princes, the Roman nobility, the learned and literary societies, and the academies of art.

In 1822, at the instance of the king of France, and on his nomination, Pius VII. created, as cardinal, de Clermont Tonnerre, and on the 10th of March, 1823, Monsignor Bertazzoli, archbishop of Edessa, together with Monsignor Frosini, major-domo, Monsignor Piazio and Prince Charles Odescalchi, who subsequently renounced the purple to end his days in the odor of sanctity as an humble member of the Society of Jesus. On the 16th of May, Pius VII. elevated to the purple also de la Fare archbishop of Sens, although he would have preferred giving the hat to de Boulogne or Frayssinous. Dom Placidus Zurla, a Camaldulensian, was appointed cardinal at the same time.

The venerable pope had nearly reached the years of Peter, which none of his successors has yet attained; though sincere is the hope in the hearts



Saint Paul.

of many of us that the charm may be broken by the ninth Pius. Twenty-four years is the term thus assigned as the bourne which none may hope to pass, and Pius VII. had happily advanced far into his twenty-third. The 6th of July was the fourteenth anniversary of his seizure in the Quirinal palace, by General Radet. On that day the pope drove out in his carriage, and even walked a little for exercise. In the evening he dismissed his attendants, and conversed for a time with his auditor. His Holiness then remained alone, although Cardinal Consalvi, after his two falls, had urged the attendants never to leave him absolutely alone.

The aged pontiff, about six in the evening, being alone, rose from his chair, and, leaning with one hand on the bureau before it, sought with the other a cord balustrade which went round his room. He missed it; his foot slipped, and he fell. He cried for help; his attendants rushed in and laid him on his bed. He complained of acute pain in his left side, and, as soon as surgical aid was procured, it was discovered that the neck of the femur was fractured.

For eight days the pope was kept in ignorance of the gravity of his condition. When informed of it, he received the news with the same serenity and fortitude that had distinguished him in the vicissitudes of his life. He lingered for six weeks, the object of affectionate solicitude to all Rome. It was while in this state of anxiety, that all Rome was startled one morning by news so melancholy, and so naturally connected with the august patient, that, in ancient times, it would have been considered a portent, beyond statues sweating blood in the Forum, or victims speaking in the temples. It was rumored that the great basilica of St. Paul's beyond the walls was burned down, and was already only a heap of smoking ruins.

It was too true, though it seemed hard to conceive how it was possible. The walls were of massive bricks, the pavement a patchwork of ancient inscribed marbles, the pillars of matchless Phrygian marble in the central, and of inferior marble in the lateral aisles, for it was a five-aisled church. There were no flues or fires at any time, let alone the dog-days. Like Achilles, these old churches have their one vulnerable point, though its situation is reversed. The open cedar-roof, sodden dry, and scorched to cinder, through ages of exposure, under a scanty tiling, to a burning sun, forms an unresisting prey to the destructive wantonness of a single spark. It was the usual story: plumbers had been working on that roof, and had left a pan of coals upon one of the beams. Every sort of rumor was, however, started and believed. It was confidently reported to be the work of incendiaries, and part of an atrocious plan to destroy the sacred monuments of Rome.

"It was not till the afternoon that either the heat of the season or the occupations of the day permitted one to go far beyond the gates, though

the sad news had penetrated into every nook of the city at sunrise. Melancholy indeed was the scene. The tottering external walls were all that was permitted to be seen, even from a respectful distance ; for it was impossible to know how long they would stand. A clear space was therefore kept around, in which the skilful and intrepid fire-brigade—an admirably organized body—were using all their appliances to prevent the flames breaking out from the smouldering ruins. There, among others, was the enthusiastic *Avvocato Fea*, almost frantic with grief. He was not merely an antiquarian in sculptures and inscriptions ; he was deeply versed in ecclesiastical history, and loved most dearly its monuments. St. Paul's was one of the most venerable and most precious of these. The very abandonment of the huge pile, standing in solitary grandeur on the banks of the Tiber, was one source of its value. While it had been kept in perfect repair, little or nothing had been done to modernize it and alter its primitive form and ornaments, excepting the later addition of some modern chapels above the transept ; it stood naked and almost rude, but unencumbered with the lumpish and tasteless plaster encasement of the old basilica in a modern Berninesque church, which had disfigured the Lateran cathedral under the pretence of supporting it. It remained genuine, though bare, as St. Apollinaris in Classe at Ravenna, the city eminently of unspoiled basilicas. No chapels, altars, or mural monuments softened the severity of its outlines ; only the series of papal portraits, running round the upper line of the walls, redeemed this sternness. But the unbroken files of columns, along each side, carried the eye forward to the great central object, the altar and its "Confession ;" while the secondary rows of pillars running behind the principal ones, gave depth and shadow, mass and solidity, to back up the noble avenue along which one glanced. Among the constant and bewildered cries of Fea was—"Save the triumphal arch !" He made light now, apparently, of the rest. The term is applied to the great arch, which, supported on two massive pillars, closes the nave, or rather separates it from the transept and apse beyond. Above this arch rises a wall, clothed in mosaic, so happily revived and perfected in the Theodosian period. The triumphal arch of St. Paul's still towered nobly among the ruins, almost unscathed, as did the Gothic ciborium or marble canopy over the altar. On the face of the arch remained the majestic figure of our Lord in glory, and round it a metrical inscription, in which the Empress Galla Placidia recounted how, assisted by the great pontiff Leo, she had finished the decorations of the church built by preceding emperors.

"This mosaic was, in some sort, the very title-deed of the modern church, its evidence of identity with the imperial basilica. To preserve it just where it had stood for one thousand four hundred years, would be almost to annul the effects of the conflagration : it would make the new edifice a

continuation of the old. This was attended to. One of the first steps taken was carefully to remove all that remained of the ancient mosaic, by the skilful hands of the Vatican workmen in that exquisite art; and one of the last was to restore it to its place over the rebuilt arch."

To return: not a word was spoken to the sick pontiff on this dreadful calamity. At St. Paul's he had lived as a quiet monk, engaged in study and in teaching, and he loved the place with the force of an early attachment. It would have added a mental pang to his bodily sufferings to learn the total destruction of that venerable sanctuary, in which he had drawn down, by prayer, the blessings of heaven on his youthful labor.

In this happy ignorance the revered patient lingered on. To reunite the fractured bone, at his age, was beyond the power of surgery; his feebleness increased, and he seemed to be slowly sinking; when, on the 16th of August, more active symptoms supervened, especially delirium. On the following day, the holy pontiff expressed his desire to receive the Viaticum; and it was administered to him by Cardinal Bertazzoli. Thus, strengthened with the Bread of Angels, he calmly awaited his end. On the 18th he was quite tranquil; but, the next day, the worst symptoms manifested themselves. The pope pronounced vaguely the words, "Savona—Fontainebleau." Then his voice changed—sounds of Latin words showed that he was at prayer. He received Extreme Unction, and orders were sent to all the churches to recite in every Mass the prayer "for the pontiff at the point of death." While it was being said all through Rome, on the following morning, at five o'clock, the venerable man closed his glorious pontificate, and fell asleep in the Lord.

Thus died the sovereign pontiff Pius VII., at the age of eighty-one years and six days, after a reign of twenty-three years, five months and six days. His body was embalmed, and, arrayed in the white *soutane*, with the stole and pectoral cross, remained exposed on a state-bed, in one of the halls of the palace. The noble guard, an institution dating only from the commencement of the reign of Pius VII., kept guard within—four of these officers remaining near the body. An immense crowd covered the piazza of Monte Cavallo, struggling to obtain entrance, which was accorded only to a few at a time. The next day, the 22d, at nine A. M., the pope was conveyed to the Vatican. The cortege, preceded by detachments of cavalry, and numerous servitors of His Holiness bearing torches, moved slowly through the crowd. Seven pieces of artillery, with their caissons, followed. The pontiff's body was exposed in a litter drawn by two mules. The chief officers of his household and the twelve penitentiaries of St. Peter surrounded it; but no priest in the habit of his order attended, no religious chant was heard. The head of the corpse was covered with the pontifical hat. To the sound of martial music, and with the parade rather

of a general, is the sovereign pontiff borne to the temple. Such is the usage.

The funeral ceremonies, called *novendiat*i, were celebrated in the usual form, and with the time-honored pomp.

“Without entering into any general considerations on the subject of government,” says Cardinal Wiseman, “or discussing its best forms, or even expressing any opinion about them, but, on the other hand, judging things in their own times and places, and by the only principles then and there applicable to them, one may say unhesitatingly that the government of Pius VII., through his minister Consalvi, was just, liberal, and enlightened. No doubt, had that sovereign re-enacted the laws under which his subjects had groaned as an oppression, and re-established the republic which they still detested as a usurpation; had he acted in the teeth of all Europe, in spite of every principle which guided its sovereigns and statesmen in his restoration; had he even thereby risked for himself another catastrophe, and for Italy another war, there might now-a-days be many who would extol him as a hero, and almost deify him as a man beyond and above his age. Had he acted so, however, at that time, he would have been ridiculed, deserted, and abused by all parties, whig or tory, conservative or radical, as a fanatic, an unseasonable phenomenon, a man behind the age, which had outgrown revolutionary fancies; in fine, a dotard who had better have been translated from the cell of a prison to that of an asylum, than restored from exile to a throne. We doubt if even the sorry compliment of a newspaper paragraph would have been paid him for his pains.

“He was restored, as pope, to the temporal government of the portion of Italy held by his predecessors, without share in the warlike achievements of other princes, without a claim to the prizes of their victories. He was restored concurrently by Protestant and Catholic powers, with the applause of the civilized world, and amidst the acclamations of joy, or rather in accordance with the longings, of his own subjects. He was restored on the principle which formed the basis of all restorations at the time, that Europe, so long convulsed, and so long unsettled, should return to the normal state from which she had been wrenched. Empires were restored as empires, kingdoms resettled as kingdoms, grand-duchies as grand-duchies, republics as republics. And so the pope was given back to Rome, to rule as popes had done, by a system exceptional, and in a form the loss of which experience had proved to be hurtful. The independence of the pope, that is, the combination in one of spiritual rule over the whole Catholic Church with a temporal limited sovereignty, had been sensibly demonstrated to be an important element in the readjustment of Europe. The evils resulting from the subjection of the common Father of all the faithful to one of his more powerful children had been universally felt; and the continuation of such

an irregular condition by a peaceful subjugation of the ecclesiastical to any lay power, would have been only providing for the habitual derangement of religious action."

Neither of the foreign occupations, the republican or the imperial, lasted sufficiently long to interrupt that succession of men devoted to study which Italy, and especially Rome, has always kept up. Indeed, after the restoration, there yet survived veterans who had gathered their first laurels on the fields of a peaceful country, unconscious for generations of a hostile invasion.

Such, for instance, was the antiquarian Fea, one of those men of the old school, like the Scaligers, the Vossii, or rather Grævius and Gronovius, who could bring to the illustration of any subject a heap of erudition from every imaginable source, from classics or Fathers, from medals, vases, bas-reliefs, or unheeded fragments of antique objects, hidden amidst the rubbish of museum magazines.

At the period on which we are engaged, science was efficiently represented in Rome. Professors Conti and Calandrelli are well-known in the annals of astronomy for the regularity and accuracy of their observations in the Roman observatory, annually published, and by other valuable contributions to mathematical science in its highest branches. They were inseparable companions, and most faithful friends, and though the latter had retired from public duties, many still living attended the lectures of the former. Pius VII. encouraged first, then chartered and endowed, an academy or society, yet existing, for practical science, established by Professor Scarpellini, and having its seat in the capitol. Doctor Morichini, besides being a most able physician, was the friend and often the co-laborer of Sir Humphrey Davy, who made many experiments at the Sapienza in Rome, to which he was warmly attached. Doctor Morichini was the first who discovered, and applied, the magnetizing power of the violet ray in the prism.

It would be easy to add a list of names of persons well versed in science who then lived and wrote, as Mai, Deani, Settele, Richebach, Vagnuzzi, and the numerous professors at the university; but names like those of Father Vico, and Father Secchi, are still better known to scientific Europe, in proof that Rome is not behind other great cities in its scientific attainments.

The reign of Pius VII. was, in spite of its vicissitudes, most propitious for art. What has been said about language may, in some measure, be extended to this. The condition to which it had sunk could only be remedied by the complete transfer of affection and principle, from it to a better, indeed a faultless, period. And what could that be but classical art, alone supreme in sculpture? There was, in fact, no other school. The early

Christian, that of the Pisans, was itself a noble effort to revive the beauties of the heathen school, chastened by the feelings of a better religion; the strong development by Michael Angelo was the burst of individual genius, not to be imitated with impunity by any less than himself. The intermediate period presented neither models sufficient, nor principles distinct enough, to become the basis of a new system in the glyptic art. To Canova undoubtedly belongs the praise of having revived, or raised from a low state of affectation, exaggeration, and meanness of conception, this simplest of artistic resources for exciting grand ideas of God's noblest earthly creation, in the mind of the being on whom he conferred that dignity. Canova's monument of Clement XIV. took the world of art by surprise; and his return to the simple beauty, the calm attitudes, the quiet folds, the breadth and majesty of ancient works, soon put him at the head of a European school. And if he has been surpassed in some things by his followers, for example, by the great Dane, Thorwaldsen, it must never be forgotten that no step in excellence, not even the last to perfection, is equal to the stride from grovelling degradation to healthy action and truthful principle; especially when this at once places him who makes it in a pre-eminence that becomes a standard for rival excellence. And such certainly was Canova's position.

The Church is neither Goth nor Vandal, which shines bright before you, in those precious halls and graceful cabinets, in which the successive popes, whose name they bear, have worthily, or daintily, preserved the treasures and gems of ancient art.

After his restoration, Pius VII. continued his interrupted work. It is recorded of Fray Luis de Leon, the eminent Spanish professor, that, having been suspended from his chair for five years through hostile intrigue, and having been triumphantly restored, his lecture-room was crowded to hear, as it was hoped, his indignant vindication of himself. If they were disappointed, they were doubtless edified, when the audience heard him quietly commence by, "*Heri dicebamus*," "in yesterday's lesson we were saying;" and continue the subject of his last lecture. It was with just such serenity that the good pontiff calmly resumed the works of his glorious reign—" *Ibi manum apposuit ubi opus desierat*." The gallery which more especially bears his name, and which crosses the great Belvedere court of the Vatican, is one of the most beautiful portions of the Museum. It seems indeed wonderful how such a building could have been erected, richly decorated, and filled with masterpieces of art, in so short a time.

To the library Pius made considerable additions, not only of manuscripts, but of many thousands of printed volumes. Among these was a magnificent collection of bibles and biblical works. The Pantheon had long been to Rome what Santa Croce was to Florence, and Westminster Abbey used

once to be to England—the mausoleum of great men. The busts of distinguished Italians were arranged round its walls, and gave a profane appearance to the Church. By order of the sovereign pontiff a new gallery was prepared in the Capitol, under the name of Protomotheca; and in one night of 1820, the whole of the busts were removed from the Pantheon, and carried thither.

It is, however, one even greater glory of Pius's reign, that he commenced that series of excavations round ancient monuments which have been continued to the present day, and have done more for solid antiquarian learning than any previous study. Former excavations had been carried on mainly to obtain works of art, and were filled up again as fast as made. But, in 1807, the Arch of Septimus Severus, which had been more than half buried in the ground, was cleared of all rubbish, and an open space left quite round. A spur was added to the Colosseum to prevent the walls from falling.

There are three fine portraits of Pius VII.: that by Wicar, painted for Cacault, the French ambassador at Rome; that by David, painted for his "Coronation of Napoleon;" and that by Lawrence. The portraits in the medals by Cerbara and Girometti are also highly esteemed.



256. LEO XII.—A. D. 1823.



THE interval between the close of one pontificate and the commencement of another is a period of some excitement, and necessarily of much anxiety.

In elective monarchy, and in the only one surviving in Europe, there is of course a space of provisional arrangements, foreseen and predisposed. Time is required for the electors to assemble, from distant provinces, or even foreign countries; and this is occupied in paying the last tribute of respect and affection to the departed pontiff. His body is embalmed, clothed in the robes of his office, of the penitential color, and laid on a couch of state within one of the chapels in Saint Peter's, so that the faithful may not only see it, but kiss its feet.

These preliminaries occupy three days, during which rises, as if by magic, or from the crypts below, an immense catafalque, a colossal architectural structure, which fills the nave of that basilica, illustrated by inscriptions and adorned by statuary. Before this huge monument, for nine days, funeral rites are performed, closed by a funeral oration. The body of the last pope has a uniform resting-place in Saint Peter's. A plain sarcophagus, of marbled stucco, will be there seen, though hardly noticed, by the traveller, over a door beside the choir, on which is simply painted the title of the latest pontiff. On the death of his successor it is broken down at the top, the coffin is removed to the under church, and that of the new claimant for repose is substituted for it. This change takes place late in the evening, and is considered private.

In the afternoon of the last day of the novendiali, as they are called, the cardinals assemble in a church near the Quirinal palace, and walk thence in procession, accompanied by their conclavisti, a secretary, a chaplain, and a servant or two, to the great gate of that royal residence, in which one will remain as master and supreme lord. Of course the hill is crowded by persons, lining the avenue kept open for the procession. Cardinals never before seen by them, or not for many years, pass before them; eager eyes scan and measure them, and try to conjecture, from fancied omens in eye, or figure, or expression, who will be shortly the sovereign of their fair city; and, what is much more, the head of the Catholic Church, from the rising to the setting sun. They all enter equal over the threshold of that gate; they share together the supreme rule, temporal and spiritual; there

is still embosomed in them all, the voice yet silent, that will soon sound from one tongue, over all the world, and the dormant germ of that authority which will soon again be concentrated in one man alone. To-day they are all equal; perhaps to-morrow one will sit enthroned, and all the rest will kiss his feet; one will be sovereign, the others his subjects; one the shepherd, and the others his flock.

This is a singular and a deeply interesting moment, a scene not easily forgotten. There pass before us men of striking figure, and of regal aspect. There is the great statesman of whom we have spoken, somewhat bowed by grief and infirmity, yet still retaining his brilliant gaze. There is the courteous, yet intrepid, Pacca—tall and erect, with a bland look that covers a sterling and high-principled heart; there is the truly venerable and saintly de Gregorio, lately a prisoner for his fidelity, with snow-white head, and less firm step than his companion—Galeffi, less intellectual in features, but with a calm genial look that makes him a general favorite; Opizzoni, already, and, till lately, archbishop of Bologna, who had boldly asserted the claims of papal, over those of imperial, authority to his counsels, in a manner that had gained him imprisonment; beloved and venerated by his flock, and admired at Rome, dignified and amiable in look. There were many others whose names have not remained inscribed so deeply in the annals of the time, or have retained their hold on the memory of its survivors. But one was there, who no doubt entered as he came out—without a flutter of anxiety, when he faced the gate on either side. This was Odescalchi, young still, most noble in rank and in heart, with saintliness marked in his countenance, and probably already meditating his retreat from dignity and office, and the exchange of the purple robe for the novice's black gown. Many who preferred holiness to every other qualification looked on his modest features with hope, perhaps, that they might soon glow beneath the ponderous tiara. But God has said: "Look not on his countenance, nor on the height of his stature. Nor do I judge according to the look of men; for man seeth the things that appear, but the Lord beholdeth the heart."*

On this occasion, when the cardinals assembled after the death of Pius VII., Cardinal della Somaglia, dean, stated that he had received from his predecessor some papers, with orders not to open them till after the pope's death, and in presence of the sacred college assembled. On opening it his Eminence found two briefs, dated at Fontainebleau. By the first the pope ordered the cardinals to assemble at once under the presidency of the cardinal dean, and derogating from the ancient constitutions, to consider only the force of circumstances and the dangers of the Church, to elect a

* 1 Reg., xvi. 7.

pope with the least possible delay by a plurality of votes. The second brief contained the same dispositions, except that the pope required, according to ancient custom, a vote of two-thirds to constitute a valid election. Monsignor Mazio, secretary of the sacred college, then declared that he was the depositary of a third brief, which, by the pope's orders, he had drawn up and retained. This brief was dated in October, 1821, contemporaneous with the bull against the Carbonari. The Holy Father ordered them to proceed to an election as soon as possible after his death, if possible by acclamation, and so to say over his expiring body, that the election should be secret, and without waiting for cardinals absent from Rome, without notifying the accredited ministers, without informing the courts, without taking any steps regarding his funeral till it was accomplished. The Holy Father, with most pathetic expressions, recommended union; reminding the cardinals that they were almost all created by him, and that gratitude, together with a love for religion and their country, should insure their obedience. This last brief caused great emotion. Yet the sacred college felt that none of these briefs, under the present altered circumstances, required adoption.

The conclave proceeded, therefore, in the usual form. It began on the 22d of September, 1823.

The conclave,* which formerly used to take place in the Vatican, was, on this occasion, and has been on subsequent ones, held in the Quirinal palace. This noble building, known equally by the name of Monte Cavallo, consists of a large quadrangle, round which run the papal apartments. From this stretches out, the length of a whole street, an immense wing, divided in its two upper floors into a great number of small but complete suites of apartments, occupied permanently, or occasionally, by persons attached to the court.

During conclave these are allotted, literally so, to the cardinals, each of whom lives apart, with his attendants. His food is brought daily from his own house, and is overhauled, and delivered to him in the shape of "broken victuals," by the watchful guardians of the *turns* and lattices, through which alone any thing, even conversation, can penetrate into the seclusion of that sacred retreat. For a few hours, the first evening, the doors are left open, and the nobility, the diplomatic body, and in fact all presentable persons may roam from cell to cell, paying a brief compliment to its occupant, perhaps speaking the same good wishes to fifty, which they know can only be accomplished in one. After that all is closed; a wicket is left accessible for any cardinal to enter, who is not yet arrived; but every aperture is

* English writers commit a common error by speaking of "the conclave," as meaning the assembled body of cardinals, on any occasion. The word is only applied to them when "locked up together," for election of the pope. When assembled by him, they compose "a consistory."

jealously guarded by faithful janitors, judges, and prelates of various tribunals, who relieve one another. Every letter even is opened and read, that no communications may be held with the outer world. The very street on which the wing of the conclave looks is barricaded and guarded by a picket at each end ; and as, fortunately, opposite there are no private residences, and all the buildings have access from the back, no inconvenience is thereby created.

While conclave lasts, the administrative power rests in the hands of the cardinal chamberlain, who strikes his own coins during its continuance ; and he is assisted by three cardinals, called the "heads of orders," because they represent the three orders in the sacred college of bishops, priests, and deacons. The ambassadors of the great powers receive fresh credentials to the conclave, and proceed in state, to present them to this delegation, at the *grille*. An address, carefully prepared, is delivered by the envoy, and receives a well-pondered reply from the presiding cardinal.

In the mean time, within, and unseen from without, *ferret opus*. That human feelings, and even human passions, may find their way into the most guarded sanctuaries, we all know too well. But the history of conclaves is far from justifying the estimate made of them by many prejudiced writers. There will indeed be, at all times, diversities of opinion on matters of ecclesiastical and civil polity. As to both, this is sufficiently obvious. For, in the former, there will be some who conscientiously desire things to be ruled with a strong hand, and corrected by severe measures ; while others will be in favor of a more gentle pressure, and a gradual reform. Some will be inclined to yield more to the demands of the temporal power, and so prevent violent collisions ; others will think it safer to resist every smaller encroachment, that may lead to greater usurpations. It may even happen that a politico-ecclesiastical cause of division exists. These may consider Austria as the truest friend of religion, and best defender of the Church ; while those may look on France as most earnest and powerful, in attachment to the faith.

And it must, indeed, be further observed, that the election is of a prince as well as of a pontiff, and that serious diversities of opinion may be held, relative to the civil policy most conducive to the welfare of subjects, and the peace even of the world.

Thus, upon the three great divisions of papal rule, the purely ecclesiastical, the purely civil, and the mixed, there may be held, by men of most upright sentiments and desires, opinions widely different ; and when a choice has to be made of one who has to work out his own principles, it is most natural that each elector will desire them to be in harmony with his own. But it is equally in conformity with ordinary social laws, that, in spite of personal peculiarities of ideas, men should combine in the unity of

certain general principles, and that some individuals, more energetic or more ardent than others, should become the representatives and leaders of all consentient with them, and so come to be reputed heads of parties, or even their creators.

Such divisions in opinion will be more deeply marked, and more inevitably adopted, after violent agitations and great changes, such as had distinguished the pontificate of Pius. The Church and the State had almost had to be reorganized, after such devastation as had completely swept away the ancient landmarks. New kingdoms had arisen which literally effaced the outlines of old ecclesiastical jurisdiction, and even what before had been a Catholic State had come under Protestant dominion. Conventual life and property had been annihilated in most of Europe; canon law had been abolished, church endowments had been confiscated; civil codes had been introduced at variance with ecclesiastical jurisprudence; the authority of bishops had been deprived of all means of enforcing its decrees; in fine, a state of things had been produced totally different from what the Catholic world had ever before seen.

Many still alive remembered well the epoch antecedent to these changes, and formed living links with what had been, and what was justly considered the healthy condition of the Church. They deplored the alteration; and they believed that too much had been conceded to the changeable spirit of the times. This would be enough to form a most serious and most deeply conscientious party, in the highest and best sense of the word. Others might just as conscientiously believe that prudence and charity had guided every portion of the late policy, and wish it to be continued under the same guidance. Without exaggeration, we may allow such conflicts of principle to have swayed the minds of many who entered the conclave of 1823; while there were others who had espoused no decided views; but had simply at heart the greatest general good, and reserved their final judgment to the period when they must authoritatively pronounce it. From such a condition of things it may happen that a papal election will appear like a compromise. The extreme views on either side must be softened: the intermediate party will do this. Two-thirds of the votes are required for a valid election. If this proportion could be commanded by one section, it would cease to be a party, and, therefore, where different opinions divide the body, a moderate view, more or less conciliatory, will prevail after a time; and the choice will probably fall on one who has lost the confidence of none, but who has not taken a prominent part in public affairs.

Twice a day the cardinals meet in the chapel belonging to the palace, included in the inclosure, and there, on tickets so arranged that the voter's name cannot be seen, write the name of him for whom they give their suffrage.

These papers are examined in their presence, and if the number of votes given to any one do not constitute the majority, they are burnt in such a manner that the smoke, issuing through a flue, is visible to the crowd usually assembled in the square outside. Some day, instead of this usual signal to disperse, the sound of pick and hammer is heard, a small opening is seen in the wall which had temporarily blocked up the great window over the palace gateway. At last the masons of the conclave have opened a rude door, through which steps out on the balcony the first Cardinal Deacon, and proclaims to the many, or to the few, who may happen to be waiting, that they again possess a sovereign and a pontiff. On the occasion of which we treat, the announcement made on the 28th of September ran as follows :

“I give you tidings of great joy ; we have, as pope, the most eminent and reverend Lord Hannibal, Cardinal of the Holy Roman Church, Della Genga, Priest of the title of Saint Mary's beyond the Tiber, who has assumed the name of Leo XII.”

The cardinal thus raised to the pontifical throne, was cardinal-vicar ; yet so afflicted with sickness that he was known to few, having been confined most of his days to his chamber and his bed.

Hannibal Della Genga was the sixth of ten children of Count Hilary Della Genga and Mary Louisa Periberti, and was born at the family seat August 20, 1760. He received his early education in a college at Osimo, from which he passed to the college of Piceno, in Rome. There, embracing the ecclesiastical state, he entered the *Accademia Ecclesiastica*, and was ordained priest by Cardinal Gerdil, June 4, 1783.

Attracting the attention of Pius VI., on a visit paid to the house by that pope, he was taken into his household. In 1793, notwithstanding his youth and his strong remonstrances, he was made archbishop of Tyre *in partibus*, and consecrated by Cardinal York, at the cathedral of Frascati. He was then sent as nuncio to Luzerne ; and in the following year succeeded the illustrious Pacca, in the more important nunciature of Cologne. Benevolent towards all, and always worthy ; serious without pride ; an enlightened friend and protector of art ; of perfect serenity ; full of wit and repartee in society, yet never descending to unseasonable or unbecoming pleasantry ; a severe observer of the duties inspired by his vocation and rank ; retiring from every occasion of public distraction, as soon as his dignity seemed compromised, but assiduous whenever his conduct could edify ; familiar with the learned and artists ; a bishop in all the rigor of the term ; a prudent and beloved statesman, condescending when conscience permitted it ; rigorously adhering to right, when the good of the Church and his sovereign required, he won the respect and esteem of all who had occasion to meet him.

In 1805 he became the subject of a grave contest between the Holy See and Napoleon. For the pope named him extraordinary envoy to the German Diet, and the emperor wished the Bishop of Orleans to be appointed. The first prevailed, and ordered the return of Monsignor Della Genga to Germany. He resided at Munich, and was there universally esteemed. In 1808 he was in Paris, engaged in diplomatic affairs, on behalf of his sovereign; and having witnessed, on returning to Rome, the treatment which he was receiving from his enemies, he retired to the abbey of Monticelli, which he held *in commendam*, and there devoted himself, as he thought for life, to the instruction of a choir of children, and the cultivation of music.

He was drawn from his obscurity at the restoration, and deputed to present to Louis XVIII., at Paris, the pope's letter of congratulation. This circumstance led to differences between him and Cardinal Consalvi,—nobly repaired on both sides, when the one had mounted the throne. But Della Genga returned so broken in health that he thought only of returning to his abbey, soon to fill the long sepulchre which he had prepared for his interment.

Yet the Almighty sustained that frail form, and Della Genga was, in 1816, raised to the purple and made bishop of Sinigaglia. In 1820 he was made Vicar of Rome, and discharged the duties of his office with exemplary exactness, zeal, and prudence, till the day when he was raised to the throne.

The votes of the sacred college were divided between Cardinals Severoli, Castiglioni, and Della Genga. Austria, however, excluded the first, in order to secure the election of the second; but the sacred college, to act without bias, chose Cardinal Della Genga.

Alarmed at his elevation, he at first resisted and would not yield. "Why," he exclaimed, "would you make a skeleton a pope?" The newly elected pontiff generally takes the name of the pope from whom he received the cardinal's hat. Della Genga, from delicacy, took that of Leo XII.* He said to Cardinal Castiglione, that it was a pity that they did not adopt the wishes of Pius VII., who called his friend Castiglione Pius VIII.; but that he, himself, broken down by infirmities, had not long to live, and that the cardinal would certainly succeed under that title.

On the 5th of October the imposing ceremony of Leo's coronation took place. No other court could present so grand and so overpowering a spectacle. In the very centre of the sublimest building on earth, there

* Although it is a well-known fact that a pope on his accession takes a new name, by usage already in the catalogue of his predecessors, it is not so generally known that, in the signature to the originals of bulls, he retains his Christian name. Thus Leo XII. would continue to sign himself as "Hannibal," and the present Pope signs "John," at the foot of the most important ecclesiastical documents. The form is, "Placet Joannes."

stood around a circle of officers, nobles, princes, and ambassadors in their dazzling costumes; and within them the highest dignitaries of religion on earth, bishops and patriarchs of the western and of the eastern Church, with the sacred college in their embroidered robes, crowned by heads which an artist might have rejoiced to study, and which claimed reverence from every beholder. But rising on his throne, above them, was he whom they had raised there, in spite of tears and remonstrances. Surely, if a life of severe discipline, of constant suffering, and of long seclusion had not sufficed to extinguish ambition in his breast, his present position was calculated naturally to arouse it. If ever in his life there could be an instant of fierce temptation to self-applause, this might be considered the one.

And wherefore this pause in the triumphant procession towards the altar over the apostles' tomb, and to the throne beyond it? It is to check the rising of any such feeling, if it present itself, and to secure an antidote to any sweet draught which humanity may offer; that so the altar may be approached in humility, and the throne occupied in meekness. A clerk of the papal chapel holds up right before him a reed, surmounted by a handful of flax. This is lighted: it flashes up for a moment, dies out at once, and its thin ashes fall at the pontiff's feet, as the chaplain, in a bold, sonorous voice, chants aloud, "*Pater Sancte, sic transit gloria mundi*"—"Holy Father, thus passeth away the world's glory!" Three times is this impressive rite performed in that procession, as though to counteract the earthly influences of a triple crown.

The pope, pale and languid, seemed to bend his head, not in acquiescence merely, but as though in testimony to that solemn declaration; like one who could already give it the evidence of experience. His eye was soft and tender, moist indeed, and glowing with spiritual emotion. He looked upon that passing flash as on a symbol which he deeply felt, as on the history of a whole pontificate—of his own—not long to read. But the calm serenity with which he seemed to peruse it, the sincere acceptance of the lesson stamped upon his features, allowed no suspicion of an inward feeling that required the warning. It seemed in most perfect harmony with his inmost thoughts.

Years of suffering, by lowering illness, had robbed the pope, already in his sixty-fourth year, of many graces which adorned his earlier life. He appeared feeble and fatigued; his features, never strongly marked, wore upon them a sallow tinge, though the marks of age were not deeply engraven on them. His eye, however, and his voice, compensated for all. There was a softness and yet a penetration in the first, which gained at sight affection and excited awe—which invited you to speak familiarly, yet checked any impulse to become unguarded. And his voice was courteously

bland and winning; he spoke without excitement, gently, deliberately, and yet flowingly. One might hear him make severe remarks on what had been wrong, but never in an impetuous way, nor with an irritated tone.

There was a peculiar dignity and gracefulness, natural and simple, in his movements, especially in ecclesiastical functions. Being tall in person, the ample folds, and even somewhat protracted length of the pontifical robes gave grandeur to his figure, though his head might have been considered small; he stood conspicuous among his attendants; and he moved with ease, and yet with stateliness, from place to place. And then his countenance glowed with a fervent look of deep devotion, as though his entire being were immersed in the solemn rite on which he was intent, and saw, and heard, and felt naught else.

There were two portions of the sacred function here described, that displayed these two gifts, immeasurably, indeed, removed as they are from one another in quality, but most admirably harmonizing when combined. The first of these acts was the communion at that his first pontifical celebration, and the first at all witnessed by many. It is not easy to describe this touching and overaweing ceremonial to one who has never witnessed it. The person who has once seen it with attention and intelligence needs no description. He can never forget it.

In St. Peter's, as in all ancient churches, the high altar stands in the centre, so as to form the point from which nave, aisle, and chancel radiate or branch. Moreover, the altar has its face to the chancel, and its back to the front-door of the church. Consequently, the choir is before the altar, though, according to modern arrangements, it would look behind it. The papal throne is erected opposite the altar, that is, it forms the furthest point in the sanctuary, or choir. It is ample and lofty, ascended by several steps, on which are grouped or seated the pontiff's attendants. On either side, wide apart, at nearly the breadth of the nave, are benches, on which assist the orders of cardinals, bishops, and priest, on one side, and deacons on the other, with bishops and prelates behind them; and then, between them and the altar, two lines of the splendid noble guard, forming a hedge to multitudes, as varied in class and clan as were the visitors at Jerusalem, at the first Christian Whitsuntide. Then, beyond, rises truly grand the altar, surmounted by its sumptuous canopy, which, at any other time, would lead the eye upwards to the interior of St. Peter's peerless crown, the dome hanging as if from heaven, over his tomb. But not now. At the moment to which we are alluding, it is the altar which rivets, which concentrates, all attention. On its highest step, turned towards the people, has just stood the pontiff, supported and surrounded by his ministers, whose widening ranks descended to the lowest step, forming a pyramid of rich and varied materials, but moving, living, and acting with unstudied

case. Now, in a moment, it is deserted. The high-priest, with all his attendants, has retired to his throne; and the altar stands, in its noble simplicity, apparently abandoned by its dignified servants. And yet it is still the object of all reverence. There is something greater there than all that has just left it. Towards it all look; towards it all bend, or kneel, and worship. There stand upon it, alone, the consecrated elements, on the paten and in the chalice. The sovereign pontiff himself is nothing in their presence: he is a man, dust and ashes, there, in the presence of his Lord and Maker.

The cardinal deacon advances to the front of the altar, takes thence the paten, elevates it, and then deposits it on a rich veil, hung round the neck of the kneeling sub-deacon, who bears it to the throne. Then he himself elevates, turning from side to side, the jewelled chalice; and, with it raised on high, descends the steps of the altar, and slowly and solemnly bears it along the space between altar and throne. A crash is heard of swords lowered to the ground, and their scabbards ringing on the marble pavement, as the guards fall on one knee, and the multitudes bow down in humble adoration of Him whom they believe to be passing by.

After this, the new pontiff was borne to the *loggia*, or balcony, above the door of St. Peter's, and the triple crown was placed upon his head by the cardinal dean, the venerable Pacea. He then stood up to give his first solemn benediction to the multitudes assembled below. As he rose from his chair to his full height, raised his eyes, and extended his arms, then, joining his hands, stretched forth his right hand and blessed, nothing could exceed the beauty and nobleness of every motion and of every act. Earnest and from the heart, paternal and royal at once, seemed that action, which, indeed, was far more; for every Catholic there—and there were few else—received it as the first exercise, in his favor, of vicarial power from Him whose hands alone essentially contain “benediction and glory, honor and power.”

The promises of the new reign were bright and spring-like. If the pope had not taken any part in public affairs, if his health had kept him even out of sight, during previous years, he now displayed an intelligence, and an activity, which bade fair to make his pontificate one of great celebrity. But he had scarcely entered on its duties, when all the ailments of his shattered constitution assailed him with increased fury, and threatened to cut short at once all his hopeful beginnings. Early in December he was so ill as to suspend audiences; before the end he was considered past recovery. In the course of January, 1824, he began to rally, against all hope.

All Rome attributed the unexpected recovery to the prayers of a saintly bishop, who was sent for, at the pope's request, from his distant See of Macerata. This was Monsignor Strambi, of the Congregation of the

Passion. He came immediately, saw the pope, assured him of his recovery, as he had offered up to heaven his own valueless life in exchange for one so precious. It did indeed seem as if he had transfused his own vitality into the pope's languid frame. He himself died the next day, the 31st of December, and the pontiff rose like one from the grave.

As he recovered, his character and his policy gradually developed themselves. In the first a great simplicity, in the second an active spirit of reform, was manifested.

One of the vast enterprises undertaken in this reign was the rebuilding of the great Ostian basilica, consumed by fire in the last days of his predecessor. It was soon discovered that no single portion of the edifice was secure, and that not a fragment of wall could be allowed to stand. Many were for merely covering the centre altar and tomb with a moderately-sized church, and leaving the ample nave to be a Palmyra in the wilderness. But the Holy Father took a more generous view. In spite of an exhausted treasury and of evil times, he resolved to begin the work of reconstruction on the original scale of the immense edifice which bore the name, in golden mosaic, of his holy patron, St. Leo the Great. He appealed, indeed, to the charity of the faithful throughout the world, and he was generously answered. But the sums thus collected scarcely sufficed for preliminary expenses. In the mean time, the crow-bar and the mine were dislodging huge masses from Alpine quarries, the blocks of granite which had to form the monolith shafts of the giant columns for the nave and aisles—in all, four rows, besides the two, still more colossal, which the Emperor of Austria gave to support the triumphal arch leading to the sanctuary. Each, when shaped on the mountain-side, had to be carried down to the sea, embarked in a vessel of special construction, brought round Sicily into the Tiber, and landed in front of the church.

Another great and useful work, not fully completed till the reign of his second successor, was the repression of the ravages committed by the Anio at Tivoli. One of those traitorous outbreaks of this classical stream occurred in November, 1826. It was more than usually destructive; and the ravages committed, and the damage inflicted, on the neighboring inhabitants were beyond the reach of local resources. The pope gave immediate orders for effectual repairs, on such a scale as would give security against future repetition of the calamity. A great deal was done; and, in October of the following year, he went, according to his practice, without giving notice, to inspect the progress of his works. It may well be imagined what delight this unexpected visit caused to the inhabitants of that poor, though industrious and beautiful city. They crowded around him, and accompanied him to the cathedral, where, after the usual function of benediction, he received in the sacristy the clergy and people of the place.

Later, it was found necessary to take a bolder and more effectual measure, that of cutting a double and lofty tunnel through the hard travertine rock, and diverting the main stream before it reaches the town. These *cunicoli*, as they are called, form one of the grandest works of Gregory XVI.'s pontificate. They are worthy of imperial Rome, bold, lofty, airy, and perfectly finished. Instead of having diminished the natural beauties of Tivoli, they have enriched it with an additional waterfall of great elevation, for they pour their stream in one sheet into the valley beyond ; and when time shall have clothed its border with shrubs and its stones with moss, it will not be easy to discern in the work the hand of man, unless a well-timed and well-turned inscription records its author. One of the annual medals of Gregory's pontificate not only records, but represents it.

The policy of the pope manifested an active spirit of reform. This pervaded every part of his public government, from general administration to minute details. He placed the finances of the State under rigid administration, and brought them into such a condition, that he was able early to diminish taxation to no inconsiderable degree. Immediately after his coronation, he abolished several imposts ; in March, 1824, and January, 1825, still further reductions were made in taxes which pressed unequally on particular classes. Some of these abolitions, it may be remarked, affected considerably the private revenues of the pontiff. What rendered the reductions more striking was, that they were made in the face of considerable expenses immediately expected, on occasion of the Jubilee. But so far from these having disturbed the equilibrium of the financial system, the pope found himself able, at its close, that is, on January 1st, 1826, to reduce the property-tax twenty-five per cent throughout his dominions.

As it was the heaviest and principal of all the taxes affecting land and whatever exists upon it, this measure was the removal of a universal burden, and a relief to every species of industry and of capital.

It was generally understood that the pope had another most highly beneficial measure in contemplation ; and that, by the rigid economy of which his treasurer Cristaldi was the soul, he had nearly put by the whole sum requisite for its completion. This was the repurchase of the immense landed property in the papal States, settled, with equity of redemption, by the Congress of Vienna, upon the family of Beauharnais. All the land which had belonged to religious corporations, including many large and noble monastic edifices, in several fertile provinces of the north, had been given as a dotation to Prince Eugene, with remainder to his family. The inconveniences and evils resulting from this most arbitrary arrangement were numerous and manifest. Not only was a gigantic system of absenteeism established perpetually in the heart of the country, and a very large income carried abroad, which otherwise would have been laid out on the

spot ; but an undue influence was thereby created over a very susceptible population, through the widely scattered patronage held by the administrators of the property. In every greater town some spacious building contained the offices of the *appannaggio*, as it was called, with a staff of collectors, clerks, overseers, land-surveyors, and higher officers ; and in almost every village was a branch of this little empire, for managing the farms, and even smaller holdings, of former communities. Many of the employed were, moreover, foreigners, whose religion was in declared antipathy to that of the natives, and whose morals neither edified nor improved the population.

To get rid of such an unnatural, and anomalous state of things could not but be desirable for all parties. To the papal government, and to the inhabitants of those provinces, it was a constant eyesore, or rather a thorn in the side. An immense bulk of property, unalienable except in mass, mixed up with the possessions of natives, checked the free course of speculation in land, by exchange or purchase, and kept up the competition of overwhelming resources, though far from well applied, in cultivation and management. To the holder of the property, its tenure must have been very unsatisfactory. Situated so far from his residence and his other estates, it had to be managed by a cumbrous and complicated administration, scattered over a broad territory ; which, no doubt, swallowed up a considerable share of profits.

It was, therefore, one object of Leo's financial economy to redeem this valuable portion of his dominions from the hand of the stranger. Had his reign been prolonged a few years, he would probably have succeeded ; but his successor occupied the throne for a period too brief to accomplish much ; and the revolution, which broke out at the very moment of Gregory's accession, soon absorbed the contents of the treasury, and threw into confusion the finance of the country for many years.

Still, at a later period (1845), he was able to accomplish this work. Under the papal sanction, a company was formed at Rome, in which the highest nobility took shares and direction, to repurchase the entire apanage. Sufficient means were soon raised ; the predetermined sum was paid ; the country was cleared of the stranger power ; and the property was easily sold to neighboring or other proprietors, on equitable conditions. Gradual liquidation for the land and the stock on it was permitted, and thus many families have greatly increased their former possessions.

Besides improving so materially the financial state of his dominions, the pope turned his attention to many other points of government. Soon after his accession he published a new code, or digest of law. This was effected by the *Motu proprio* of October 5th, 1824, the first anniversary of his coronation. It is entitled *Reformatio Tribunalium*, and begins by mentioning

that Pius VII. had appointed a commission, composed of able advocates, to reform the mode of procedure in 1816; and that on his own accession, he had ordered a thorough revision to be made of their labors. After great pains taken to correct and perfect it, it had been submitted to a congregation of cardinals, and approved by them. But the pope adds, that he had been particularly anxious for the reduction of legal fees and expenses, and that he was ready to make any sacrifice of the public revenues, necessary to secure "cheap justice" to his subjects.

Education, in its highest branches, was another object of his solicitude. The papal States contained several universities, besides other places of education which partook of the nature and possessed the privileges of such institutions. By the bull "*Quod Divina Sapiencia*," published August 28th, 1824, Leo reorganized the entire university system. The universities of Rome and Bologna composed the first class. Ferrara, Perugia, Camerino, Macerata, and Fermo had universities of an inferior grade. Those of the first class had each thirty-eight, those of the second seventeen chairs.

To take Rome as the example of the first class: it was composed of theological, medical, legal, and philosophical faculties, or colleges, as they are called in Italy, to which was added another with the title of the philological; and these were completely reconstructed. The philosophical college comprehended not only every branch of mathematics, but chemistry and engineering. A youth could offer himself for examination and receive degrees in this faculty. And so in the philological department, degrees could be taken in all the languages of which chairs exist there, that is, in Greek, Hebrew, Syro-Chaldaic, and Arabic. The members of the faculties were not merely professors of the university, but men eminent in the pursuits which they represented, in other institutions of the city, or even in private life.

A special congregation was created for the supervision of studies throughout the papal States, under the title of "The Congregation of Studies;" to which belongs the duty of approving, correcting, or rejecting changes suggested by the different faculties; of filling up vacancies in chairs; and watching over the discipline, morals, and principles of all the universities and other schools.

It is certain that a new impulse was given to study by this vigorous organization. Scholars from every part of Italy, and from other countries, not content with obtaining the annual prizes, studied for the attainment of degrees.

But a more important improvement was made by this constitution. With the exception of a few theological professorships, possessed, from a long period, by religious orders, all the chairs were thrown open to public

competition.* On a vacancy by death or superannuation, notice was to be given, and a day appointed for examination in writing of such competitors as had sent in satisfactory testimonials of character. The only ground of exception and preference was the having published such a work on the matter of the class as might well stand in the place of a mere examination paper, and as was allowed to prove the author's competency for the professorship to which he aspired.† And, in addition to this, the pope made the emoluments of the chairs better objects of ambition, by considerably increasing them. Indeed, he was most generous in providing means for the higher education of his subjects, lay and clerical. While he restored to the Society of Jesus the schools of the great Roman college, which had been carried on by the secular clergy since the time of Clement XIV., he founded and endowed classes under the superintendence of the latter at the old German College, where education begins almost with its very rudiments, and reaches the highest point of ecclesiastical erudition.

It will not be uninteresting to add, that Leo XII. ordered the works of Galileo, and others of a similar character, to be removed from the Index, in the edition published during his pontificate.

Speaking of Church matters, it would be unjust to the memory of this pope not to mention other improvements, which were the fruits of his reforming spirit. He made a new readjustment of the parishes of Rome. There, as elsewhere, great inequalities existed in the labor and in the remuneration of parish priests. The richer quarters of the city, of course, were comparatively more lucrative than where all was misery; and yet the calls of charity were most urgent in the last. Leo made a new division of parishes; of seventy-one existing parish churches he suppressed thirty-seven, some very small, or too near one another, and retained thirty-four. To these he added nine, making the total number forty-three.‡ He moreover equalized their revenues; so that wherever the income of the parish priest did not reach a definite sum considered necessary for a decent maintenance, this was made up from other sources guaranteed by the government. Every one must approve of this just reform. But it is only fair to add that nothing approaching to riches was thus provided. Ecclesiastical wealth is unknown in Rome, and the maintenance secured to a rector of a Roman parish would be treated, says Cardinal Wiseman, as a sorry provision for a London curate.§

* "Professores in posterum deligantur per concursum." Tit. v. No. 53.

† Tit. v. No. 70.

‡ Bull "Super Universum," Nov. 1, 1829.

§ There was an anecdote current at Rome, when this new circumscription was going on. The pope, in his plans, intended the Chiesa Nuova to be a parish church. This belongs to the Fathers of the Oratory, founded, as all the world now knows, by Saint Philip Neri. It was said that the superior of the house took, and showed to the Holy Father, an autograph memorial of the saint to the pope of his day, petitioning that his church should never be a parish. And

Another ecclesiastical change introduced by him affected religious corporations. Besides the greater houses of different orders, there were several small communities of branches from them which seemed dying out, and in which it was difficult to maintain full monastic observance. These he took measures gradually to suppress, by allowing the actual members to incorporate themselves with similar or cognate establishments, or, by receiving no more novices, gradually to be dissolved. Such a measure had of course its disapprovers; but certainly it was undertaken in a sincere spirit of enforcing, to the utmost, religious observance.

It may interest many readers but little, to learn the full extent which the reforming spirit of this pontiff contemplated. Yet even those who affect indifference to whatever concerns Rome and its sovereign bishops, will not refuse evidence which proves in one of them the sincere and efficacious desire to amend abuses, even in matters apparently trifling.

Some of these reforms, certainly, were not inspired by any desire of popularity. They were decidedly unpopular, both with strangers and with natives.

For instance, he suppressed, forever, one of the most singular and beautiful scenes connected with the functions of Holy Week. On the evenings of Thursday and Friday, the church of St. Peter's used to be lighted up by one marvellous cross of light, suspended from the dome. This artificial meteor flung a radiance on the altar, where all other lights were extinguished, and even round the tomb of the apostles, where, on one evening, certain rites are performed; it illuminated brightly the balcony under the cupola, from which venerable relics are exhibited; and it sent a flood of light along every open space, tipping every salient point and coigne with radiance, and leaving sharp-cut shadows beyond. It was such an effect of *chiaro-oscuro*—the most brilliant *chiaro* and the densest *oscuro*—as every artist loved to contemplate. But it was over-beautiful: it attracted multitudes who only went to see its grand effects. While pilgrims from the south were on their knees crowded into the centre of the church, travellers from the north were promenading in the wondrous light, studying its unrivalled effects, peeping into the darksome nooks, then plunging into them, to emerge again into a sunshine that had no transition of dawn. And, doing all this, they talked, and laughed, and formed chatting groups, then broke into lounging, sauntering parties, that treated lightly of all intended to be most solemn. It made one sore and irritable to witness such conduct, nay, ashamed of one's home manners, on seeing well-dressed people

below it was written that pope's promise, also in his own hand, that it never should. This pope was Saint Pius V. Leo bowed to such authorities, said that he could not contend against two saints, and altered his plans.

unable to defer to the sacred feelings of others, bringing what used to be the behavior in old "Paule's" into great St. Peter's.

Unhappily for generations to come, it was considered impossible to check this disorder, except by removing its cause. The illuminated cross, which was made of highly burnished copper plates studded with lamps, disappeared, at the beginning of Leo's reign, by his orders; and, except when once renewed as a profane spectacle by the republican leaders, it has been allowed to lie at rest in the lumber-rooms of the Vatican.

In the two papal chapels, raised seats had been long introduced, for the special accommodation of foreign ladies, who could thence follow the ceremonies performed at the altar. The privilege thus granted had been shamefully abused. Not only levity and disrespectful behavior, not only giggling and loud talking, but eating and drinking, had been indulged in within the holy place. Remonstrance had been vain, and so had other precautions of tickets and surveillance. One fine day, the ladies, on arriving, found the raised platform no more; the seats were low on the ground, sufficient for those who came to pray and join in the services, quite useless for those who came only to stare in wilful ignorance, or scoff in perverse malice.

This respect for God's house the pope extended to all other churches. In each he had a Swiss placed, to keep it in order, prevent artistic or curious perambulations, at improper times, and assist in repressing any unbecoming conduct. Modesty of dress was also inculcated, and enforced in church.

Actions of his will show how this sternness, in remedying or preventing the vices of the poor, was accompanied by kindness and charity. Soon after his accession, he had one evening finished his audiences, when he asked one of his domestic prelates, who lived out of the palace, and is now a cardinal, if his carriage was below. On his replying in the affirmative, the pope said he would go out in it: put a cloak about him, and descended by a private staircase, and, accompanied by his noble attendant, drove to the school of the deaf and dumb, where an examination was being held. Such an event had never been before known; and we may imagine the delight and gratitude of pupils and teachers at this most unexpected surprise. He attended to the examinations, and then, with his own hands, distributed the prizes which he had brought with him.

This first instance was often repeated; but it was carried further, even to the lowest depths of misery. He visited the prisons, not only to overlook great improvements which he introduced into them, but to converse with their unfortunate inmates and relieve their sufferings. In this manner he suddenly appeared at the debtors' prison in the Capitol, inquired personally into cases of hardship, and discharged several prisoners, whose debts he

took upon himself. The hospitals also were unexpectedly visited, and their inmates consoled by the benign presence and soothing words of their holy pontiff.

Anxious, however, to provide for the just and efficient administration of charitable funds, many of which were misspent on worthless objects, or wasted in the dribblets of separate distributions, he appointed a commission of high ecclesiastics and irreproachable laymen, to consolidate all the alms-funds of Rome, and see to their equitable distribution. This noble institution, known as the "*Congregazione dei Sussidj*," was organized by a decree dated February 17, 1826. It is followed by a beautiful instruction to parochial committees, acting under this board, headed by a gentleman and a "lady of charity," from among the parishioners. Nothing can be more sensible or more full of tender charity to the poor, than this truly episcopal and paternal address.

There was a community of Franciscan nuns, exceedingly edifying by their strict observance, miserably lodged in a steep narrow street behind the Quirinal, unable to keep inclosure from having no external church. The clergy of the English and Scotch colleges often ministered to their spiritual wants. One day, in the very heat of a summer's afternoon, when every one, nuns included, was taking the short repose of the time of day, the rough pavement of the lane quaked and rattled under the unusual dash and crash of horses and carriages. An impatient ring of the bell informed the community, who could not see into the street, that all this hubbub was on their account. "What is the matter? Who wants any thing at this hour?" the aroused portress asked. "The Holy Father is come to see you," was the answer. No doubt the pope quietly enjoyed the fright and joy, all in one, the amazement and confusion of the poor sisters, at this most unexpected proof of paternal care. He examined the house himself, and saw its inadequacy; and, after familiarly and kindly conversing with them, departed, leaving them full of consolation.

There was an excellent and ample convent, then unoccupied, near the Beautiful fountain familiar to travellers by the name of the *Tartarughe*, that is, the Tortoises. It had every requisite for an inclosed community, and was attached to an elegant church, dedicated to St. Ambrose, and supposed to occupy the site of his abode. This Leo had put into thorough repair and order; and when all was prepared, and the day was fixed for taking possession, the good nuns were waited upon by a number of ladies of the Roman nobility, always ready for such good actions, and taken in their carriages to the Vatican, where a sumptuous collation, as it appeared to them, was laid out for them, and they received the pope's benediction, and enjoyed his amiable conversation for a considerable time. They were then driven to their new home, whither their furniture had been removed.

It was amusing to hear the nuns describe that day;—their bewilderment in going through the streets after years of seclusion; their bedazzlement and awe in the Vatican, and its church, which they visited; their delight at finding themselves in so spacious and convenient a house; their relief after a, to them, harassing and toilsome day, when their kind visitors had all left, and they closed their doors forever to the outer world; then, lastly, their dismay at finding themselves without a morsel of food, sick and faint as they were, and unable, as they had been, through their confusion and reverence, to partake of the papal refreshments. This alone had been overlooked; and only one nun, who surely deserved to take her place among the five wise virgins of the parable, had brought a small basket of homely provisions, which, however, she willingly shared with her famishing companions.

In this way did Pope Leo love to do good. He liked to take people by surprise, and see for himself; sometimes, it used to be said, with a very different result from that in the instance quoted.

Having mentioned his attention to the progress of art, as in harmony with the conduct of all his great predecessors, it may not be amiss to specify one or two instances. The Vatican library is indebted to him for very valuable additions. The principal one, perhaps, is the Cicognara collection of works relative to art. The nobleman whose property it was is well known for a magnificent history of sculpture—a work which unites his name with those of Winkelman and Agincourt. For the compilation of this book, he had naturally collected most valuable and expensive works on every department of art. At his death this collection was for sale. It was purchased by the pope, and given to the Vatican library. Besides this, he added many thousands of volumes to its rich stores, so that new rooms had to be incorporated in its immense range. The classical department was particularly increased.

It was during this pontificate, also, that the germ of the splendid Etruscan museum was formed; for, the excavations and study of the cities of tombs, which still remain on the borders of Tuscany, belonging to the old Etruscan towns, were peculiarly carried on under this pope.

He showed himself, indeed, quite as great a patron of art as any other of his predecessors; but he was most anxious that morality should not be compromised by it. A group of statues in the new gallery erected by his predecessors disappeared after his first visit, as did gradually other pieces of ancient sculpture offensive to Christian modesty.

Among his works must not be forgotten one which is commemorated on one of his annual medals, the beautiful baptistry which he added to the church of Santa Maria Maggiore, adorned with the richest marbles, and constructed with exquisite taste.

It is well known that ladies are not admitted into the portion of the

palace occupied by the pope. He leaves his apartment for the museum or library when he receives them. During hours of general audience the ante-rooms present an appearance of considerable state. Each of them has its body of guards, more for becoming appearance than for any effectual services; and chamberlains, clerical and lay, are in attendance in the inner chambers, as other classes of officers are in the outer. But soon after twelve all this formal court disappears; silence and solitude reign through the papal apartments. Below, indeed, there is a guard of Swiss, which might allow any one to pass; but, at the foot of the staircase of the palace is a sentinel, and in the great royal hall is a small guard in attendance. This would be the difficult pass; for the next room is at once the first of the pontifical apartments, occupied by a few servants, who, in the warm hours of day, might easily be dozing.

Be all this as it may, certain it is, that one afternoon it was announced to the pope, that a lady had made her way past the guard, and had penetrated far, before she was discovered, into the penetralia of the palace. She had been of course stopped in her progress, or she might have found herself suddenly in the presence-chamber, or rather in the study usually occupied by the pontiff at that hour. What was to be done with her? was asked in dismay. Such an act of presumption had never before been known; there was a mystery about her getting in: and this was all the more difficult of solution, because the intruder could not speak Italian, and it could only be collected that she desired to see the pope. Let it be remembered that secret societies were then becoming alarmingly rife, and that domestic assassination of persons in high places had been attempted, occasionally with success. The pope apprehended no such danger, and desired the adventurous lady to be admitted at once. He gave her a long audience, treating her with his usual kindness. She was an American woman, who had been seized with a strong charitable desire to convert the pope from what she considered his errors, and had thus boldly and successfully attempted to obtain a conference with him. That she did not change the pope is certain; but that her opinion of him was changed there can be no doubt. For she must have been charmed with the gentleness and sweetness, as well as nobleness and dignity, of his mien and speech.*

* "It was from Cardinal Pacca," says Cardinal Wiseman, "at the Villa Clementina, that we heard this anecdote; and he mentioned that the pope asked her if she had not believed him to have a cloven (or ox's) foot; but she, halting between her courtesy and her truthfulness, hesitated to answer, especially as she had given furtive glances towards the hem of the papal cassock. On which the pope good-naturedly convinced her that he was clearly shod on human and Christian principles. The cardinal added that, in his travels, some Protestant in conversation with him did not deny his belief in that pious and orthodox tradition; upon which Pacca wittily observed, 'If you believe the pope to be graced with a goat's foot, you must naturally expect us cardinals to be garnished with a kid's. This, you see, is not my case.'"

The great event of the reign of Leo XII. was undoubtedly the jubilee of 1825, the first held in the century, and against which many arguments were now adduced.

On Ascension day he issued the bull of preparation, clear, bold, and cheering, as a silver clarion's note. Seldom has a document proceeded even from the Holy See more noble and stately, more tender and paternal. Its language, pure, elegant, and finely rounded, flows with all the greatness of Roman eloquence; yet in tone, in illustration, and in pathos, it is thoroughly Christian, and eminently ecclesiastical. It speaks as only a pope could speak, with a consciousness of power that cannot fail, and of authority that cannot stray. Its teaching is that of a master, its instruction that of a sage, its piety that of a saint. The pope first addresses every class of men who recognize his spiritual sovereignty, entreating kings to put no hindrance in the way of faithful pilgrims, but to protect and favor them, and the people readily to accept his fatherly invitation, and hasten in crowds to the banquet of grace spread for them. When, after having warmly exhorted those who, in addition, recognize his temporal dominion, he turns to those who are not of his fold, those even who had persecuted and offended the Holy See, and in words of burning charity and affectionate forgiveness he invites them to approach him and accept him as *their* father too, his words bring back the noble gesture with which he threw open his arms when he gave his first public benediction; and seemed to make a way to his heart for all mankind, and then press them to it in a tender embrace.

From the moment this decisive document was issued, some preparations were begun, and others were more actively pursued.

The first class of these preliminaries were of a religious character. *Missioni*, or courses of stirring sermons, calling on sinners to turn from their evil courses, were preached, not merely in churches, but in public squares—for the churches did not suffice—so to cleanse the city from sin, and make it a holy place for those who should come to seek edification there. In the immense and beautiful square known to every traveller as Piazza Navona, a concourse of fifteen thousand persons was said to be present, when the pope, on the 15th of August, went to close these services by his benediction. It required stentorian lungs to address such a crowd, and be audible; fortunately these were to be found, in contact with a heart full of goodness and piety, in the breast of the Canonico Muccioli. When this zealous man died, still young, a few years later, hundreds of youths belonging to the middle classes, dressed in decent mourning, followed in ranks their friend to his sepulchre. The same tribute of popular affection was exhibited later still, in 1851, to the amiable and edifying Professor Graziosi.

But to return: the pope took many by surprise, when they saw him,

opposite, listening to the Canon's closing sermon from the apartments of the Russian embassy, in the Pamphili palace. Thence he descended, accompanied by his heterodox host and admirer, the Chevalier Italinski, to a throne erected for him in the open air.

In addition to this spiritual preparation, material improvements were not forgotten. A visitation of churches, oratories, and all religious institutions had been begun, in virtue of which all irregularities in their arrangements were corrected, dilapidations were repaired, ornaments restored, and old or decayed objects renewed. Considerable expense was thus incurred by some of the greater, and older, basilicas.

But more serious still were the preparations necessary to lodge and feed the crowds of pilgrims who were expected. To prevent any alarm on this head, on the part of foreign princes, the pope sent word to the embassies that he did not wish them to make any provision for their poor countrymen, as he took upon himself this duty of hospitality. He observed that he would rather pawn the church plate of Rome, than be wanting in its discharge.

The Holy Father was the soul of all the work of the jubilee. To see him, and carry back his blessing, was of course one of the most highly coveted privileges of a pilgrimage to Rome. Hence he had repeatedly to show himself to the crowds, and bless them. They were instructed to hold up whatever they wished to have blessed; and certainly scarcely ever did Rome present a more motley crowd, arrayed in every variety of costume, from the sober, and almost clerical, dress of German peasants, to the rainbow hues of the Abruzzi or Campania. But the pope manifested his hearty sympathy in his jubilee by a more remarkable proof than these. He daily served in his own palace twelve pilgrims at table, and continued this practice throughout his reign.

It must not be thought that the celebration of the jubilee completely monopolized the attention of the pope. No year of his reign was more actively occupied than this, with important affairs, especially abroad. But one great and beneficial improvement within may be traced to this "holy year." The pope was determined that the roads should be safe for his poor pilgrims, and took such active measures, in concert with neighboring States, that the system of brigandage was completely extinguished. The last act, however, of its destruction deserves recording. A good old priest, the Abbate Pellegrini, archpriest of Sezze, ventured alone to the mountains which formed the headquarters and stronghold of the banditti, unauthorized and uninvited. Without password besides the expression of his charity, without a pledge to give that his assurances would be confirmed, without any claim, from position, to the fulfilment of his promises, he walked boldly into the midst of the band, and preached to them repentance and change of life.

They listened: perhaps they knew that active measures were being planned for their extermination; more probably the very simplicity and daring of the feeble unarmed peacemaker touched their rude natures, and they wavered. But they were among the most dreaded of their race, nay, the most unpardonable, for some of them had been the assassins of the Terracina students. One of them was their chief, Gasbarone, who owned to the commission of many murders. What hope could they entertain of pardon? The old man took upon himself to give his priestly word that their lives would be spared; they believed that word, and surrendered to him at discretion. The city of Sezze was astonished at beholding this herd of wolves led in by a lamb. All admired the heroic action, the self-devoting charity, of this worthy ecclesiastic, who sought no reward, and who might have received a bullet or a stab for his first welcome from those desperadoes, but had done in a few hours what troops and statesmen, in combined action, had not been able to effect in years.

There is an act of this papal reign which deserves record as characteristic of the pontiff himself, and as illustrating the practical working of the supremacy under complications otherwise insoluble. South America had thrown off the Spanish rule, and enjoyed an independence of some years' duration. On the 21st of May, 1827, the pope addressed the cardinals in consistory assembled, on the ecclesiastical position of that continent. Spain had refused to recognize the independence of its many States, although it had ceased effectually even to disturb them. It claimed still all its old rights over them; and, among them, that of episcopal presentation. The exercise of such a power, if it existed, would have been contradictory to its object, and therefore self-defeating. Bishops are intended to feed a flock; and of what use would bishops have been, who would never have been allowed even to look upon their sees or be heard by their people? For it would have been quite unreasonable to expect that the free republics would acknowledge the jurisdiction of the country which declared itself at war with them.

On the other hand, there had been no formal ecclesiastical treaty or concordat between these commonwealths and the Holy See, by which previous claims had been abrogated, and new rights invested in their present rulers. It was just a case for the exercise of the highest prerogative, which both parties acknowledged to be inherent in the supremacy, however galling its application might be to one of them. In the allocution alluded to, the pope announced that, not feeling justified in longer permitting those Sees to remain vacant, and those immense populations wandering like sheep without a shepherd, he had provided them with worthy pastors, without the intervention of either side, but in virtue of his supreme apostolic authority. The court of Madrid was angry, and refused to admit the papal nuncio,

Fiberi ; and a little episode in the life of the present pontiff arose from this passing coolness.*

The pope went through his Christmas duties, and even officiated on the 2d of February, 1829, the Feast of the Purification, when a *Te Deum* is sung in thanksgiving for escape from a dreadful earthquake in 1703. But between the two festivals he had given intimations of a consciousness of his approaching end. He took leave of Monsignor Testa, his Secretary of Latin Briefs to Princes, at the last weekly audience he had, most affectionately, saying : "A few days more, and we shall not meet again." He gave up the ring usually worn by the pope to the custody of the *Maggior-domo*, or High Steward of the Household, telling him, as he hesitated to receive it, that he was its proper guardian, and that it might easily be lost in the confusion of an event which was shortly to ensue. But the most striking proof of presentiment was the following. Monsignor Gasperini, his Secretary of Latin Letters, went to his usual audience one evening. After dispatching his business, Leo said to him, in his ordinary calm and affable manner : "I have a favor to ask of you, which I shall much value."

"Your Holiness has only to command me," was the natural reply.

"It is this," the pope continued, placing before him a paper. "I have drawn up my epitaph, and I should be obliged to you to correct it, and put it into proper style."

"I would rather have received any commission but that," said the sorrowful secretary, who was deeply attached to his master. "Your Holiness, however, is I trust in no hurry?"

"Yes, my dear Gasperini, you must bring it with you next time."

At his next week's audience, he laid the corrected inscription before Leo, who read it, approved highly of it, thanked him most cordially, folded and placed it under the lion-mounted slab, where it remained, till sought and found, a few days later, after his death. He transacted his business with his usual serenity ; and, in dismissing him, thanked his secretary with an earnestness that struck him as peculiar. They never saw one another again upon earth.

On the 6th of February, after having descended to the apartments of the

* Pius VII., at the request of Cienfuegos, envoy from Chili, sent as envoy to that republic Monsignor Muzi, and as his assistant the Abbe Mastai, now Pius IX. The pope dying before the expedition had sailed from Genoa, it was confirmed by Leo XII., who, in his brief, declares that the Count Mastai had been originally appointed by his desire, describing him as "*Nobis apprimè charus*." The commissioners sailed October 11th, 1823, but were driven by stress of weather into Palma, the capital of Majorca. Upon ascertaining from their papers who were the ecclesiastics on board, and what their mission, the governor had them arrested, kept them four days in a common prison, subjected them to an ignominious examination in court, and was on the point of sending them to banishment in an African *presidio*, when common sense prevailed, and they were restored to liberty. See a full account in the "Dublin Review," vol. xxxiv. p. 469.

secretary of state, Cardinal Bernetti, by a private staircase, and held a long conference with him, he returned to his own closet, and resumed his work. He was there seized with his last illness; and it was generally believed that an operation unskilfully performed had aggravated instead of relieving its symptoms. He bore the torturing pain of his disease with perfect patience, asked for the last rites of the Church, and expired, in calm and freedom from suffering, on the tenth.

He was buried temporarily in the sarcophagus which had enshrined for a time the remains of his predecessors, and then in a vault constructed in front of St. Leo the Great's altar; where, in the centre of the pavement corresponding by its lines with the small dome above, was inlaid in brass the following inscription, alluded to as composed by himself. No one can read it and fail to be touched by its elegant simplicity.

LEONI . MAGNO
PATRONO . CŒLESTI
ME . SVPPLEX . COMMENDANS
HIC . APVD . SACROS . EIVS . CINERES
LOCVM . SEPVLTVRÆ . ELEGI
LEO XII.
HVMILIS . CLIENS
HÆREDVM . TANTI . NOMINIS
MINIMVS

Among other acts of this reign must be noted his enlargement, in 1825, of the Jews' quarter at Rome.

The emancipation of the Catholics in the British dominions had engaged the attention of Pius VII., although the efforts of Cardinal Consalvi were viewed with suspicion.

A new impulse was given from Ireland, and Catholicity gained signal advantages by the triumph of O'Connell, unattended by any of the sacrifices which the great Consalvi had supposed inevitable.

Cardinal Wiseman thus describes the private life of this pope :

"Leo XII. rose very early, perhaps at five; and spent the first part of the day as any other Catholic ecclesiastic does, in those religious duties which have to consecrate its actions—meditation, prayer, and the celebration of the Divine Mysteries, followed always, in the pope's diary, by assisting at a second Mass "of thanksgiving" said by a chaplain. A cup of coffee, or a basin of broth, with no solid food, was all the sustenance which he took till his hour of dinner. He went through the morning work of audiences, from eight, at latest, till twelve; then retired for private occupation, rested, devoted an hour to prayer (as we learned from others), drove out, and resumed public business till ten, when he took his first and only meal. To

say that it was frugal would be little ; nor could we wonder at the accredited report, that he would not allow his personal expenses to exceed a dollar a day, when we heard from his own lips that the dry Newfoundland stock-fish, the *baccala* of Italy, was his very ordinary and favorite food.

“ This abstemiousness enabled Leo to go through functions which no other pope in modern times has attempted, such as singing Mass at Santa Maria Maggiore on Christmas Eve, which involved fasting from the previous midnight, at least three-and-twenty hours ; then going to Saint Anastasia’s Church, the “ Station ” for the Mass at dawn ; after saying which, he sang the third Mass at Saint Peter’s on the day itself.”

The Holy See was vacant forty-nine days.



257. PIUS VIII.—A. D. 1829.



AFTER the death of Leo XII., on the 10th of February, Cardinal Galeffi proceeded with all the members of the Apostolic Chamber to the Vatican, and after recognizing the body of the late pontiff, broke the Fisherman's ring. On the evening of the same day Cardinal della Somaglia, dean of the sacred college, assembled the cardinals, heads of orders—Cardinal Fesch, first of the cardinal-priests; Cardinal Cacciapiatte, first of the order of deacons at Rome. The novendiali began on the 16th of February—Cardinal Pacca, sub-dean, officiating the first day.

At their conclusion on the 23d, thirty-seven cardinals entered into conclave in the Quirinal. At first Cardinal Pacca and cardinal de Gregorio were proposed, but when Cardinal Albani arrived, accredited representative of Austria in the conclave, charged with the veto of the emperor, the votes centred on Cardinal Francis Xavier Castiglioni, who was elected on the 31st of March, and assumed the title of Pius VIII.*

It will be naturally asked, says Cardinal Wiseman, what were the qualities which secured to him this rapid nomination. His short pontificate did not allow time for the display of any extraordinary powers; nor would it be fair, without evidence of them, to attribute them to him. But there was

* It has been stated that when transacting some business with him, the venerable Pius VII. said: "Your Holiness, Pius VIII., may one day settle this matter." Such auguries being seldom told till after fulfilment—for without the modesty that would conceal them, there would not be the virtues that can deserve them—they are naturally little heeded. To tell the truth, one does not see why, if a Jewish high-priest had the gift of prophecy for his year of office, one of a much higher order and dignity should not occasionally be allowed to possess it. In this case, however, the privilege was not necessary. As it has been already intimated, the accumulation of merits in the cardinal might strike the pope even more, from his closer observation, than they would the electors; and the good omen might only be the result of sagacity combined with affection. In like manner, a natural shrewdness which Pius possessed might have guided him to a similar prediction, if true as reported to his intermediate successor, Leo XII. It used to be said that when Monsignor della Genga was suddenly told to prepare for the nunciature, and consequently for episcopal consecration, and was therefore overwhelmed with grief, he flew to the feet of Pius to entreat a respite, when the holy man said to him, "It is the white coif that I put upon your head." The many noble gifts which showed themselves in the youthful prelate, sufficient to induce the pope at once to send him abroad as his representative in troublesome and dangerous times, may have carried his penetrating eye beyond the successful fulfilment of that mission, to the accomplishment of one higher and more distant.

all the moral assurance, which a previous life could give, of his possessing the gifts necessary to make him more than an ordinary man in his high elevation.

In an hereditary monarchy, the successor to the throne may be known for many years to his future subjects, and he may have been, during the period, qualifying himself for his coming responsibility. He may have manifested symptoms of principles completely opposed to those of his father, or of his house ; and given promises, or thrown out hints, of a total departure from domestic or hereditary policy. Or, he may have been a loose and abandoned crown-prince—a threat, rather than a promise, to the coming generation. Perhaps the young Prince Hal may turn out a respectable King Henry ; or, more likely, Windsor Castle may continue, on a regal scale, the vices of Carlton House. The nation, however, rightly accepts the royal gift, and must be content. For in compensation, the advantages of succession to a throne by descent are so great and so manifest, that the revival of an elective monarchy in Europe would be considered, by all who are not prepared to see it lapse into a presidency, as a return to times of anarchy and revolution. The quiet subsidence of an empire by election into one of succession, within our own days, proves that, even in a country which violent changes have affected less than they would have done any other, the best safeguards to peace and guarantees of order are most certainly found in the simple and instinctive method of transmitting royal prerogatives through royal blood. How much of Poland's calamities and present condition are due to perseverance in the elective principle !

But there is one, and only one, necessary exception to this rule. The sovereignty of the Church could not, under any circumstances, be handed down in a family succession ; not even did it not enforce the celibacy of its clergy. The head of the Church is not the spiritual ruler of one kingdom, and his office cannot be an heir-loom, like crown-jewels. His headship extends over an entire world, spiritually indeed, yet sensibly and efficaciously : kingdoms and republics are equally comprised in it ; and what belongs to so many must in fact be the property of none. At the same time, it is evident that the duties of this sublime functional power, running through every problem of social polity, can only be discharged by a person of matured age and judgment : there could be no risk of regencies or tutorships, of imbecility or hereditary taints, of scandalous antecedents or present vices. Only an election, by men trained themselves in the preparatory studies and practices of the ecclesiastical state, of one whose life and conversation had passed before their eyes, could secure the appointment of a person duly endowed for so high an office. They look, of course, primarily, to the qualities desirable for this spiritual dignity. It is a pope whom they have to elect for the ecclesiastical rule of the world, not the

sovereign of a small territory. His secular dominion is the consequence, not the source of his religious position. Certainly it cannot be doubted that in later times the electors have been faithful to their trust. What Ranke has shown of their predecessors, is incontestable of more modern pontiffs; that, not only none has disgraced his position by unworthy conduct, but all have proved themselves equal to any emergency that has met them, and distinguished by excellent and princely qualities.

That those characteristics which determine the choice of the electors do not first manifest themselves in conclave, but have been displayed through years of public life in legations, in nunciatures, in bishoprics, or in office at home, must be obvious. Hence, men of accurate observation may have noted them; and a certain indefinite feeling of anticipation may be general, about the probable successor to the vacant chair. In Cardinal Castiglioni many qualities of high standard had been long observed; such as could not fail to recommend him to the notice and even preference of his colleagues. To say that his life had been irreproachable would be but little: it had been always edifying, and adorned with every ecclesiastical virtue.

Though born (November 20th, 1761) of noble family, in the small city of Cingoli, he had come early to Rome to pursue his studies, and had distinguished himself in them so much, that in 1800, when only thirty-nine years old, he had been raised to the episcopal dignity in the See of Montalto, near Ascoli. Here he had signalized himself by his apostolic zeal, and had consequently drawn upon his conduct the jealous eye of the French authorities. He was known to be stanch in his fidelity to the sovereign pontiff, and to the rights of the Church: consequently he was denounced as dangerous, and honored by exile, first to Milan, and then to Mantua. We are told that those who had charge of him were astonished to find, in the supposed firebrand, one of the gentlest and meekest of human beings. In all this, however, there was much to recommend him to those who had met to elect a shepherd, and not a hireling for Christ's flock.

But in this proof of his constancy there had been testimony borne to another, and if not a higher, at least a rarer, quality. This was ecclesiastical learning. Of his familiarity with other portions of this extensive literary field, there will be occasion to speak later. But the branch of theological lore in which Cardinal Castiglioni had been most conspicuous was canon law. Some readers may not be willing to concede any great importance or dignity to such a proficiency, the value of which they may have had few opportunities of estimating. Canon law is, however, a system of ecclesiastical jurisprudence, as complex and as complete as any other legislative and judicial code: and since it is in force at Rome, and has to be referred to even in transactions with other countries where ecclesiastical authority is more limited, a person solidly grounded in it, and practically

versed in its application, naturally possesses a valuable advantage in the conduct of affairs, especially those belonging to the highest spheres. We would not allow a foreigner the right to despise that peculiar learning which we think qualifies a lawyer for judicial eminence; especially if, from his ignorance of our unique legal principles and practice, he may not have qualified himself to judge of it. However, the attainments of Cardinal Castiglioni rose even higher than these. He had been originally the scholar of the first canonist of his day, and had become his assistant. The work which stands highest among modern manuals on ecclesiastical law is Devoti's Institutes: and this was the joint work of that prelate and Castiglioni. Indeed, the most learned portion of it, the notes which enrich and explain it, were mainly the production of the pupil. Now it so happened, that when the relations between Pius VII. and the French emperor became intricate and unfriendly, and delicate questions arose of conflicting claims and jurisdictions, it was to the bishop of Montalto that the pope had recourse, as his learned and trusty counsellor in such dangerous matters. He was found equal to the occasion. His answers and reports were firm, precise, and erudite; nor did he shrink from the responsibility of having given them. It was this freedom and inflexibility which drew upon him the dislike of the occupying power in Italy. Surely such learning must receive its full value with those who have seen its fruits, when they are deliberating about providing a prudent steersman and a skilful captain for the bark of Peter, still travailed by past tempests, and closely threatened by fresh storms.

When the pope was restored to his own, Castiglioni's merits were fully acknowledged and rewarded. On the 8th of March, 1816, he was raised to the cardinalitial dignity, and named bishop of Cesena, the pope's own native city. He was in course of time brought to Rome, and so became bishop of Tusculum, or Frascati, one of the episcopal titles in the sacred college. He was also named penitentiary, an office requiring great experience and prudence. He enjoyed the friendship of Consalvi as well as the confidence of their common master, and thus his ecclesiastical knowledge was brought most opportunely to assist the diplomatic experience and ability of the more secular minister. In fact, it might be said that they often worked in common, and even gave conjointly audience to foreign ministers, in matters of a double interest. And such must often be transactions between the Holy See and Catholic powers.

Such were the qualifications which induced the fifty-one electors in conclave to unite their suffrages in the person of Cardinal Castiglioni.

The appearance of Pius VIII. was not, perhaps, so prepossessing at first sight as that of his two predecessors. This was not from any want either of character or of amiability in his features. When you came to look into

his countenance, it was found to be what the reader will think it in his portrait, noble and gentle. The outlines were large and dignified in their proportions; and the mouth and eyes full of sweetness. But an obstinate and chronic herpetic affection in the neck kept his head turned and bowed down, imparted an awkwardness, or want of elegance, to his movements, and prevented his countenance being fully and favorably viewed. This, however, was not the worst; he seemed, and indeed was, in a state of constant pain, which produced an irritation that manifested itself sometimes in his tone and expression. Another effect of this suffering was, that many of the functions of the Church were beyond his strength.

Being himself of a most delicate conscience, he was perhaps severe and stern in his principles, and in enforcing them. He was, for example, most scrupulous about any of his family taking advantage of his elevation to seek honors or high offices. On the very day of his election, he wrote to his nephews a letter in which he communicated to them the welcome news of his having been raised, by divine Providence, to the Chair of Peter, and shed bitter tears over the responsibilities with which this dignity overburdened him. He solicited their prayers, commanded them to refrain from all pomp and pride, and added: "Let none of you, or of the family, move from your posts." During his pontificate it was proposed to bestow on the great St. Bernard the title of Doctor of the Universal Church, in the same manner as it is held by St. Augustine or St. Jerome. It was said that some one engaged in the cause, by way of enlisting the pope's sympathies in it, remarked that St. Bernard belonged to the same family; since the Chatillons in France, and the Castiglioni in Italy, were only different branches of the same illustrious house. This remark, whether in the pleadings or in conversation, sufficed to check the proceedings; as the pontiff, jealous of any possible partiality or bias on his part, and fearful of even a suspicion of such a motive having influenced him, ordered them to be suspended. They were afterwards resumed and brought to a happy conclusion under his pontificate.

In speaking of this pope's literary accomplishments, his superior knowledge of Canon law was singled out. But this was by no means his exclusive pursuit. To mention one of a totally different class, he possessed a very rare acquaintance with numismatics. Biblical literature, however, was his favorite pursuit, and Cardinal Wiseman bears witness to his having made himself fully acquainted with its modern theories, and especially with German rationalistic systems.

Pius VIII. confirmed Cardinal Pacca as datary, and appointed cardinal de Gregoria grand penitentiary, and Cardinal Pedicini secretary of memorials. He took possession of St. John Lateran, on the 24th of May, the anniversary of the return of Pius VII. to Rome in 1814.

Less than a month after his election, and before this last official act, it was announced to the pope that the sovereign of Great Britain had signed the bill of Catholic emancipation, on the 23d of April, 1829. This act, not appreciated in all its bearings by Catholics on the Continent generally, removed a vast array of disability which had for centuries hung over the Catholic body, excluding them from all right of holding any office, civil or military, or even from exercising the right of franchise, practising law, or studying at the Universities. On the exercises of religion the heavy hand of the law lay still more severely. For a Catholic to hear Mass, receive absolution, pronounce the vows of religion, or receive any brief or bull from Rome, was, in the eye of the law, a crime of the same character as an attempt on the life of the monarch, or a conspiracy to overthrow the government. The intense bigotry and ignorance in which the people had been grounded and kept, had at last rendered it almost dangerous to sweep away the diabolical penal laws against the Catholics; but the government yielded to the agitation begun in Ireland, and reluctantly entered the career of enlightenment and civilization.

The happy event was celebrated with all possible pomp by the colleges at Rome, assigned to the education of young ecclesiastics from the British isles, and which then numbered among their inmates Wiseman, whose elevation to the cardinalate in later years aroused the last outburst of insensate English bigotry.

On the 24th of May, 1829, Pius issued an encyclical, in which he called attention to the efforts of the enemies of religion, the spirit of religious indifference, the efforts of bible-societies to prejudice the faith by the diffusion of corrupt and mutilated translations, made to serve a purpose. Against all these, and the wide-spreading secret societies, he aroused the zeal of the bishops. He urged them to meet the danger by fresh exertions, by care in erecting and conducting seminaries, and other institutions, where learned and capable priests might be trained. He called them, also, in an especial manner, to contend for the sanctity of marriage, which modern society seemed determined to reduce to a mere voluntary union.

“To our venerable Brethren, the Patriarchs, Primate, the Archbishops, and the Bishops.

“PIUS VIII.

‘Venerable Brethren, Health and Apostolic Benediction :

“Before proceeding to-day to the Basilica of the Lateran, according to the custom established by our predecessors, to take possession of the pontificate confided to our lowliness, we expand our heart full of joy, venerable brethren, with you, whom He has assigned to us as our coadjutors in accomplishing this great ministry—He, in whose hands are all offices, and who

presides over the action of times. Not only is it pleasing and agreeable to us to express to you the heartfelt sentiments of our affection to you, but it is becoming in the interest of the Christian commonwealth that we enter into spiritual communications, in order that we may in concert see how we can, from day to day, insure more striking advantages to the Church. It is one of the duties of our ministry, which has been imposed upon us in the person of Saint Peter, by a divine dispensation of the Founder of the Church himself; it is one of our duties to feed, to lead, to govern not only the lambs, that is to say the whole Christian people, but also the sheep, that is to say, the bishops themselves.

"We rejoice, then, and bless the Prince of Pastors, for having set to guard his flock, pastors who have but one care and one thought; that is, to lead, in the ways of justice, the portion confided to them; to drive from it all danger, and to lose none of those whom the Heavenly Father has given them. For we know full well, venerable brethren, your unshaken faith, your steady zeal for religion, the admirable holiness of your life, and your singular prudence. Hence, what happiness and consolation may we not expect for the Church, the Holy See, from this body of irreproachable laborers! How much this sweet hope raises up our courage amid the fears inspired by so fearful a burden, and how much it relieves it, crushed as we are beneath the weight of so many bitter cares!

"Hence, not to seem desirous of exciting the zeal with which you spontaneously proceed in the path of duty, we willingly omit reminding you at length what you should ever have before your eyes, in order to fulfil well your ministry and all things prescribed by the holy canons. We need not remind you that nobody should leave his post and his watch, and that a special care and extreme prudence should preside over the choice of the ministers of holy things. We prefer to address our vows to the Divine Saviour, that He may grant you his powerful protection and lead to a happy issue your labors and your efforts.

"Consoled as we may be by your courage, venerable brethren, we cannot, nevertheless, shake off a deep sentiment of sadness, to behold in the bosom of peace the children of the world raise up against us so much cruel bitterness. We will speak to you of the evils which are known to you, which strike every eye, which call forth our common tears, and consequently require our common efforts to correct, combat, and extirpate them. We will speak to you of those innumerable errors, of those lying and perverse doctrines, which attack the Catholic faith no longer in secret and in the shade, but loudly and violently. You know how guilty men have declared war on religion by means of a false philosophy, of which they call themselves the doctors, by means of deceits, which they derive from the ideas of the world. This Holy See, this Chair of Peter, on which Christ has laid

the foundation of his Church, is mainly exposed to their shafts. Hence, the bonds of unity are daily relaxed, the authority of the Church trampled under foot, and the ministers of the sanctuary held up to hatred and contempt. Hence, the most venerable precepts insulted, holy things shamefully mocked, and the worship of the Lord become an abomination to the sinner (Eccles. i. 32); all that comes from religion is treated as ridiculous fables and vain superstitions. We say it weeping, yea, roaring lions have fallen on Israel (Jerem. ii. 15). Yea, they have conspired against God and against his Christ; yea, the impious have cried, 'Destroy Jerusalem, destroy it to the foundation' (Ps. cxxxix. 7).

"This is the object of the darksome manoeuvres of the sophists of this century, who regard with the same eye the various professions of faith, who pretend that the port of salvation is open in all religions, and who stigmatize, with levity and folly, those who abandon the religion in which they were originally instructed, in order to embrace another, even the Catholic religion. Is it not a horrible prodigy of impiety, to grant the same praises to truth and error, to vice and virtue, to honesty and turpitude? This fatal system of indifference, in matters of religion, is rejected by reason itself, which warns us that of two religions which do not agree, if one is true the other is necessarily false, and that there can be no alliance between light and darkness. The people, venerable brethren, must be forewarned against these deceitful masters; they must be taught that the Catholic faith is the only true faith, according to the words of the Apostle: 'One Lord, one faith, one baptism' (Ephes. iv. 5); that, consequently, as Saint Jerome says, 'He is profane, who eats the paschal lamb out of this house' (Ep. xxxvii. ad Damas.); 'and that he will perish in the deluge who has not entered the ark of Noe.' In fact, besides the name of Jesus, 'there is no other name given to men, whereby they may be saved' (Acts iv. 12); 'He who believeth, shall be saved; he who believeth not, shall be condemned' (Mark xvi. 16).

"Another object of our vigilance is the societies which publish new translations of the Scriptures in all vernacular tongues, translations made against the most salutary rules of the Church, and in which the texts are ingeniously wrested to perverse meanings, according to a particular spirit. These translations are distributed in all parts, at great expense, and gratuitously offered to the more ignorant, often mingling short explanations, that they may drink a poisonous draught where they expect to imbibe the salutary waters of wisdom. The Holy See had long since warned the Christian people of this new danger for the faith, and had repressed the authors of so great an evil. The rules drawn up by order of the Council of Trent, and renewed by the Congregation of the Index, were at once recalled to the minds of the faithful, rules according to which the translations of the Scriptures in the vulgar tongue should not be permitted, unless approved by

the Apostolic See and accompanied with notes drawn from the fathers of the Church. In fact, the Council of Trent, with the same object, and to arrest restless and adventurous minds, passed this decree: 'That in the matters of faith and manners which concern Christian doctrine, no one, relying on his own judgment, shall wrest the Holy Scripture to his particular sense, or interpret it contrary to the sense which the Church has always followed, or contrary to the unanimous opinion of the fathers.'*

"Hence, although it is evident by these canonical rules that such manœuvres against Catholic faith have been long since pointed out, still, our latest predecessors, of happy memory, in their solicitude for the salvation of the Christian people, carefully repressed these criminal efforts, which they beheld renewed on all sides, and issued, on the point, very explicit letters apostolic.† Use the same arms, venerable brethren, to combat in the cause of the Lord and in these great dangers for sound doctrine, lest this mortal poison, spreading through the flock, cause the death especially of the simple-minded.

"After having thus watched over the integrity of the Holy Scriptures, it is also our duty, venerable brethren, to turn our care to those secret societies of factious men, declared enemies of God and princes, those men who devote themselves all in all to desolate the Church, to ruin States, to trouble the whole world, and who, breaking the reins of the true faith, have opened the way to all crimes. While endeavoring to conceal, beneath the sanction of a dark oath, the iniquity of their assemblies, and the designs formed there, they have, by this alone, given just suspicion of those crimes which, for the misery of the times, have come forth from the abyss of the pit, and have spread to the great injury of religion and the State. The sovereign pontiffs our predecessors, Clement XII., Benedict XIV., Pius VII., Leo XII., whom we have succeeded notwithstanding our unworthiness, anathematized these secret societies, of whatever name, by letters apostolic, the tenor whereof we confirm with all the plenitude of our power, wishing them to be entirely observed. We will labor, with all our might, that the Church and the commonwealth do not suffer by the conspiracy of these sects, and we invoke for this great work your daily concourse, that, clad in the armor of zeal and united in the bonds of the spirit, we may valiantly maintain our common cause, or rather the cause of God, to destroy those ramparts behind which are intrenched the impiety and corruption of wicked men.

"Among all these secret societies we have resolved especially to call your attention to one recently formed, the object of which is to corrupt youth brought up in colleges and academies. As they know that the precepts of

* Sess. 4., Dec. on Holy Script.

† See Letters Apostolic of Pius VII. to the Archbishop of Gnesen, June 1, 1816, and to the Archbishop of Mohilow, September 3, 1816.

the masters are all-powerful to form the heart and mind of their pupils, they endeavor, by a thousand cares and snares, to give youth depraved masters, who may lead them in the paths of Baal by doctrines which are not according to God. Hence it comes that we see and deplore these young men come to such license, that having shaken off all fear of religion, banished the moral law, despised sound doctrine, trampled under foot the rights of both powers, they no longer blush at any disorder, any error, any crime ; so that we may well say of them with Saint Leo the Great : ' Their law is falsehood, their God the demon, their worship turpitude.' Banish, venerable brethren, all these evils from your dioceses, and endeavor by all means in your power, by authority and by mildness, that men, distinguished not only in science and letters, but also in purity of life and piety, be invested with the education of youth.

" Watch especially with more active solicitude over the seminaries, the whole care whereof is especially confided to you by the fathers of the Council of Trent.* Thence should issue those who, perfectly instructed in Christian and ecclesiastical discipline and the principles of sound doctrine, will show religion in the fulfilment of their divine functions, a science in the instruction of the people, gravity in their conduct, whom their ministry will commend even to the eyes of him who is without, and who will be able to recover, by the power of the divine word, those who stray from the paths of justice.

" We expect, from your zeal for the good of the Church, that you will use all care in selecting those to whom you confide the salvation of souls. For on the due selection of pastors especially depends the salvation of the people ; and nothing contributes more to the loss of souls than the indifference by which they are surrendered to those who seek their own interest, and not that of Christ, or to the imprudent, who, ill-trained in real science, are carried away by every wind, and lead not the flock to wholesome pastures, which they know not or despise.

" As every day beholds these contagious books multiply to a fearful degree, under cover of which the doctrine of the wicked glides like a gangrene (Tim. ii. 17) into the holy body of the Church, watch over your flock and use every endeavor to drive from it this pestilence of evil books—of all plagues the most deadly. Remind, frequently, the sheep of Christ, who are committed to you, of the advice of Pius VII., our very holy predecessor and benefactor,† that they should regard as salutary only the pastures to which the voice and authority of Peter leads them ; that they should feed there only ; that they should deem noxious and contagious all that voice denounces as such ; that they should shrink from it

* Sess. xxv., Chap. xviii., *De Reformat.*

† Encyclical Letters, Venice, 1800.

with horror, and not be seduced by any appearance, nor deceived by any attraction.

“There is also, regard being had to the circumstances in which we live, an object that we have resolved to recommend to all the ardor of your zeal for the salvation of souls ; it is—that full of solicitude for the holiness of marriage, you inculcate on your flock the same respect for that sacred bond, so that nothing may occur to lower the dignity of that great sacrament ; nothing which dishonors the purity of the nuptial couch ; nothing, indeed, which can leave the least doubt as to the indissolubility of the conjugal union. The only means of attaining it, is to inform the Christian people exactly that marriage is not merely subjected to human laws, but also to the divine law ; that it should be ranged not among earthly, but among holy things ; and that, consequently, it is exclusively to the Church to regulate it. In fact, from the conjugal union, which formerly had no other object than the perpetuity of the family (now raised by our Lord Jesus Christ to the dignity of a sacrament, and enriched with heavenly gifts of grace, perfecting nature), the Church does not rejoice so much to see descendants born, as to raise them for God and for his divine religion, and thus increase the number of adorers of the sovereign Master ; for it is certain that this conjugal union, of which God is the author, represents the sublime and perpetual union of our Lord Jesus Christ and the Church ; and that this close union, formed between man and wife, is a sacrament ; that is to say, a sacred sign of the immortal love of Christ for his spouse. It is necessary, then, to instruct the faithful on this point, and explain to them what has been ordained—what has been condemned by the rules of the Church, and the decrees of the councils, in order that the nations may neglect nothing to insure the virtue of the sacrament ; and that they may not dare to do what the Church condemns. We expect this care from your piety, your learning and understanding ; and we earnestly invoke all your religion.

“You know now, venerable brethren, what excites most earnest grief in us, who, set upon the chair of the prince of apostles, should be devoured with zeal for the whole house of the Lord. There are other numerous and no less grave subjects which time does not permit us to lay before you, and which moreover you know fully. Yet, could we withhold our voice, restrained by human considerations, or, plunged in lethargy, keep silence when they rend into pieces the tunic of our Lord, which the very men who crucified him respected ? God forbid, dear brethren, that the pastor’s love and care should fail the desolate and perishing flock. You will do, we doubt not, more than we ask ; and that you will employ instruction, counsel, toil, every care in fact, to maintain, increase and defend the religion of our fathers.

“But it is especially in these difficult junctures that we must pray in

spirit, and more fervently ; it is now that we must earnestly and frequently implore the Lord to heal the wounds of Israel, that his holy religion may everywhere flourish, and that the true felicity of nations suffer naught. In fine, that the Father of Mercies, casting a favorable look on the days of our mercy, may himself vouchsafe to guard and protect the sheep. May the high princes of christendom, those whose soul is so great and exalted, favor our zeal and efforts ; may He who has given them a docile heart for the fulfilment of his commands, grant them a new increase of the most precious graces, that they may courageously do what may turn to the prosperity and good of the Church afflicted by so many calamities.

“ Let us earnestly implore the thrice Holy Mary, Mother of God, who has alone, we know, triumphed over all heresies, and whom we this day gratefully hail as the help of Christians, in memory of the return of our most holy predecessor Pius VII., in this city of Rome, after so many trials of all kinds ; let us implore the prince of the apostles, Peter, and his glorious companion, Paul, not to permit us to be shaken by any storms, built as we are on the corner-stone of Catholic faith. Let us implore it by the grace of the prince of pastors, Jesus Christ our Lord, whom we beg to pour forth on your fraternity, and the flocks conferred to you, the most abundant gifts of grace, peace, and joy ; and as a pledge of our love, we send you, with all our heart, the apostolic benediction.

“ Given at Rome, at Saint Peter’s, the 24th day of May, in the year 1829, of our pontificate the first.

“ PIUS, POPE VIII.”

Pius at once continued the labors of his predecessor, in erecting the church of St. Paul, and was enabled to raise means to hasten the completion of a work so ardently desired. One of the great columns intended to support the magnificent arch erected by the Empress Placidia, was raised to its place in the venerated Basilica, early in the reign of this pope, and that relic of the former church preserved in all its beauty.

On the 18th of June he proclaimed the usual jubilee granted on the accession of a pope, and his letters apostolic breathe all the ecclesiastical spirit, learning, and piety which characterize his writings.

His first creation of cardinals took place on the 27th of July, when, in a secret consistory, he invested with that dignity Monsignor Caesar Nembrini Pironi Gonzaga, born at Ancona, November 27th, 1768, and Monsignor Remi Crescini, a Benedictine of Monte Cassino, born at Placentia, March 5th, 1757.

By a concordat with Holland, three bishops had been instituted at Ghent, Tournay, and Liege ; but no nominations had as yet been made for the sees of Bruges, Bar-le-Duc, and Amsterdam. Cardinal Joseph Albani

labored to have the whole matter arranged ; but the government caused these bishops even to surrender the bulls which they had officially received through its hands, and it was not till a much later period that they were finally consecrated.

About this epoch arose, at Lyons, an association of poor persons in favor of the Foreign Missions, each member giving only half-a-dollar a year. This soon spread, with the blessing of God, and has, for many years, been, under the name of the Association for the Propagation of the Faith, one of the great succors of the missionary struggling with the manifold forms of human error and indifference. In these missions Pius VIII. took the deepest interest ; and, no matter what the state of suffering in which he lay a habitual invalid, he rose, as if by an irresistible impulse, to give an audience and his blessing to the apostolic man departing on his sacred errand.

The Carbonari, a secret society, established having in view the unity of Italy and a republican government, was meanwhile spreading. The decrees of the pontiffs were disregarded, and new lodges, or vendetta, were established in various parts. In 1829, twenty-six persons were brought to trial for conspiracy, and Joseph Picilli de Madellone, condemned to death, although Pius commuted his penalty to imprisonment.

But while religion was embarrassed with difficulties in the old world, where the State assumed to control the nomination of bishops and their action—where revolutionary spirits, goaded on by infidelity, sought to overthrow every altar—the new Church of the United States filled the heart of the pontiff with joy and consolation. There religion was free. Prejudice, indeed, prevailed in a people nurtured for centuries in calumnies against the Church ; but the Church was everywhere free to carry on her labors. Pius VII. had created the first Sees ; Leo XII. had added others. A new hierarchy had grown up beyond the Atlantic ; and, on the 4th of October, 1829, there opened, in the cathedral at Baltimore, the first provincial council, unfettered by any governmental interference, but following in all the regulations of the Church.

The decrees adopted were transmitted to Rome, and there confirmed by the Holy See. Out of respect to the founder of their hierarchy, Archbishop Carroll, the acts of his synod, of 1791, were incorporated in the acts of the council.

On the 15th of March, 1830, Pius VIII. made another promotion of cardinals, investing with the purple the Right Reverend Thomas Weld, born at London, January 22d, 1773, bishop of Amycla, and coadjutor of the bishop of Kingston, Upper Canada ; 2. Raphael Mazzio, born at Rome, October 24th, 1765 ; and Monsignor Dominic de Simone, born at Benevento, November 29th, 1768. He at the same time reserved eight cardinals *in petto*.

But while the pope was consoled with the freedom of the Church in America, and its progress in the British realm, he was afflicted by the attempt of German Protestant powers to control Catholic matters according to their views. Did we not know that the gates of hell are ever endeavoring to prevail against the Church of Christ, we might ask, why will not these men, these Henry IV.'s, these Bourbons, these Jansenists, these Robespierres, these Napoleons, these Mazzinis, think as they please, and act as they please, and let Catholics, who wish to adhere to the old faith, practise it fully? The thing seems so simple. Why not let the Catholic practise his religion, as they allow the Jew or Calvinist to practise his? No attempt has been made to require the Synagogue to reform the Talmud, or the Calvinist adopt new formularies.

In 1821, a pragmatic was proclaimed in the name of the States of Wirtemberg, Baden, the two Hesses, Nassau, and Frankfort. Protestants alone drew up this document, which was to regulate Catholic faith and worship, and had the simplicity to suppose that the Church would submit to such dictation. The burgomaster and council of the free city of Frankfort, on the 2d of May, 1830, came forward with a document in thirty-nine articles, entitled Pragmatic, intended to adapt the faith and discipline of the Universal Church, the work of the learning and sanctity of eighteen centuries, to the requirements of the Protestant burgomaster and his council.

To such a system of tyranny the pope could not submit. His protest, first in a non-official form, was transmitted to the several States which had subscribed with the senate of Frankfort the tyrannical constitution, and explanations were received which for a time reassured the sovereign pontiff.

The question of mixed marriages in Germany, also required attention. In reply to a letter of the archbishop of Cologne, and the bishops of Treves, Paderborn, and Munster, Pius VIII. issued a bull dated March 25th, 1830, and accompanied by instructions, bearing date two days later, and signed by Cardinal Albani. Such is always the usage at Rome. General principles are laid down in the briefs, bulls, letters apostolic and encyclical; then instructions appear to develop the sense of these principles, suppose various cases, and offer a number of useful solutions, which pastors remote from Rome may take as a rule, and apply to circumstances not distinctly marked out.

Cardinal Wiseman, speaking of this celebrated letter, says: "One cannot fail to be struck by the calm and apostolic dignity which pervades it in every part. It is known that it cost the gentle, yet firm mind of Pius a conflict of emotions, which inflicted on him almost anguish. His office compelled him to reply; and the answer could not be any but a censure on

the conduct of a powerful State, with which he was perfectly at peace, and directions to thwart its measure, and testify to the utmost 'abhorrence' for it. It was impossible for him to foresee the possible results of his decided conduct. His directions might be disobeyed, and the world might deride his innocuous blow, as though, like the feeble old Priam's,

——— '*telum imbellis sine ictu.*'

They might be carried out, not in his spirit, and confusion and misunderstanding would arise. Or even they might be admirably obeyed, and yet lead to collisions and conflicts, to sufferings and violence, of which the blame would probably be cast upon himself. It was painful, therefore, in the extreme, to feel obliged to issue such a document; but, upon its face, no sign can be traced of the agitation and affliction of his soul. It is impassive and dignified throughout. There are blended in it two qualities, not often combined. Its enactments are as clear and as definite as any statute could make them, without wavering, flinching, or aught extenuating; at the same time, its entire tone is conciliatory, respectful, and even friendly. To the bishops, he speaks as a father and a master; of their sovereign, he undeviatingly writes as of a fellow-monarch, an ally, and a friend. His confidence in the royal justice, fairness, and tolerance is entire and unbounded. The character of Pius is breathed into every paragraph, his inflexibility of conscience, his strictness of principle, with his kindness of heart and gentleness of natural disposition. Moreover, the consummate canonist is discoverable to the more learned, and this too in the line of condescension and conciliation. His successor, in 1837, commenting on this brief, justly remarked that it 'pushed its indulgence so far, that one might truly say it reached the very boundary line, which could not be passed without violation of duty.' Every one knows what a nicety in legal knowledge this requires. A well-remembered popular leader used to boast, that he trusted so confidently in his accurate acquaintance with law, that he had no fear of ever overstepping its limits, or being caught in the snares which he knew beset his path. His foot was, however, at length entangled in their meshes, his confidence had betrayed him, and his energy was irreparably broken.

"Not so was it with Pius. What he had written, he had written in the fulness of a wisdom which holiness of life had matured, and an earnest sense of duty now doubly enlightened; not a word of it had to be recalled, modified, or compromised; and, though after a long struggle, it has remained an oracle and a law."

This brief, from the circumstances to which it led, cannot be omitted in a history of the popes.

"To the venerable Brethren, Ferdinand Augustus, Archbishop of Cologne, Joseph, Bishop of Treves, Frederic Clement, Bishop of Paderborn, and Gaspar Macilian, Bishop of Munster.

"PIUS, PP. VIII.

"Venerable Brethren, Health, and Apostolic Benediction :

"In your letter, addressed two years since to Leo XII., our predecessor of glorious memory, you carefully set forth the difficult and critical position in which you were placed by an enactment of the civil law, issued in your countries a few years since, which requires that, in mixed marriages, the children of both sexes be brought up in the religion of the father, or at least according to his wish ; at the same time forbidding priests to require of persons, about to contract such marriages, any promise in regard to the religious education of the children to spring from such union. We personally shared at the time the deep grief caused in that excellent pontiff by the detailed exposition of your embarrassment.

"But now that, by an impenetrable judgment of God, it has been reserved to our weakness to give the reply which death prevented our predecessor from sending you at the time, we experience still greater pain. The Holy See cannot, in fact, absolutely permit all that, from your statement, is exacted in your countries for the execution of the civil law. Two motives, however, console us : in the first place, your zeal and that of your clergy for the defence of the doctrine of the Church and the maintenance of the rules which it has established, a zeal of which we find a proof even in the letter which you addressed to Leo XII. ; in the second place, the goodness of the king of Prussia, who, as you equally showed, has, in some sort, counselled you to lay before the Holy See a complete and faithful picture of the state of affairs, and consult it on the subject of your troubles. We therefore justly hope that not only you will conform entirely to our reply of this day, but also that his majesty will not be offended, if cheerfully obeying him in temporal affairs, you, nevertheless, reserve the right to follow the holy rules of the Catholic religion in matters which concern not the civil effects, but the very sanctity of marriage, and the religious duties of the wedded.

"To come more directly to the question, we need not tell you, versed as you are in sacred science, that the Church has a horror of these unions, which present so many deformities and spiritual dangers, and that for this reason this Apostolic See has always watched with the greatest care that the canonical laws forbidding these marriages be strictly observed. We find, in fact, that the Roman pontiffs have sometimes dispensed from this holy prohibition of the canons ; but they have done so only for grave reasons, and with great reluctance. And it has been the constant habit to add to the dispensations granted the express condition of requiring, previous to the marriage, necessary guarantees, not only to preserve the Catholic

party from being perverted by the non-Catholic, the former being, on the other hand, required to use every effort to withdraw the other from error; but also that the children of both sexes, to issue from the union, should be brought up exclusively in the sanctity of the Catholic religion. You know, venerable brethren, that all these guarantees have but this object, to secure respect to natural and divine laws on this point. It is acknowledged, in fact, that Catholics, whether men or women, who marry with non-Catholics, so as rashly to expose themselves and their children to the danger of being perverted, not only violate the holy canons, but, moreover, sin directly and grievously against the paternal and divine law. You understand then, that we, too, would render ourselves guilty of a crime before God and before the Church, should we, in regard to mixed marriages to be celebrated in your countries, authorize in you or the parochial clergy of your dioceses, a course of conduct from which it could be concluded that these unions, if not formally and in words approved, are at least, in fact and reality, indistinctly approved.

"Praising then, in an especial manner, the zeal wherewith you have hitherto endeavored to divert from such marriages the Catholics whose souls are confided to your care, we earnestly exhort you in the Lord to continue to labor carefully for the same end in all patience and doctrine, as about to receive in heaven an abundant reward of your efforts and pain.

"According to these principles, then, whenever a Catholic, especially a woman, would marry a non-Catholic, the bishop or parish priest must carefully instruct such Catholic on the canonical provisions concerning marriage; and seriously warn such person of the grave crime of which he (or she) is about to render himself guilty before God, should he have the temerity to violate them.

"It will especially be fitting to urge him to remember this firm dogma of our religion, that out of the true Catholic faith no one can be saved, and to acknowledge, consequently, that the Catholic woman would act in advance most cruelly towards the children whom she expects from God, if she contracted a marriage, where she knows that their education will depend entirely on the will of their non-Catholic father. This salutary advice should even, as prudence shall dictate, be repeated, especially as the marriage day approaches, and at the time when the usual bans are published; and when examination is made, whether no other canonical impediment is opposed to the celebration. If, in some cases, this paternal care of the pastor is unavailing, it will be necessary indeed to prevent all trouble and preserve the Catholic religion from greater evils, to refrain from proceeding against such person by censures pronounced upon him by name; but on the other side, the Catholic pastor will refrain not only from honoring with

any religious ceremony whatever the ensuing marriage, but also from any act by which he may seem to give it his approbation. All that has been tolerated in this respect in certain places is, that pastors, who, to avoid greater injuries to the Catholic religion, seeing it necessary to attend such marriages, suffer them to take place in their presence (provided there was no other canonical impediment), in order that, having heard the consent of the two parties, they might then, by virtue of their ministry, enter in the marriage register the act validly accomplished, but always refraining from approving these illicit unions by any act whatever, and especially by refraining from reciting any prayer, or performing any ecclesiastical rite whatever.

“We must now speak of those who have dared to contract mixed marriages in the absence of the Catholic pastor. For this purpose we have deemed it necessary to take such measures, that the scandals arising, as you state, from these marriages be, as far as possible, removed; that the Catholics living in the bonds of a marriage thus contracted may be brought more easily to expiate their sin by the salutary tears of penance; and finally, that there may be a fixed rule for all, in order to decide hereafter the validity of marriages thus contracted.

“As to the marriages hitherto celebrated in your countries without the presence of the parish priest, we shall soon delegate to you the necessary powers to remedy, in great part at least, the consequent evils. We now will and ordain, by these present letters, that mixed marriages, celebrated after this day (March 25th, 1830), in your dioceses, without the formalities prescribed by the Council of Trent, be regarded, provided that no other canonical impediment directly intervene, as valid and true marriages. Catholics who hereafter contract marriage in this manner, provided, nevertheless, that no dirimant canonical impediment intervene, should be informed by their pastors that they have contracted a true and valid marriage. But another duty of pastors will be to exhort, at a seasonable time in the charity of God and the patience of Christ, all Catholics, and especially Catholic women, who have contracted with non-Catholics a valid but illicit union, to do penance for the great crime which they have committed, and to satisfy their obligations, especially that which will always be binding on them in regard to their children, and which require them to employ all means and care to give them all a Catholic education.

“After what precedes, we deem it useless, venerable brethren, to excite you to acknowledge with how much prudence you must act in all these circumstances, in order that no odium be cast on the Catholic religion; for we are aware that you know this perfectly.

“Act, then, and let pastors instructed by you act, so that the world may see that Catholic priests are animated only by the spirit of fulfilling their duty, which obliges them, where religion is concerned, to observe the laws

of the Church; and that, in the same spirit, they are inclined to obey, in the temporal order, the prince's laws, not from a certain servile fear, but from conscience.

"We are, in fact, greatly afflicted not to have been able to deliver you entirely from the pain and embarrassment that you experience; but do not lose courage! The most serene king himself, who has solemnly manifested his good-will towards his Catholic subjects, and who has given proofs in deeds, will not suffer, we are fully convinced, that, in a point which directly affects your religious functions, you be longer harassed. Touched in his clemency by your trials, and desirous of meeting your wishes, his majesty will deem it right that, in this matter also, you observe and execute freely the rules of the Catholic religion. That this wish may be entirely realized, we must humbly beseech God, who holds the hearts of kings in his hand. We cease not to offer unto Him our prayers. You, we doubt not, do the same.

"Receive, meanwhile, as a pledge of our special affection, the apostolic benediction, which we affectionately grant to you, as well as to the clergy and faithful confided to your care.

"Given at Rome, at St. Peter's, the 25th day of March, in the year 1830, of our pontificate the first.

"PIUS PP. VIII."

The Prussian minister, de Bunsen, acknowledged that, although the pontifical concessions did not go to the length, in all points, asked by his court, they were of extreme importance. After declaring that he accepted with gratitude the conciliating concessions offered by the court of Rome, he asked that the brief and instruction be handed to him to forward to Berlin. Four copies, one for each prelate, were accordingly prepared and delivered; but, after all this activity, there was silence and inaction for more than a year. The brief and instruction lay unacted upon, at Berlin, till 1831, and, consequently, till after the death of Pius VIII.

In 1830, Pius VIII., yielding to many solicitations, created cardinal the duke de Rohan Chabot, archbishop of Besançon.

Notwithstanding some minor disputes between the Holy See and the Russian court, the Emperor Alexander had repaired at Rome the ancient Polish church of St. Nicholas; and Nicholas ordered further improvements, and extended his care to the ancient Polish church, *la Madonna del Pascolo*.

In consequence of a supposed connection between the Bonapartes and the Carbonari, the Neapolitan government urged that the widow of Murat, the ex-king of Naples, should not be allowed to remain at Rome. She accordingly retired to Austria.

Although the protests of Pius VIII. against the thirty-nine tyrannical

Frankfort articles had seemed to have some weight, there now appeared a design of enforcing them rigorously. The affairs occurring in Europe were a warning alike to Catholic and Protestant powers, and Pius VIII. resolved to address the archbishop of Fribourg, and the bishops of his province, an urgent brief. The various princes were informed of it. They should have seen that it was not a time when the pontiff's could infringe on their just rights, but that their very existence was aimed at, by powers against which the Church ever raised her voice, the powers of infidelity and indifferetism.

In this letter, Pius VIII. took the broad ground that the free toleration of the Catholic faith had been publicly guaranteed in those States, and that no change of discipline could be enforced by the State, but that every new measure must be concerted between the government and the Holy See.

“To our venerable brethren, the archbishop of Fribourg, and the bishops of Mentz, Rothenburg, Limburg, and Fulda.

“PIUS VIII.

“Venerable Brethren, health :

“An afflicting rumor had already reached my ears, that the enemies of the Catholic Church were forming in the province of the Rhine some projects against sound doctrine and the constitution of the Church, and that their efforts, cunningly directed, called for numerous innovations, and were not without success. We could not at first credit these uncertain rumors, especially having learned nothing from you, to whom it belongs to inform us on so grave a matter, as also to watch efficaciously over the good of your dioceses, and remove not only errors, but also the danger and suspicion of error. It is with no less astonishment than grief that we have seen our hopes deceived in this respect, for what has reached us in a special manner has become public, and is confirmed by indisputable testimony, so that we had absolutely to convince ourselves that the Church could not tolerate the novelties introduced into the country, inasmuch as they rest on false and erroneous principles, opposed to the doctrines and laws of the Church, and that they tend openly to the ruin of souls.

“The holy spouse of Christ, the Spotless Lamb, is free by divine institution, and is not subjected to any human power, but it is reduced by these profane novelties to a shameful and wretched bondage, when the lay-power is permitted to confirm or reject councils, divide dioceses, select the candidates for the priesthood and those who should be promoted to ecclesiastical functions, when the direction of instruction and religious and moral discipline are assigned to them, when the very seminaries and all that touches the spiritual government of the Church is left to the pleasure of the laity, and the faithful are prevented from communicating freely with the head of

the Church, essential as such communion is to the essence of the constitution of the Catholic Church, and cannot be prevented, without depriving the faithful of necessary succor, and imperilling their eternal salvation.

“It would be at least a consolation for us, if, following the duty of your charge, you had taken all care to instruct the faithful confided to you in regard to the manifold errors of these principles, and on the snares laid for them by these enterprises. It behooved you to do what the apostle Saint Paul so imposingly inculcates on his disciple Timothy, and in his person on all bishops, when he said : ‘Preach the word ; be instant in season and out of season ; reprove, entreat, rebuke, with all patience and doctrine. For there shall be a time when they will not bear sound doctrine ; but, according to their own desires, they will heap to themselves teachers having itching ears. . . . But be thou vigilant ; labor in all things ; do the work of an evangelist ; fulfil thy ministry.’ (2 Tim. iv. 2–5.) It became you to raise a pastoral voice, that the rebuke of those in error might at the same time serve to restrain the wavering, according to the words of the same apostle : ‘Them that sin, reprove before all ; that the rest also may have fear.’ (1 Tim. v. 20.) In fine, it behooved you to follow the example of the apostles, who replied, with gospel liberty, to those who enjoined silence upon them : ‘We ought to obey God rather than men.’

“We cannot dissemble from you, venerable brethren, in what bitterness our heart is plunged, since it has been related to us that there is one among you, who, far from defending the Catholic Church and its doctrine by combating errors and novelties, and forewarning the faithful confided to his care, by salutary precepts and advice, has not hesitated, on the contrary, to give by assent and concurrence a new force and authority to these innovations and false and erroneous principles. The gravity of the fault induces us to believe the suspicion false. We shrink from passing on you so severe a judgment ; or from believing that any one of you could so betray the cause of the Church of Christ in things so important as those which affect its constitution and essence. For the very reason and nature of the Church government established by God, show that it only can be in a time of attacks and troubles against her that the powers of the world lord it over her, or pretend to direct her doctrine, or oppose free communication with the first See, to which, says Saint Irenæus, ‘it is necessary that the whole Church, and the faithful scattered on all sides, recur, on account of its eminent principality.’ ‘Whoso would attempt to introduce a new form of Church government,’ says Cyprian, ‘would endeavor to make a human Church.’

“In reminding you, venerable brethren, of the duties of the apostolic ministry, we propose to confirm you in your duty, and excite you, if need be, to maintain zealously the rights of the Church, to maintain sound doc-

trine, and not to hesitate to show, to those with whom it is necessary to act, how contrary to reason and justice are the measures, pernicious to the Church, already adopted and proposed. The very goodness and justice of the cause, and our solicitude for the sheep confided to you, should give you courage to display for their salvation the virtues becoming good shepherds. But what should also confirm you, is, that the cause which you will defend will rest on conventions entered into between the Holy See and these princes, for they have bound themselves by public promises to leave the Catholic Church free in their country, both in regard to the relations between the faithful and the head of the Church on ecclesiastical matters, and also in regard to the full exercise of episcopal jurisdiction by the archbishop and bishops, according to the regulation of the canons in vigor, and the laws of present ecclesiastical discipline.

“We hope that this will suffice, that be what they may the vexatious orders given you in so grave a matter, you will ask their revocation, and having succeeded, win the merit and glory of having brought this affair to a happy issue. Full of ardent solicitude for the state of these churches, after the scandal of these novelties, we expect from you a prompt reply in order to console our sorrows, if it is conformable to our desires ; or if, which God forbid, it is opposed thereto, that we may adopt such resolutions as the duty of our apostolic charge requires of us.

“Justly confiding in your zeal to do what we ask of you before the Lord, and what we command you to do, we grant you, venerable brethren, for yourselves and your flocks, the apostolic benediction.

“Given at Saint Mary Major's, June 30th, in the year 1830, the second of our pontificate.

“PIUS VIII.”

The Armenians in the Turkish empire also demanded the attention of the Holy See. They had been subject to the schismatic patriarch, who exercised the most brutal cruelties upon them. To put an end to such an anomalous state of things, Pius VIII., in 1828, resolved to erect an archiepiscopal See at Constantinople ; and, on the 11th of July, 1830, Anthony Nourigan, an Armenian ecclesiastic, was consecrated first archbishop, in the church of the Propaganda, by Cardinal Zurla, vicar-general of His Holiness, assisted by Monsignor Soglia, archbishop of Ephesus, and Azarias Aristaces, Armenian archbishop of Cesaræa, in Cappadocia, in the presence of many prelates of Latin, Greek, Armenian, and other oriental rites.

In July, 1830, took place the first of those great political earthquakes which have since become so frequent, shaking down thrones and scattering their occupants, without war, and comparatively without the cruelties of a violent reaction. Three days formed the mystic term required for the over-

throw of a dynasty. Street-barricading and domiciliary slaughter were the strategy employed: then all was over, without guillotine or fusillades. Such were the three days, once called glorious in France, commemorated by anniversary festivities. The elder branch of the Bourbons was its victim; the work of many years' war, by confederated Europe, was overthrown in a trice; down to its favorite and tenderest shoot, it was whirled entire, by the revolutionary blast, across the sea to a second exile, but not to a second hospitable welcome. And yet the fight and the turmoil, the agitation and the waste of strength, were not even for a change of name. When the dust and the smoke had cleared away, another Bourbon was on the throne; a monarch had succeeded to a monarch; a younger branch, more vigorous in its offshoots, fuller of younger sap, was planted on the same spot, or rather sprang from the same trunk as the one so mercilessly lopped. It appeared as if France had not at least quarrelled with the root.

In August, the terrible lesson, easily learnt, was faithfully repeated in Brussels, and Belgium was forever separated from Holland. To those who had witnessed the first great revolution in France, the reappearance once more, in the same country, of the quelled spirit of that event could not but be a spectacle full of terrors. The recollection of that sanguinary period was still fresh in the memory of many. Charles X., who was expelled by the new revolution, was, after all, the brother of the king who had perished on the scaffold in the first: this, alone, brought the two events into a close connection. Pius VIII. had lived and suffered in one; he could not but be deeply affected by another. It was easy to foresee that examples so successful as these must encourage the discontented of other countries, and that a spark from one conflagration might suffice to set the drier materials of older dynasties in a blaze. His own dominions were not left in peace. The storm, which was soon to break in all its fury, was gathering slowly and sullenly around. Soon after his accession, he had, as already stated, renewed the edicts of his predecessor against secret societies—the Carbonari.

These repeated shocks, abroad and at home, to which may be added the revolution in Poland, in November, and the death of his friend and ally, the king of Naples, inflicted stroke after stroke on the pope's shattered frame. The malignant humor which had affected him so long outwardly, was driven inwards upon more vital organs, and threatened, towards the end of 1830, a speedy dissolution.

In the mean time, Pius had taken a plain straightforward course. No sooner had the French revolution proved complete, and Louis Philippe been seated firmly on his throne, than he frankly recognized his government, and confirmed the credentials of his own nuncio. The archbishop of Paris, Monseigneur de Quélen, a man whose virtues all must admire, de-

murred to even this decision, and sent an envoy to Rome to argue the question of the new oath of fidelity, and of public prayers for the head of the State. Several other bishops likewise entertained similar conscientious scruples, and consulted the same supreme authority. On the 29th of September the pope addressed a most luminous and kind brief to the archbishop, in which he replied to his doubts, and assured him that he might safely accord both the required pledges of fidelity.

“PIUS PP. VIII.

“To our venerable Brother Hyacinth Louis, archbishop of Paris, Greeting :

“Venerable Brother, health and Apostolic Benediction :

“We have received your letter full of deference, and, at the same time, several others from various bishops of France, and all these letters have affected our heart with more than one sentiment. In fact, the cruel grief with which we have been seized on account of the last calamities of the kingdom, the anxieties of our venerable brethren, and your own misfortunes, is increased by the too-oft repeated recital of similar things. But at the same time it is a great relief for our sorrow that this admirable zeal for the salvation of religion and the preservation of discipline, which we rejoice to see animating all the French clergy, and the wise resolution wherewith you and several other bishops have hastened, according to ancient usage, to refer to the Holy See, in the grave doubts which have arisen, and to ask its counsel. Nor is a trifling subject of joy the confirmation given by some of these letters to the fact, that our dear son in Christ, the new king, Louis Philippe, is animated by the best sentiments towards the bishops, and all the rest of the clergy, and that he uses every exertion to maintain tranquillity. But already in our reply to the letter which that sovereign wrote us in person, we have certainly commended to him to protect, with all the powers of his heart, the Catholic religion and its holy ministers, which shall be the object of the care of our venerable brother, Louis, archbishop of Beryta,* near his majesty, we having confirmed him in his functions of nuncio of the Holy Apostolic See, near the new king.

“But, in regard to the doubts in question, several questions having been addressed to us by some bishops, almost all have agreed chiefly to consult us, both in regard to the oath of fidelity and in regard to the prayers to be offered in churches for the new king. As to the first point, then, we are asked whether it was lawful to take to the king of the French an oath of fidelity in these words: ‘I swear fidelity to the king of the French, obedience to the Constitutional Charter, and to the laws of the kingdom.’ This form of oath is not new in France. You remember, venerable brethren,

* Afterwards Cardinal Lambruschini.

that at the time when Louis XVIII. began his reign, some declined to take this indefinite oath, as just expressed; and Pius VII., our predecessor of glorious memory, did not hold it lawful till Louis XVIII. explained this formula in such a manner as to remove all suspicion of any heterodox meaning; and clearly the solemn declaration made in the name of that monarch by his ambassador on the 15th of July, 1817, and immediately printed in Latin and French, had no other object. Now, as nothing requires us to regard as revoked at this time the declaration then given of the meaning of the oath, it follows that the faithful, who, till now, in consequence of that declaration, lawfully took that oath, can, in the same terms, take the oath to the new king of the French, who, tranquillity being restored, actually occupies the throne of France.

“Now, after all that has just been said, it is easy to understand that it is equally lawful to offer in the Church for the same king solemn prayers in the formula *Domine salvum fac*; and so in regard to all other things generally mentioned in the doubts of the various bishops, the said bishops can now lawfully do all that before the last events they did conformably to the discipline of the Church, regularly in vigor and approved of by the condescendence of the Holy Apostolic See.

“Such, venerable brother, is the answer we have deemed it our duty to make to the questions we have received. Meanwhile, we will address to the Father of Mercies fervent prayers that he may deign to direct you, you who labor diligently in his vineyard, and to cover you constantly with his blessing, and we affectionately accord to your fraternity our apostolic benediction, to communicate also to the flock confided to your care.

“Given at Rome, at Saint Mary Major’s, the 27th of September, in the year 1830, of our pontificate the second.

PIUS PP. VIII.

The Holy See, early in the convulsions of the revolution, had seemed to cling to that house of Bourbon which, in fact, so little deserved it, as being a mainstay of religion. But now, in the full tide of the century of shadowy sovereigns,* the Eighth Pius, by this decision, separates fully the Church from all political changes. The bishops in each land, by the clear decision of the successor of Saint Peter, may freely accept each government *de facto*. when once its authority is established and recognized.

It cannot be necessary to remark how fearfully this outbreak of revolutionary spirit, which made its first appearance in this pontificate, was pregnant with immense results throughout the Continent; how it was only the first of successive convulsions in France; visited successively greater and

* No century in history has seen more ex-kings than the nineteenth.

lesser States, from empires to grand-duchies ; and has led to more changes of dynasties, more resignations of sovereigns, more variations of national constitutions, more provisional governments, more periods of anarchy, more civil strife, more military rule, more states of siege, more political assassinations, more disturbance of international law, and more subversion of the moral bases of society, crowded and condensed into one quarter of a century, than would run diluted through the annals of any hundred years in the world's history.

The good pope was spared the sight of all this misery ; for, as the reader has seen, the beginning of this revolutionary movement seemed to cut short his valuable life. He was conscious of his approaching end, and asked to receive the Sacraments, which the highest and the lowest in the Church equally require and desire, or which rather bind us all together in an equality of helplessness and of relief ;—like the food of the body, in this, that the monarch and the beggar must both partake of it ; unlike it in this, that only one quality and one measure is there served out to both. A pope ordains like an ordinary bishop, recites his breviary like a common priest, receives the Viaticum under one species, the same as any patient in the hospital, and goes through the humble duty of confession, generally to a simple priest, like the every-day sinner of the world. In what is believed to be supernatural, and belongs to the order of grace, he is on the level with his own children. He can give more than they, but he must receive the same.

Meanwhile, Pius VIII., still feeble, became dangerously ill. On the 11th of October he wished to visit the restorations in progress at St. Paul's, and expressed his thanks to the prelates and administrators in charge of the works.

On the 1st of November he attended the solemn Mass celebrated in the Pauline chapel, at the Quirinal ; but it was seen that the Holy Father was suffering : tears filled his eyes, and his emotion was visible beneath his ceremonial vestments.

The next day, against the advice of physicians, he heard the Mass for the Dead. His rapid decline alarmed all, however, and it was proposed to summon some of his kindred to Rome ; but Pius would not violate the engagement against nepotism taken by every sovereign pontiff.

But a trait is recorded of the dying Pius, which will justify, or illustrate, what has been said concerning the delicacy of his conscience, as well as the disinterestedness of his conduct. On his death-bed, he sent for his treasurer, Cristaldi, and requested him, in virtue of the powers vested in his office, to secure a small pension for life to one old and faithful domestic, who had attended him for years. He had laid by nothing himself, from which he could provide for him, and he doubted whether he had himself a

right to leave the treasury burdened with this trifling personal gratuity. He expressed his thankfulness when his request was efficiently complied with, and composed himself to rest.

On the 29th of November, at midnight, the pope entered his agony, and, on the 30th, at half-past three in the morning, he breathed his last sigh.*

Pius had created six cardinals—Nembrini, Crescini, Weld, Mazio, de Simone, and Rohan. It has been supposed that he had created Lingard *in petto*; but Cardinal Wiseman shows that the cardinal thus named, and never proclaimed, was the celebrated Lamennais, author of the "Essay on Indifference," whose future career gave such scandal to the Church.

Pius had announced his design of promoting to the purple, in reward for learning, and especially for distinguished services rendered the Church; and, had his life been spared, his appointments would have shown a most illustrious array of talent and ecclesiastical learning.

There is certainly no dignity in Europe, says Cardinal Wiseman, more thoroughly European than the cardinalate; and there is no reason why it should not have, one day, its representatives in America or Asia, or even Australia. It is, indeed, an ecclesiastical distinction, though admitted to possess civil rank throughout the Continent; but every other dignity is similarly confined to a particular class. A civilian cannot hope to be a general, or an admiral, or a lord-chancellor; nor can an ecclesiastic be in the House of Commons; nor can a lawyer obtain the Victoria cross. Every honor has its narrow approach; every elevation its steep and solitary path. But each is limited to its own country. A Wellington may have a galaxy of stars twinkling in diamonds from the azure velvet of his pall; and a few crosses may be exchanged between allied nations. But there is no military power that flecks the uniform of the valiant—whether scarlet, blue, or white—with a badge of honor; no "republic of letters" which places laurel-crowns upon the brows of the learned and the scientific, in whatever language they have recorded their lore; no bountiful caliph, or lord of province, to whom the gentle minstrel of every nation is a sacred being, entitled to good entertainment and respect. In fine, no secular power effects either to look abroad among foreign nations for persons whom to honor, as of right, or to effect other sovereigns and States to solicit for their subjects its peculiar badge of generally recognized dignity.

But the Church, being universal in its destinies, makes no national distinction, and the honors which she bestows are not confined to any country; but, on the contrary, they receive an acknowledgment, which in

* This is Artaud's date. Cardinal Wiseman says the morning of December 1st.

some may, indeed, be merely courteous, but in most is legally assured. The Code Napoleon, wherever it prevails, has this provision. As a matter of course, where there is good understanding between any government and the Holy See, the distribution of such a dignity is matter of mutual arrangement; and it must be the fault of the government, if such amicable relations do not exist. There is consequently a recognized right in the four great Catholic powers, to propose a certain number of their ecclesiastical subjects for the cardinalitial dignity. Formerly, when a general promotion, as it was called, took place, that is, when a number of particular persons holding certain high offices were simultaneously invested with the purple, the privileged courts had a claim to propose their candidates. This usage may now be considered almost obsolete; and indeed the reigning pontiff has dealt most liberally in this respect, by naming many more foreigners than ever before held place in that ecclesiastical senate.

The funeral ceremonies were performed with the usual solemnity, and the oration pronounced by Monsignor, afterwards Cardinal, Mai.

The Holy See was vacant sixty-four days.



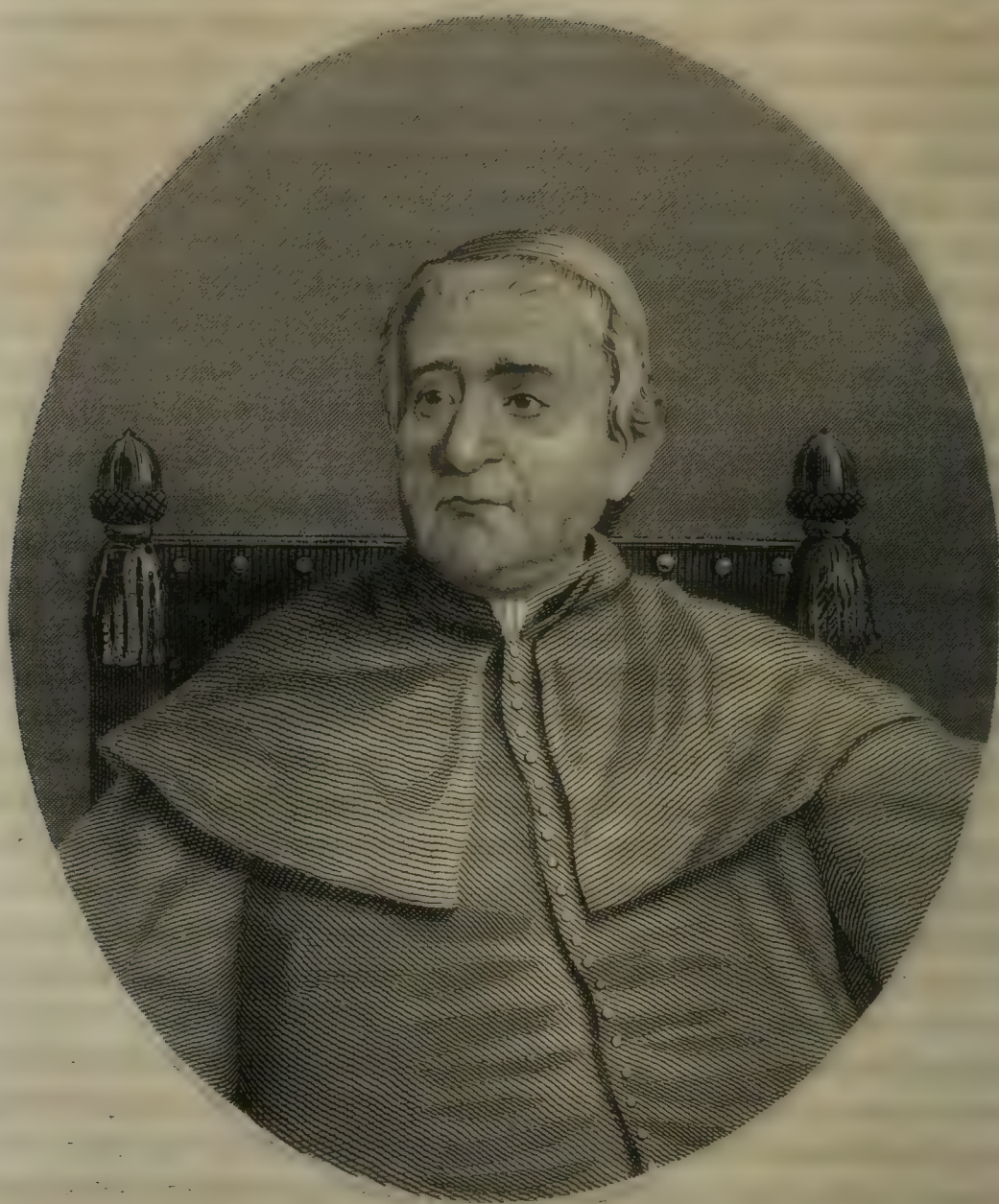
258. GREGORY XVI.—A. D. 1831.



HE conclave after the death of Pius commenced in the middle of December, with the observance of all usual forms. At one time it seemed likely to close by the election of Cardinal Giustiniani; when the court of Spain interposed and prevented it. Allusion has been made to the existence of this privilege, vested more by usage, than by any formal act of recognition, at least in three great Catholic powers. Should two-thirds of the votes centre in any person, he is at once pope, beyond the reach of any prohibitory declaration. It is, therefore, when the votes seem to be converging towards some one obnoxious, no matter why, to one of those sovereigns, that his ambassador to conclave, himself a cardinal, by a circular, admonishes his colleagues of this feeling in the court which he represents. This suffices to make them turn in another direction.

Thus in the previous conclave, Cardinal Severoli was nearly elected, when Cardinal Albani, on behalf of Austria, to which Severoli had been formerly nuncio, inhibited his election, by a note considered far from courteous. And, in like manner in this conclave, on the 7th of January, Cardinal Giustiniani received twenty-one votes, the number sufficient for election being twenty-nine, when Cardinal Marco, Spanish envoy, delicately intimated, first to Giustiniani's nephew, Odescalchi, then to Dean Pacea, that Spain objected to that nomination. Every one was amazed. Giustiniani had been nuncio in Spain; and the ground of his exclusion was supposed to be his participation in Leo XII.'s appointment of bishops in South America. If so, the object in view was signally defeated. For the power possessed by the crown of any country expires by its exercise; the sting remains behind in the wound. Cardinal Cappellari had been instrumental, far more than Giustiniani, in promoting those episcopal nominations, and he united the requisite number of votes, and was pope.

Every one in that conclave, however, bore witness to the admirable conduct of that excellent and noble prince on the occasion. "I have heard Cardinal Weld and his secretary in conclave, Bishop Riddell," says Cardinal Wiseman, "describe how wretched and pining he looked while the prospect of the papacy hung before him, for he was scrupulous and tender of conscience to excess; and how he brightened up and looked like himself again, the moment the vision had passed away. Indeed, no sooner had the note



of the Spanish lay ambassador, Labrador, been read in his presence by the dean, than Cardinal Giustiniani rose, and standing in the middle of the chapel, addressed his colleagues. He was tall, his scanty hair was white with age, his countenance peculiarly mild. His mother was an English lady, and his family are now claiming the Newburgh peerage in Scotland, from the crown. With an unfaltering voice, and a natural tone, unagitated by his trying position, the cardinal said: 'If I did not know courts by experience, I should certainly have cause to be surprised at the 'exclusion' published by the most eminent dean; since, far from being able to reproach myself with having given cause of complaint against me to His Catholic Majesty, during my nunciature, I dare congratulate myself with having rendered his majesty signal service in the difficult circumstances wherein he was placed.' He then referred to some proofs of acknowledgment of this fidelity from the Spanish crown; and continued: 'I will always cherish the memory of these kindnesses shown me by His Catholic Majesty, and will entertain towards him the most profound respect, and in addition a most lively interest for all that can regard his welfare and that of his august family. I will further add, that, of all the benefits conferred on me by his majesty, I consider the greatest and most acceptable to me (at least in its effects) to be his having this day closed for me the access to the most sublime dignity of the pontificate. Knowing, as I do, my great weakness, I could not bring myself to foresee that I should ever have to take on myself so heavy a burden; yet these few days back, on seeing that I was thought of for this purpose, my mind has been filled with the bitterest sorrow. To-day I find myself free from my anxiety, I am restored to tranquillity, and I retain only the gratification of knowing that some of my most worthy colleagues have deigned to cast a look on me, and have honored me with their votes, for which I beg to offer them my eternal and sincerest gratitude.'"

This address visibly moved the entire assembly; and many cardinals visited Giustiniani in his cell, to express to him their admiration of his conduct and his virtues.*

Gregory XVI. gave him every proof of his esteem, and after the death of Cardinal Weld, he was named Cardinal Protector of the English college, in consideration of his English descent.

It would seem as if the pontifical dignity, in modern times, had to alternate between the two ecclesiastical divisions in the Church, the secular and regular. Pius VII. belonged to the latter, the two next popes to the former class. In Cardinal Cappellari a return was made to the monastic order. His three immediate predecessors had passed through certain pre-

* Moroni, Dizionario, vol. xxxi., p. 221.

paratory steps ; had been graced with the episcopal dignity before they reached the pontifical, had been bishops or public characters in stirring times : he had never left the cloister until he was clothed with the purple—though in his case this was but a symbolical phrase ;* and after this, he only filled one, and that an ecclesiastical office.

Bartholomew Albert Cappellari was born at Belluno, then belonging to the republic of Venice, on the 18th of September, 1765, of parents belonging to the nobles of the place, though not favored with this world's riches. In 1783 he took the habit of the Camaldolese order in the monastery of Saint Michael in Murano, at Venice, assuming as his name in religion that of Maurus, an early disciple of Saint Benedict. After terminating his novitiate and his theological studies, he was ordained and said his first Mass in 1787.

In 1795 he was deputed to Rome on business, and there in 1799 published a work entitled : “ *Il trionfo della Santa Sede, e della Chiesa, contra gli assalti de Novatori* ”—“ The triumph of the Holy See and of the Church against the assaults of Innovators.” Cardinal Wiseman characterizes it as a “ work of great merit, giving proof of his extensive and varied learning.” Its warm reception gave testimony also to its merit and usefulness. It passed through three editions in Venice, and was translated into several European languages. In the preface the author says : “ More than one reader will perhaps find it singular and unreasonable that while souls devoted to the Church deplore the ruin of the sanctuary, the dispersion of the sacred ministers of the altar, exile, captivity, and outrages inflicted on the sovereign pontiff himself, whom God has abandoned to the power of his pitiless enemies, while, in a word, the Holy See reels, and the Church groans under the weight of its chains, I should undertake to represent the Church and the Holy See as triumphing over their enemies. If, since the barbarism of the early centuries, there was one epoch where the triumph of the Holy See and of the Church should strikingly appear, it is certainly the present epoch, which Eternal Wisdom has predestined to severe trials, in order that, spending its strength against the Church, impiety may have no means left for repeating its blows, redoubling its attacks ; that incredulity may lose the hope of conquering ; and that Catholics may at least recognize the fact, that it is, as Saint John Chrysostom observes, ‘ more easy to extinguish the sun than annihilate the Church.’ ”

In 1805 he was created abbot, and exercised the office at the monastery of Saint Gregory in Rome, and in that of his original profession at Venice. The first, however, became his place of residence.

* On becoming a cardinal, a religious preserves the color of his habit. That of the Camaldolese being white, Gregory XVI. never changed the color of his robes, but wore the same as a monk, a cardinal, and pope.

The church and monastery of Saint Gregory are beautifully situated on the Caelian Hill, and occupy the site of a religious house founded by that great pope, in his own house. Its original dedication was to the apostle Saint Andrew, in whose honor there still exists a chapel in the garden, adorned with exquisite frescoes. Over the threshold of this house proceeded Saint Augustine, and the other missionaries, whom Saint Gregory sent to England. From the Benedictines it passed into the hands of the Camaldolese, a branch indeed of that religious order. The Camaldolese take their name from one of the three celebrated "sanctuaries" of Tuscany, situated among the fastnesses of the Apennines, and remarkable for the beauties of their positions, and of the prospects around them. But the Camaldolese, founded by Saint Romuald in the thirteenth century, have two forms of life, one monastic, the other eremitical. It was to the monastic branch that Dom Mauro Cappellari belonged. In the splendid monastery of Saint Gregory the Great he passed upwards of twenty years of quiet obscurity, enjoying the command of a rich library, to which he greatly added.

But, although scarcely known to the public, he was one of the many living in Rome, who, silent and unseen, carry on the great business of the Church, as its counsellors, theologians, and referees in arduous affairs. In this way Father Cappellari was well-known to the Holy See, and full opportunity was given him to become acquainted with ecclesiastical and even civil business, and to manifest his ability, prudence, and uprightness in its transaction. Among other grave duties, Leo XII. imposed on him those of visitor of the four lesser universities. Those who knew his merits fully expected that he would be soon placed in a position to display them more usefully; when it appeared as if a friendly rival had stepped in between him and his well-earned honors.

Another religious of the same order, and from the same province, had come to Rome much later, and was his junior by several years. This was Dom Placido Zurla, a man of great learning and pleasing manners, and adorned besides with high moral qualities. But he had taken no leading part in ecclesiastical affairs in Rome, nor had he borne the weight of its evil days. His celebrity, indeed, as an author had been rather in a very different line, that of geographical research. In 1818 he had published, at Venice, an interesting work on Marco Polo and other early Venetian travellers, and he had brought to light, or at least greatly illustrated, a singular map of the world, preserved in the library of Saint Mark's, which, though long anterior to the age of Columbus, seemed to give a hint of a western continent. He was the intimate friend of Father Cappellari; and all Rome was astonished when he was named cardinal by Pius VII. in May, 1823, not because his own merits were underrated, but because his

elevation seemed to bar that of his fellow-monk. For it was supposed to be impossible that two religious should be raised to the purple from one very limited monastic body. So Zurla felt it; and on receiving notice of his coming nomination, he is said to have proceeded to the feet of Pius, and deprecated it, as an injustice to his friend—indeed, as certainly a mistake. However, it was not so. He became Vicar of Rome, and was Protector of the English college till his death in Sicily, in 1834. Not the slightest interruption of affection took place between the two religious brethren, even after the last had become first; and Zurla was vicar to Cappellari.

In fact, Leo XII. overlooked all usages, ordered a complete equipment for a cardinal to be prepared at his own charge; and the color and form of the robes left no doubt who the unknown nominee was to be. On the 25th of March, 1825, Leo created him cardinal, but reserved him *in petto*, till March 13th of the following year, when he proclaimed him with such a eulogium as has seldom been pronounced in consistory. He spoke of him as a person "so very remarkable for innocence and dignity of manners, and most learned, especially in ecclesiastical matters, and for protracted labors endured for the Apostolic See, that we have deemed it a duty to reward, with the cardinalitial dignity, the services which he has rendered with untiring perseverance; for we have made a law, to raise to dignities in the Church, only men distinguished by a well-deserved renown for piety and learning, and who have trodden the career of honors by this holy and legitimate way, and by no other."

As Prefect of the Propaganda, Cardinal Capellari rendered signal services and acquired an extensive practical knowledge of the various missions throughout the world. In this capacity he examined the acts of the first council of Baltimore, and corrected the mistaken idea that the Douay bible, or any of the multitudinous varieties bearing that name, had been approved at Rome.

On the Feast of the Purification, February 2d, 1831, an end was put to the conclave by his election to the supreme pontificate, by the name of Gregory. The ceremony of his coronation, which took place on the 6th, was enhanced by his consecration as bishop, at the High Altar of Saint Peter's. This function served clearly to exhibit the concurrence in his person of two different orders of ecclesiastical power. From the moment of his acceptance of the papal dignity, he was supreme head of the Church, could decree, rule, name, or depose bishops, and exercise every duty of pontifical jurisdiction. But he could not ordain, nor consecrate, till he had himself received the imposition of hands from other bishops, inferior to himself, and holding under and from him their Sees and jurisdiction.

On a previous occasion, when Clement XIV. was named pope, he received

episcopal consecration separately from his coronation. Gregory united the two functions; but following a still older precedent, departed from ordinary forms.

In the Roman pontifical, the rite prescribed for episcopal consecration is interwoven with the Mass, during which the new bishop occupies a very subordinate place till the end, when he is enthroned, and pronounces his first episcopal benediction. Here the entire rite preceded the Mass, which was sung in the usual form by the new pope. Like every other bishop, he recited, kneeling before the altar, and in presence of his clergy, the profession of faith, the bond here which united the head with the body, instead of being, as ordinarily, the link which binds a member to the head.

The morning was bright and full of joy; the evening came gloomy and charged with sinister prognostics. It was in the very square of the Vatican, while bestowing the first papal blessing, that the rumor reached him of insurrection in the provinces. It was one of those vague reports the origin and path of which no one can trace. For it was only on the fourth that Bologna had risen. A cannonade had been heard in the direction of Modena, which was taken for a signal of premature revolution. It was that of the grand-duke's attack on the house of *Ciro Menotti*, who had been treated with all the kindness of a domestic friend by that monarch, while he was the very centre of a general conspiracy. His treachery was discovered, and his intentions were frustrated by the vigilance and intrepidity of the duke, who took, and himself conveyed him away captive, where he could be better held. Soon the insurrection spread; and, having occupied the legations, overflowed its original boundaries, and sent its forces towards the capital, where a movement was attempted with no real success.

In Rome the outbreak was not the work of the whole Carbonari organization, but of one body only. Still, it spread widely among the excitable masses engaged in that vast conspiracy, and an insurrection was to take place simultaneously at Parma, Modena, Bologna, and all the other cities of the legation. England encouraged them, France durst not give open aid. Two of the Bonapartes were in the papal States, sons of *Queen Hortense*, *Louis* and *Napoleon*, the future emperor. Both, unmindful of the generosity of the popes to their family in its hour of trial, joined the insurrection, the elder sinking a victim to disease.

The revolt made Bologna its headquarters. Gregory at once assigned Cardinal *Bernetti* to the legations, and invested him with full powers and orders to meet force by force. But trouble soon began at Rome, and the new pontiff was compelled to secure the safety of the Eternal City. Cardinal *Bernetti* was appointed secretary of state.

February 12th was the carnival. But an edict suspended the sports. It was not to be a Roman holiday. A civic guard was formed; and the pope,

through his prime minister, appealed to the old Romans of Dei Monti and Trastevere. Troops patrolled the streets, warned good citizens to retire and keep out of danger. The immense rally of the people around the pope disconcerted the revolutionists; they saw that it was not the time for success. The plot for seizing the castle of Saint Angelo was defeated. In the evening of the 12th a party attacked the post-office, hoping to get the arms stored there, but the soldiers were on the alert; they dispersed the assailants, wounding and capturing several.

Whatever may have been the feelings of the provinces, certainly Rome gave no proof of sympathy with revolution, but rather manifested enthusiastic devotion to her new sovereign. Upon the civic guard being enlarged, to enable the regular troops to move northward, multitudes presented themselves for enrolment; and, among these, persons of the highest class, eager to take on themselves the defence of the pope's sacred person. Prince Altieri received the command of this body. The loyalty of the poorer classes became almost alarming. They surrounded the royal carriage in such masses, that it was scarcely possible to move through them; and they expressed their attachment and readiness to fight, with a clamor and warmth that would have rendered any attempt to remove them a dangerous experiment.

The pope displayed the utmost calm, fortitude, and prudence. The blow was, no doubt, to him cruel and disappointing. It served better than any symbolical ceremony, to remind him, on his coronation day, how earthly glory passeth quick away. He was yet untried, determined to devote himself to his high duties with zeal and with ability. He had every reason to hope that he should continue the peaceful career of his predecessors. There was no army worth naming kept up in the States—a burden less, pressing on the people. Repression had never been a contemplated principle of government; military occupation had not been considered as the tenure of an ecclesiastical dynasty. There was one consolation certainly in what had just occurred. The insurrection had broken out before his election was known. It could have no personal motive, no enmity to himself. It arose against the rule, not against the ruler; against the throne, not against its actual possessor.

Neither could it be said that the revolution was a last measure, after preliminary efforts—the resource of men driven to extremity, by being denied all redress. The outburst was sudden, though doubtless premeditated; it aimed at the final overthrow of the reigning power, not at modifications of government. It pretended to seek, not reforms, but the substitution of a republic for the existing and recognized rule. Now let any one impartially discuss with himself, what he would have done in similar circumstances, and it will be difficult for him to arrive at a condemnation of

the course pursued by Gregory. There was no question of concession, but of cession only. His governors and representatives had been driven away, and an army was forcing its way towards his capital, not to make terms, but to expel him. They were prepared to treat with him, not as aggrieved subjects, but as the supreme rulers. They were now the nation, the government; sitting in provisional form, in provincial cities, distracted, unorganized. Was it his duty to recognize at once their claims; and, if they proved unable to drive him from Rome, to divide his States with them, and surrender, at the bidding of at most a faction, the rich provinces over which he had just been appointed? Or was he to yield to this violence, because, in the confidence of a paternal rule, the papacy had not kept up a disproportionate standing army during peace?

If not, if any one similarly circumstanced would have felt that his first duty was to secure integral possession of his rightful dominions, and to rescue the country from civil war, there was no alternative but the one adopted by Gregory, the calling to aid an allied power, especially one to whom the well-known lesson applied—

"Nam tua res agitur, paries cum proximus ardet."

Gregory first appealed to France. Cardinal Bernetti applied to the new government at Paris for aid to suppress the revolt. The revolution of July had underhandedly encouraged the rebellion: asked now to repress the movement, the government of Louis Philippe was caught. Through her *chargé d'affaires*, Belloc, France is supposed to reply that her principle of non-intervention forbids her mingling in internal debates. France was, therefore, compelled to leave to Austria the predominating influence in Italy.

Austria acted with vigor. In a few days the ill-devised revolt was suppressed; those still in arms were bargaining; the rest were in prison or exile.

That foreign assistance, especially when prolonged, is an evil, no one can doubt; and as such none more deplored it than Gregory XVI. But there was only a choice of evils; and surely this one was less so than anarchy and all its miseries. In fact, it is a mistake to speak of choice, since it was a necessity without an alternative. For the outbreak itself, independent of all abstract questions, was a grievous calamity to the country. Its promoters, of course, appropriated to themselves the provincial chests, and cut off supplies from the capital, where public payments had to be made. The additional expenses entailed by it, and the irregularities that ensued in the collection of revenues, embarrassed for a long time the public finances: a loan had to be contracted for the first time, and an external debt created;

public property had to be ruinously sold, and profitable sources of national income farmed out for a present advantage and eventual loss ; and much property belonging to ecclesiastical corporations was enfranchised, and its proceeds converted into government funds. But in the mean time payments of all sorts ran into arrears, whether dividends, salaries, pensions, or assignments. It was several years before the financial current again flowed regularly and smoothly.

In the mean time the pope was not merely calm and confident, but most active ; and no one, reading the public acts of his first year of pontificate, would imagine that it was one of intestine war, confusion, and distress. Within the month of his nomination (February 28th) he preconized, as it is called, twenty-two archbishops and bishops ; in the September following he published seventeen more, and named twelve cardinals, several among them men of considerable merit. In March he ordered the magnificent tunnels for the Anio at Tivoli to be commenced. In April a conference of the great powers opened at Rome. It was composed of Count de Lutzow for Austria, Prince Gagarin for Russia, Count de Saint Aulaire for France, Bunsen for Prussia, and Brook Taylor, succeeded by Sir Hamilton Seymour, for England. The Marquis de Croza, envoy of Sardinia, was admitted to a consultive voice. This body, representing fanatical protestants and Greeks, had but one sincerely Catholic member, and yet it undertook to lay down rules for the government of the papal States. For the first time in history such an attempt was made to impose on an independent monarch. It stimulated revolt by its arrogant attempt to judge the internal concerns of another country.

The memorandum drawn up by the fanatical Bunsen accumulates words to intercept thought, and in glittering generalities recommended ameliorations, without one practical suggestion or the most feeble spark of real statesmanship, and Prussia and Russia were glad in the end to disavow it.

Gregory XVI. and Cardinal Bernetti knew the wants of the Church far better than this self-constituted body of advisers, men sent to treat the affairs of other countries at Rome, not to attempt to govern Rome. Their shallow vagueness blunted the edge of their weapons. The government of Louis Philippe, which had excited the Italian revolts, and was far from being solidly established itself, offered the pope its guaranty on condition of his adopting the reforms in the memorandum, and proclaiming them as laws. Gregory XVI. could not but smile when Cardinal Bernetti informed him of these offers. "Oh," exclaimed the pope, "the bark of Peter has stood worse trials than this. We shall certainly brave the storm. Let King Philip of Orleans keep in reserve for himself the *bonaccia* that he would sell us at the price of honor. His throne will crumble ; this will not."

The reply of Cardinal Bernetti expressed firmly that the pope was reforming, but that he could not surrender his sovereignty. The envoys of the powers stirred up fresh troubles, but Gregory was showing himself a true father of his people.

He reduced the duties on salt and flour, and modified other imposts; created chambers of commerce in various cities, including the metropolis; issued excellent laws for municipal government, and reorganized that of several provinces, raising their rank for that advantage; introduced great improvements in the code of procedures, criminal and civil; and established a sinking-fund for the gradual extinction of the newly contracted debt.

But, perhaps, the most striking act of the year 1831 was the publication of the Apostolic Constitution *Sollicitudo Ecclesiarum*, dated August 31st. As Cardinal Cappellari, Gregory had been the chief instrument in granting bishops to the new Spanish-American republics. He had, in 1827, on the part of Leo XII., met Labrador, the envoy sent by Ferdinand VII. to Rome to oppose this concession by the Holy See. Labrador was acknowledged by all parties, and especially by the diplomatic body in Rome, to be one of the most accomplished and most able statesmen in Europe, yet he could not carry his point.

The sentiments maintained by Cardinal Cappellari as a negotiator, were authoritatively proclaimed by him as pope, in the bull just mentioned—that the Holy See recognizes governments established *de facto*, without thereby going into the question of abstract rights. At the moment when changes were rapidly made in governments and dynasties, and when sceptres passed from hand to hand with the rapidity of magical or illusory exhibitions, it was at once bold and prudent to lay down simple principles by which the judgment of the Holy See might be easily anticipated; at the same time that it kept itself clear of all internal disputes and embarrassing appeals during actual contests.

Gregory XVI., on the 15th of July, 1832, issued his celebrated Encyclical:

“GREGORY PP. XVI.

“To all the patriarchs, primates, archbishops and bishops, health and apostolic benediction:

“You are doubtless astonished, venerable brethren, that since the day when the burden of government of the whole church has been imposed on our weakness, we have not yet addressed you our letters, as the custom introduced in even the earliest times, and our affection for you seemed to command. It was, indeed, the most ardent of our wishes to offer you our heart from the earliest days, and enable you, by a communication of our spirit, to hear that voice, with which, according to the order received

by us in the person of the blessed Peter, we should confirm our brethren. But you are well aware by what evils and what calamities we have been assailed from the first instant of our pontificate; and how, carried away as we were, suddenly, into the midst of the tempest, a miracle of the right hand of the Lord alone spared us the grief of being swallowed up, the victim of the fearful conspiracy of our enemies.

“Our heart refuses to renew, by the sad picture of so many perils, the sorrow that they have caused us; and we bless the Father of all consolation, who, scattering the disloyal, has rescued us from the imminent danger, and, appeasing the most fearful tempest, has enabled us to breathe after so great a fear. We at once proposed to impart to you our designs for healing the wounds of Israel; but the enormous weight of care by which we were overwhelmed for the restoration of public order, again retarded the execution of our desires.

“Another motive of silence was afforded by the insolence of the factions, who endeavored a second time to rear the standard of rebellion. At the sight of such stubbornness on the part of men, whose unbridled fury, far from relaxing, seemed only envenomed and increased by too long impunity, and by the manifestation of our paternal indulgence, we have been compelled, though with a soul crushed with grief, to use the authority committed to us by God, and arrest them by the rod of severity. Since then, as you may well conjecture, our solicitude and our labors have only increased from day to day.

“But since, after necessary delays from the same causes, we took possession of the pontificate in the Lateran Basilica, according to the usage and institutions of our predecessors, at last setting aside all delay, we hasten towards you, venerable brethren, and give you, as a token of our sentiments for you, this letter, written on this day of joy, when we celebrate by a solemn feast the triumph of the Blessed Virgin, and her entrance into heaven. May she, whose protection and power we have experienced amid the most violent storms, deign to assist also in the duty which we fulfil towards you, and inspire our soul from on high with the thoughts and measures most salutary to the flock of Christ.

“It is, indeed, with profound grief and a soul steeped in sadness that we come to you, knowing your zeal for religion, and the cruel anxiety excited in you by the great dangers which surround it. For we can say in all truth, now is the hour granted to the power of darkness to winnow, like grain, the children of election. The earth is truly in mourning, and wastes away, infected by its inhabitants, because they have transgressed the laws, changed justice, and dissipated the eternal alliance.

“We speak to you, venerable brethren, of evils which you behold with your own eyes, and which we consequently, in common, deplore. Perver-

sity, science without modesty, unbridled license are at work, full of ardor and of insolence. The sanctity of the mysteries excites nothing but contempt; and the majesty of the divine worship, that power which the mind of man can neither resist nor dispense with, has become for perverse men an object of censure, profanation, and sacrilegious derision. Thence, sound doctrine altered, and the errors of every kind everywhere broadcast with scandal. The sacred rites, the rites and institutions of the Church, all that is most holy in discipline, are none of them safe from the audacity of these tongues of iniquity. Our chair at Rome, that See of the blessed Peter on which Christ laid the foundation of his Church, is cruelly persecuted; and the bonds of unity are daily more and more enfeebled, or violently rent asunder. The divine authority of the Church is attacked; its rights torn from it; it is subordinated to utterly earthly considerations, and by force of injustice it is devoted to the contempt of nations, reducing it to a shameful servitude. The obedience due to bishops is destroyed, and their rights are trampled under foot. Academies and universities resound with new and monstrous opinions; and no longer in secret or obscurely do they attack the Catholic faith, but publicly declare against it a horrible and impious war. The lessons and examples of the masters thus pervert the youth; the disasters of religion receive an immense increase, and the most frightful immorality gains and spreads. Thus when the sacred bonds of religion are once contemptuously cast aside, bonds which alone preserve kingdoms and maintain the power and vigor of authority, public order is seen to disappear, sovereignty perish, and all legitimate power menaced by an ever-approaching revolution:—abyss of bottomless miseries, which these conspiring societies have especially dug, in which heresy and sects have, so to speak, vomited, as in a sewer, all that their bosom holds of license, sacrilege, and blasphemy.

“Such are, venerable brethren, with many others still perhaps graver, too long to detail here, and known to you all, the causes of a cruel and incessant grief, which cannot but fill us with bitterness, who, placed on the chair of the prince of the apostles, should be more than any other devoured by zeal for the house of God. But since the very place we occupy warns us that it is not sufficient to deplore these unnumbered misfortunes, unless we also use every effort to remove the source, we invoke the aid of your faith, and appeal to your zeal for the salvation of the sacred flock. Venerable brethren—you whose known virtue and religion, singular prudence and unwearied vigilance, increase our courage, and pour into our soul, afflicted by so many disasters, the balm of consolation—it is for us to raise our voice, to prevent, by our united efforts, the wild-boar of the forest from trampling down the vineyard, and the wolves from ravaging the flock of the Lord. It is for us to lead the sheep only to wholesome pasturage, where not a hurtful weed

need be dreaded by them. Far, then, from us, most dear brethren, amid scourges, multiplied and menacing dangers, far from us the indifference and fears of pastors who abandon their sheep, or sink into fatal slumbers beside the flock deprived of their care. Let us then act in a spirit of unity for our common cause, or rather for that of God; and against common enemies, for the salvation of all the people, let us unite our vigilance and efforts.

“This you will do perfectly if you watch over yourselves and your doctrine, as your office makes it your duty, repeating incessantly to yourselves that every novelty attempts to undermine the universal Church, and that, according to the warning of the holy Pope Agatho, ‘nothing that has been regularly defined, can bear diminution, or change, or addition, and repels every alteration of sense, or even of words.’ Thus will that union remain firm and unshaken, which reposes on the See of Peter as its base, so that the centre whence flow for all the churches the sacred rights of the Catholic communion, may also be for all a defensive wall, a protecting asylum, a port against shipwreck, and a treasure enriching them with incalculable good. Thus, then, to repress the audacity of those who endeavor either to annihilate the rights of the holy See, or to detach from it the Churches of which it is the support and life, incessantly impress on the faithful profound sentiments of confidence and respect towards it, and thunder in their ears those words of Saint Cyprian: ‘It is an error to believe that one is in the Church when he abandons the See of Peter, which is the foundation of the Church.’

“This should be, then, the aim of your efforts and the object of a continual vigilance, to guard the deposit of faith amid this vast conspiracy of impious men, whom we see, with the liveliest grief, formed to scatter and ruin it. Let all remember that the judgment as to sound doctrine, with which the people should be nourished, that the government and administration of the whole Church belong to the Roman pontiff, to whom has been confided, by our Lord Jesus Christ, as the fathers of the council of Florence have clearly declared, the plenary power to feed, rule, and govern the universal Church. As to the bishops in particular, their duty is to remain inviolably attached to the See of Peter, to keep the holy deposit with scrupulous fidelity, and to feed, as far as lies in their power, the flock of God. For the priests, they must be subject to their bishops, and honor them as the fathers of their souls, according to the advice of Saint Jerome, and never forget that it is forbidden them, by the ancient canons, to do any thing in the ministry confided to them, or take upon themselves the office of teaching and preaching, without the approbation of the bishop to whom the care of the faithful has been committed, and who will render an account of their souls. Let them, in fine, hold it as a certain and incontestable truth, that all who seek to disturb this order in any way, shake, as far as in them lies, the constitution of the Church.

“It would, therefore, be a crime, a formal derogation from the respect due the ecclesiastical laws, to blame, by an insane liberty of opinion, the discipline which the Church has consecrated, by which the administration of holy things and the conduct of the faithful are regulated, which determines the rights of the Church and the obligations of its ministry, and to declare that discipline hostile to certain principles of natural law, or incapable of acting by inherent imperfection, or declare it subject to the civil authority.

“But since, to use the words of the fathers of the Council of Trent, it is certain that the Church was instructed by Christ and his apostles, and that the Holy Ghost never fails, by daily assistance, to teach us all truth, it is the height of absurdity and outrage towards it to pretend that a restoration and regeneration have become necessary to secure its existence and its progress; as if it could be believed that it was thus subject, either to faintness, darkness, or other alterations of this kind. And what do these bold innovators seek, except to give new foundations to an institution which would thereby be only man’s work, and realize what Saint Cyprian cannot sufficiently detest, by rendering the Church human, from all-divine that it is? But let the authors of such machinations know and remember that to the Roman pontiff alone, according to the testimony of Saint Leo, has been confided dispensation from the canons, which he alone, and not any private individual, has power to pronounce, according to laws sanctioned by the fathers; and that thus, as Saint Gelasius says: ‘It is for him to balance the various decrees of the canons, and limit the ordinances of his predecessors, insomuch as to relax something of their rigor, and modify them, after mature examination, according as the necessity of the times requires for the new wants of the Church.’

“Here we invoke the constancy of your zeal, in favor of religion, against the enemies of ecclesiastical celibacy, against that abominable league which daily agitates and extends, which grows by the impure mixture of the most impudent philosophers of our age, and even of many apostates from the clerical order, who, forgetting themselves and their duty, the sports of alluring passions, push license so far as to dare, in many places, present to the princes petitions in public, and renewed, to obtain the abolition of this sacred point of discipline. But we blush to turn our attention any longer on such shameful attempts; and, full of confidence in your religion, we repose in you the care of defending, with all your strength, according to the rules of the sacred canons, a law of such exalted importance, preserving it in all its integrity, and repulsing the shafts aimed against it from all sides by men tormented by the most infamous passions.

“Another object calling for our common solicitude is the marriage of Christians, that pure alliance which Saint Paul has called a great sacrament

in Jesus Christ and his Church. Let us stifle the bold opinions and rash innovations which can compromise the sanctity and indissolubility of its bonds. This recommendation had already been made to you in a special manner by the letters of our predecessor, Pius VII. of happy memory. Yet the attacks of the enemy are constantly increasing. Care must therefore be taken to teach the people that marriage once lawfully contracted, can no more be dissolved ; that God has imposed on the married whom he has joined together, the obligation of living in perpetual society, and that the knot which binds them can be severed only by death. Never forgetting that marriage is included in the circle of holy things, and placed, consequently, under the jurisdiction of the Church, the faithful will have under their eyes the laws of the Church in this matter ; they will obey them with religious respect and fidelity, convinced that on their execution depend absolutely the rights, stability, and legitimacy of the conjugal union. Let them beware of admitting in any manner any thing derogatory to the canonical rules and the decrees of the councils ; knowing well that an alliance will be ever unhappy when formed either in violation of ecclesiastical discipline or before asking the blessing of the Heavenly Father, or in following only the impulse of passion, which permits them to think neither of the sacrament nor of the august mysteries which it signifies.

“ We now come to another and most fruitful cause of the evils which at present afflict the Church, and which we so bitterly deplore ; we mean indifferentism, or that fatal opinion everywhere diffused by the craft of the wicked, that men can by the profession of any faith obtain the eternal salvation of their souls, provided their life conforms to justice and probity. But in a question so clear and evident, it will undoubtedly be easy for us to pluck up from amid the people confided to your care so pernicious an error. The apostle warns us of it : ‘ One God, one faith, one baptism.’ Let them tremble then who imagine that every creed leads by an easy path to the port of felicity ; and reflect seriously on the testimony of our Saviour himself, that those are against Christ who are not with Christ, and that they miserably scatter by the fact that they gather not with him, and that consequently they will perish eternally without any doubt, if they do not hold to the Catholic faith, and preserve it entire and without alteration. Let them hear Saint Jerome himself, relating that at the epoch when the Church was divided into three parties, he, faithful to what had been decided, incessantly repeated to all who endeavored to win him over : ‘ Whoso is united to the chair of Peter is with me.’ In vain did they attempt to create an illusion by saying that he himself was regenerated in water ; for Saint Augustine answers precisely : ‘ The branch lopped off has the shape of the vine ; but what avails the form if it have not the root ?’

“ From this poisoned source of indifferentism flows that false and absurd,

or rather extravagant maxim, that liberty of conscience should be established and guaranteed to each man; a most contagious error, to which leads that absolute and unbridled liberty of opinion, which for the ruin of Church and State spreads over the world, and which some men, by unbridled impudence, fear not to represent as advantageous to the Church. 'And what more fatal death for souls,' says Saint Augustine, 'than the liberty of error!' On beholding them thus, indeed, take away from men every rein able to restrain them in the paths of truth, hurried as they already are to ruin by a nature inclined to evil, we may say in truth that there yawns that pit of the abyss, from which Saint John beheld ascending a smoke that obscured the sun, and locusts to lay waste the earth. Thence, in fact, the instability of minds; thence the ever increasing corruption of the young; thence, in the people, the contempt of sacred rights and the holiest laws and things; thence, in a word, the saddest scourge that can ravage States, since experience attests, and the remotest antiquity teaches, that cities powerful in wealth, dominion, and glory, perished by this sole evil—the unbridled liberty of opinions, the license of public discourse, the passion for changes.

"With this is blended the liberty of the press—the most fatal liberty, an execrable liberty, for which there never can be sufficient horror, and which certain men dare so loudly and earnestly to demand and extend everywhere. We shudder, venerable brethren, when we consider the monstrous doctrines, or rather prodigies of error, with which we are overwhelmed; errors disseminated far and wide by an immense multitude of books, pamphlets, and other publications, small indeed in bulk, but enormous in perversity, giving rise to the malediction which covers the face of earth, and causes our incessant tears.

"Yet there are, alas! men so carried away with impudence, as not to hesitate to maintain stubbornly that the deluge of error flowing hence is quite sufficiently compensated by the publication of some book printed to defend truth and religion amid this mass of iniquity. It is doubtless a crime, and a crime condemned by every species of law, to commit with premeditation a great and certain evil, in the hope that perhaps some good will result; and what man of sense will ever dare to say that it is lawful to scatter poisons, to sell them publicly, to hawk them about, nay more, to take them with avidity, under the pretext that there exists some remedy which has at times snatched from death those who used them?

"But very different has been the discipline of the Church in regard to the extinction of bad books, from the very days of the apostles, who, we read, burnt publicly a great number of books. To be convinced of this, it will suffice to read attentively the laws passed on this matter in the fifth Lateran Council, and the constitution published soon after by Leo X., our

predecessor of happy memory, to prevent what had been happily invented for the increase of faith and the propagation of useful arts, becoming perverted to the very opposite, and becoming an obstacle to the salvation of the faithful.

"It was, too, the object of the most vigilant care of the Tridentine Fathers, who, to remedy so great an evil, ordered by a most salutary decree the preparation of an index of books containing evil doctrines. 'We must combat with courage,' said our predecessor, Clement XIII. of happy memory, in his encyclical letter on the proscription of dangerous books, 'we must combat with courage as the occasion itself requires, and exterminate with all our strength the scourge of so many deadly books; the matter of error will never disappear if the criminal elements of corruption do not perish consumed by the flames.'

"From this constant solicitude, wherewith the Holy Apostolic See has in all ages endeavored to condemn suspicious and dangerous books, and wrest them from the hands of men, it appears evident how false, rash, and injurious to the Holy Apostolic See, how fruitful in great misfortunes for the Christian commonwealth, is the doctrine of those who, not only rejecting censure as too burdensome and onerous, have reached such a degree of perversity, that they do not hesitate to proclaim that it is repugnant to the principles of justice, and refuse to the Church the right of decreeing and enforcing it.

"As we have also learned that in writings publicly diffused, certain doctrines are taught destructive of the fidelity and submission due to princes, everywhere enkindling the firebrands of sedition, it must be carefully guarded lest the people, deceived by these doctrines, stray from the path of right. Let all consider attentively that according to the warning of the apostle, all power is of God.

"Divine and human rights then rise in condemnation against those who, by the blackest machinations of revolt and sedition, endeavor to destroy the fidelity due to princes, and to hurl them from their thrones.

"It is for this reason, doubtless, that for fear of being sullied by such a stain, the primitive Christians, although amid the most violent persecutions, nevertheless always deserved well of the emperors and the empire, and that they clearly demonstrated not only by their fidelity in obeying exactly and promptly all that was not contrary to religion, but also by their constancy, and even the shedding of their blood in the field. 'Christian soldiers,' said Saint Augustine, 'have served the pagan emperors; but when they attacked the cause of Christ, they no longer recognized any but Him who dwells in heaven. They distinguished the eternal from the temporal master, and yet they were submissive, for the sake of the Eternal Master, to the same temporal master.' This too, Maurice, the invincible

martyr, the leader of the Theban legion, kept before his mind, when, as Saint Eucherius reports, he made this reply to the emperor: 'We are, prince, your soldiers; but yet we avow freely, servants of God, and now the extreme necessity of life to which you reduce us, does not force us to rebellion; we have arms in our hands and resist not, because we prefer to die rather than to kill.'

"This fidelity of the ancient Christians towards princes appears more illustrious still, if, with Tertullian, we consider that then the Christians of that time lacked neither numbers nor troops, had they chosen to expel their avowed enemies. 'We are but of yesterday, and we fill every spot: your cities, your islands, your fortresses, your municipalities, your assemblies; the camps themselves, the tribes, *decuriæ*, the palace, senate, and forum. In what war were we not alert and ready even for unequal forces, we who allow ourselves to be slaughtered with such ease, if by the faith with which we profess, it was not rather permitted to receive than to inflict death. Numerous as we are, if retiring into some corner of the globe, we had withdrawn from you, the loss of so many citizens, of any character, would certainly have made your tyranny blush for shame. What do I say, this separation alone would have been your chastisement. Without any doubt, you would have been seized with fear at the sight of your solitude. You would have sought some one to command. You would have had more enemies than citizens, but now your enemies are few in number, thanks to the multitude of Christians.'

"These striking examples of constant submission to princes, necessarily had their source in the holiest precepts of the Christian religion, and condemned the perversity and detestable insolence of those who, burning with unbridled and irregular passion for a liberty that dares every thing, employ their whole strength to overthrow and destroy all the rights of sovereign authority, under the appearances of liberty. Towards the same end tended in concert the extravagances and criminal desires of the Vaudois, Beguards, Wickliffites, and other like children of Belial, the shame and opprobrium of the human race, and which were for this reason so frequently and justly anathematized by the Apostolic See. For no other end surely do these crafty men unite all their strength; to attain it more easily and promptly, and to be able in their triumph to congratulate themselves with Luther on being free from every thing, they commit with the greatest audacity the darkest crimes.

"We could not augur happier results for religion and the civil power from the desires of those who so ardently demand the separation of Church and State, and the rupture of concord between the priesthood and the empire. For it is an established fact, that all the votaries of the most unbridled liberty fear more than all else this concord,

which has always been so salutary and so happy for Church and State.

“ But to all these objects of our poignant solicitude and overwhelming grief, which are in some sort peculiarly our own amid the common danger, must be added certain associations and meetings, having determined rules, which form a sort of army corps, with the followers of every form of false religion and worship, under the appearance, it is true, of devotion to religion, but in reality with the desire of spreading broadcast novelty and sedition, proclaiming every kind of liberty, exciting trouble against the sacred and the civil power, and denying all authority, even the most holy.

“ With an afflicted heart, but full of confidence in Him who commands the winds and restores calms, we write these things, venerable brethren, that, armed with the buckler of faith, you may continue to fight bravely the fight of the Lord. You, especially, it behooves to stand like a rampart against every high place that rises against the science of God. Draw the sword of the spirit, which is the word of God, and let those who hunger for justice sake receive nourishment from you. Chosen to be diligent cultivators in the Lord’s vineyard, act for this sole end, and labor in unison, that every root of bitterness be torn up from the field confided to you, and that every seed of vice being stifled, a cheering harvest of virtues may grow unto fullness. Embracing with paternal affection those especially who apply their mind in particular to sacred sciences and philosophical questions, exhort them and prevent their straying from the paths of truth to run the way of the impious, by resting on the sole powers of their reason. Let them remember that it is God who leads in the paths of truth, and who perfects the wise, and that without it is impossible to learn God, God who by his word instructs men to know him. The proud, or rather mad man, assumes to weigh in human scales the mysteries of the faith which are above all human sense, and to put his trust in a reason which, by the very condition of human nature, is weak and feeble.

“ Moreover, may the princes, our dearest sons in Christ, favor with their power and authority the wishes we form with them for the prosperity of religion and the States, and think that their power has been given them, not only for the government of the world, but especially for the support and defence of the Church. Let them seriously consider that all that is undertaken for the salvation of the Church is also undertaken for their repose and the maintenance of their authority. Nay more, let them be convinced that the cause of faith should be far dearer to them than that of their kingdom, and that their greatest interest, we say it with Pope Saint Leo, is to see the crown of faith added to their diadem by the hand of the Lord. Set up as fathers and guardians of the nations, they will secure their true and constant happiness, with peace and plenty, if they make it their prin-

cipal care to make religion flourish with piety towards God, who bears written on his thigh—**KING OF KINGS, LORD OF LORDS.**

“But that all these things may be happily accomplished, let us raise our eyes and hands towards the Blessed Virgin Mary, who alone has destroyed all heresies, who is the principal object of our confidence; we say more, the very reason of our hope. In the present urgent needs of the fold of the Lord, may she herself implore the most happy success for our zeal, our designs, and our enterprises.

“Let us also, by humble prayer, ask of Peter, prince of the apostles, and Paul, the associate in the apostolate, that you all be like an unshaken wall, and lay no other foundation than that which has been laid. Supported by this cheering hope, we trust that the author and finisher of our faith, Jesus Christ, will comfort us all amid the extreme tribulations that overwhelm us, and as a presage of heavenly aid, we impart, venerable brethren, to you, and to the sheep confided to your care, the apostolic benediction.

“Given at Rome, at Saint Mary Major’s, August 15th, the Feast of the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin Mary, in the year 1832 of the Incarnation of our Lord, and of our pontificate the second.”

However warlike the attitude may appear which Gregory was compelled to assume, at the commencement of his reign, the arts which stamped it with their character were the arts of peace. Scarcely any pontificate has their footprints more deeply or more widely impressed on it than his. He was not content with continuing or extending what his predecessors had commenced, but he created; that is, began from nothing, and accomplished what was wanting altogether till his time. Nor did he confine himself to any one department of art; but his attention was comprehensive and generous, not guided by caprice, but directed by a discerning taste.

Let us begin with these higher proofs of genius. The Roman galleries were rich, till his time, in masterpieces of Greek and Roman art. Indeed, one only wonders how so much that is beautiful remains there after Rome has enriched the rest of the world. Unfortunately, in ancient times, many of the sculptures excavated, when the soil was for the first time upturned, were placed in the palaces or villas belonging to the family of the reigning pope, and thereby became appropriated to its own use. Thus the Medici villa received those matchless statues and groups which make the Tribuna at Florence a temple of highest art, though adorned only with spoils secretly conveyed from Rome. Thus, also, whatever in the museum of Naples bears the name of Farnesian, as the Hercules and Dirce, came from the gigantic palace of that family in Rome. Let us imagine these two collections poured back into their original source, and what would the Vatican be now? Then add to the sum of Roman artistic wealth the innumer-

able pieces of sculpture collected or scattered in other places, and even in other parts of the city, in the villas and palaces of Rome, in the Louvre, at Munich, in London, and it well may be said that the Eternal City has not only heaped up artistic treasures for herself, but that she has enriched with them the entire world.

With this inexhaustible mine of wealth, she had not thought of going beyond her own soil to increase her store. She watches, indeed, more jealously over it, and over every new discovery, and does not allow the stranger, so easily as formerly, to be a gainer by her own losses. The consequence has been most beneficial. Unable any longer to look to Italy for the accumulation of masterpieces, we have turned to the original fields where she reaped her golden harvests, to Greece and Asia, to Lycia and Halicarnassus. It was Gregory XVI. who first enlarged the boundaries of artistic collection in Rome, and brought into near connection the monuments of earlier schools, those from which it had always been supposed that the more elegant and sublime productions of Grecian taste and genius had received their first inspirations.

The discovery of Assyrian monuments has indeed materially modified these theories. Egypt can no longer claim to be the cradle of artistic Greece; no lawgiver of her future code of taste ever lurked in the bulrushes of the Nile. And Etruscan art is no antecedent preparer or modifier of Grecian grace; it is a portion, finished and refined, of it, though corresponding with it in progressive development, from rigid archaism to unzoned luxuriance.

Gregory added to the Vatican, but kept unblended with its chaster treasures most valuable collections of these two new classes of monuments. He began nearest home. Mention has already been made of the Etruscan discoveries commenced a few years earlier in the papal territory. Campania had long supplied Europe with what are still called Etruscan vases. The museum at Naples was rich in its collection of them; and most other countries possessed a few specimens. North of Rome, most Etrurian cities contained local museums, in which were deposited curiosities, as they are called, picked up in the neighborhood. Chiusi, Volterra, Cortona, and other successors of old Etruscan towns, treasured up with care the remains and evidences of their ancient taste and splendor. Sometimes an antiquarian academy or society occupied itself with researches and discussions on the spot, and published learned and useful transactions. Such are those of the academy of Cortona, which extend to many volumes, full of interesting matter.

But, a few years before the accession of Gregory, a rich vein of excavation had been struck into, situated outside the confines of modern Tuscany, but within the territory of ancient Etruria. The very names of Vulci, Tar-

quinii, and Cereæ suggest to classical ears the idea of places belonging to that ancient confederation; but the names had themselves been buried, like the cities to which they belonged, under such designations as Arco della Badia, Ponte d'Asso, or Canino. In the last of these places, the prince who takes his title from it, Lucien Bonaparte, made extensive researches, and drew from them an immense collection, which has found its way to the British Museum. Etruscan "diggings" became the rage; and many adventurers were amply repaid. It was not the ruins of cities that were sought, but their cemeteries. The custom of savage nations, so often prolonged into high civilization, of providing the dead with the implements and furniture which they needed on earth, to serve them in an ideal world, that usage which suggested the slaughter of the soldier's war-steed, or of the sovereign's wife, and the burying of his armor with the first, or the putting the luck-penny into the hand of the rich or poor, to pay his freightage to the churlish ferryman, was fully appreciated and observed by the old Italians. The tomb of a respectable person occupied the space of a cottage; its walls were painted with frescoes of banquets, games, horses, and men, of large dimensions; and within was exquisite furniture in imperishable bronze, seats, beds, lamps, and other household utensils, of the same metal, or of the more fragile but more richly labored clay. Nor were vases their most precious contents; but gold and jewelled ornaments, entombed there in profusion, attest the wealth, the luxury, and taste of ancient races, as well as their reverence for their dead. Breastplates, elaborately wrought of purest gold, necklaces, ear-rings, bullas for children's necks, chains of elaborate patterns, all exquisitely wrought, and enriched with pearls and gems, were found even in abundance, and may serve yet as models for the goldsmith's craft.*

A glut in the market became an almost unavoidable result of this superabundance of discovery. The government of Rome, being on the spot, had the advantage of choice; and Gregory XVI., with unbounded liberality, purchased all that could be required to compose, at once, a complete collection. There was already, in the Vatican library, a most choice selection of vases; a celebrated real chariot was in the museum; other beautiful statues in bronze, one with an inscription on the arm, were scattered about. These were brought together in a suite of ample halls, which formerly were the cardinal librarian's apartments, but had not been occupied for many years. There is one model of a tomb, with its furniture as it was found, and there are traced copies of the frescoes, many of which fell to dust soon

* The East is full of fables concerning vast treasures, yet concealed in the sepulchres of monarchs, guarded by griffins or spirits. The account of David's tomb, in connection with Herod, has become almost matter of history. See Josephus, tom. i. p. 412, and p. 802, ed. Havercamp.

after contact with the air. The wonder is, how they remained so many ages beyond its reach. That families should not have assumed that they had made rather a loan than a gift of their treasures to the dead, and, after a decent interval of mourning, have resumed possession; that domestics should not have filched them, or a fraternity of jewel, if not body, snatchers should not have existed for sepulchral burglaries; that, in the feuds between tribes, when cities were given to sack and ruin, rings snatched from the ears of matrons, and embroidered baldricks stripped from the bodies of slaughtered warriors, the ashes of the dead should have afforded protection to gold and pearls more efficaciously than horses and chariots; and finally, that, during the ages of Roman dominion, when the traditions of older sepulchral rites were still preserved, or in the mediæval period, when no fable of guardian dragons terrified marauders from the plunder of pagan graves, these mounds, visible to every eye, should have sealed up their treasures and kept them faithfully, till a better motive and a more intelligent spirit kindly transferred them to a surer custody and to admiring observation, may be truly considered one of those secondary dispensations of Providence, which make the works of man's hands, thus buried for ages, able to fructify in the social world, like the seed-corn found in Egyptian sepulchres, which has, after thousands of years, germinated and given harvests.

It was on the anniversary of his election, February 2d, 1837, that Gregory opened his Etruscan museum; two years later he inaugurated its fellow-collection, the Egyptian. It occupies the floor immediately below the first.

In one way, Rome may be said to have anticipated all other countries in gathering Egyptian monuments, and in making them known to Europe before the collections of Drovetti or Belzoni had enriched it, and in exhibiting such a class of them as no other city can hope to rival. For centuries the obelisks of Rome, prostrate or standing, had been almost the only specimens of Egyptian art known to scholars and to artists. They are now seven or eight in number, one having been erected by Pius VI. on the Quirinal, and one on the Pincian, by his successor. But the great ones before the Vatican and the Lateran, the first plain and the second richly storied, had long been objects of admiration to every traveller. Their gigantic dimensions and elegant forms, their unmanageable material and finished workmanship, whether in polish or in carving, then their preserved integrity as monoliths for so many thousands of years, and the calculation of mechanical strength and skill which it has required to extract them from their granite bed, transport them and raise them on to proportioned pedestals—a piling of Pelion on Ossa, had, perhaps, more practically than any thing else, given the West a notion of the precocious civilization and huge

works which so early distinguished the banks of the Nile. And, except by the one importation of a second-class obelisk to Paris, under Louis Philippe, there has been no attempt to invade this monopoly of the Eternal City.

Besides this singular order of monuments, which cannot be brought into a collection, there were other primitive Egyptian pieces of sculpture, scattered through Rome, the full value of which was not ascertained till the discovery of the Egyptian alphabet by Young and Champollion. Such, for instance, were two out of four basalt lions, which, couched at the feet of Moses, delivered well-regulated jets of water from their indrawn lips into the fountain bearing that patriarch's name. They were covered with hieroglyphics, which, read by the learned F. Ungarelli, showed them to belong to a very early dynasty, and to be, perhaps, coeval with the Jewish lawgiver himself.

These, and any other such remains, were replaced by less noble substitutes in their servile occupations, and were given place in the halls of the Vatican amidst other kingly monuments. But there was a third class of Egyptian, or rather pseudo-Egyptian, works, which likewise belonged exclusively to Rome. The Emperor Adrian collected, in his villa at Tivoli, imitations of celebrated buildings in every part of the world. Among the rest was a "Canopus," adorned by Egyptian works, or rather by Græco-Roman sculptures reduced to Egyptian forms. The museums abounded with such monuments drawn from the ruins of the villa; and these also were withdrawn from their usurped positions, and united to their more legitimate brethren, thus producing a contrast between the white marble progeny of western, and the dusky granite or basalt productions of eastern, art. This union gives a local singularity to the Roman-Egyptian gallery.

Pius VII. had purchased a small but valuable collection brought from Egypt by Signor Guidi, and had placed it round a hemicycle in the Vatican that crossed the end of the great Belvidere court, uniting its two flanks. It could only be considered as placed there temporarily, and migrated to the new quarters prepared for Ises and Anubises, Cynocephali and Scarabæi. Such was the groundwork of this new aggregation to the vast Vatican group of artistic wonders; it need not be added, that every opportunity has been embraced of increasing and perfecting the work so happily commenced. Nor can it be necessary to observe that the decoration of this, as of every other department of art-collection, is strictly in keeping with its particular object,—is here purely Egyptian, as elsewhere Etruscan or Grecian.

The gallery of paintings in the Vatican can hardly be designated by that name, which suggests the ideas of walls covered with pictures from ceiling to wainscot, whether stretched into great lengths, as in Paris or Florence,

or surrounding halls, as in London or Dresden. In all other collections quantity gives value, to a certain extent; and a sufficient exemplification of every celebrated school is kept in view. They are all galleries for study. At the Vatican, however, this is not the case. A few paintings, chiefly large, are hung without crowding one another, or unfairly contrasting, on ample spaces of wall, in lofty spacious apartments, three or four being indulged in the room which would elsewhere suffice for fifty or a hundred tightly-fitting frames. It was not easy to place them well; and there are at least four situations in the immense Vatican where they have been uncomfortably situated. Gregory, in 1836, bestowed on them their present position, in which they will probably be visited for generations to come. One of the first places which they occupied was the "Appartamento Borgia," a series of ten noble halls, at the palace end of the Belvidere court, painted most beautifully in their ceilings by some pre-Raffaelite artists. Gregory XVI. added this magnificent range to the already vast library, and filled it with additional books. Another department of that literary treasury he particularly cherished, its Christian museum. To this he made splendid additions at his own expense; among other ways, by bestowing on it a most rare and valuable series of early Byzantine paintings, in beautiful preservation. He likewise purchased for himself, and left in the palace, the whole collection of pictures by Peters, an eminent German animal painter, and a man of genuine worth and simplest mind, who died at an advanced age in Rome.

It would be unfair to consider the detached paintings hung against walls as composing exclusively the Vatican gallery. One must comprehend under this title the Sistine Chapel, as the grandest specimen of Michael Angelo's masterly genius; the "Stanze" and "Loggie," as the noblest display of Raffaele's sweeter powers; St. Laurence's Chapel, as a gem without a flaw, of Beato Angelico's work, set in the very centre of Raffaele's golden band; not to speak of twenty other great artists, before and since, who have left noble works upon the vaults and walls of that grandest of palaces. It was Gregory XVI. who thought of arresting the progress of decay in some valuable portions of these sublime works. So little consciousness was there of their inimitable powers in the greatest artists, that they did not think of sheltering their works from the most inevitable causes of destruction; they painted in the open portico, where rain and sun would play alternately, as if they took it for granted that whatever they did must of course perish, to be replaced by other men, as gifted as themselves. It has always been the same. What Greek sculptor expected his marbles—brittle to the touch of any boy's pebble, defaceable under long exposure to the elements—to be placed within the shelter, and not as soon erected on the roof, of a temple? So, when too late, the frescoes of Raffaele, and the

arabesques and stuccoes of his pupils, were found to have been almost lost,—indeed, preserved only by early copies and engravings. Gregory, however, continued the work of preservation, before and since carried on, of inclosing the whole of the Loggio with glass, after having had the frescoes of the upper corridor admirably restored by Professor Agricola.

It was natural to expect that, however vast the Vatican might be, it could not suffice for the unceasing inpouring of new museums, as well as of individual objects of artistic merit. It had overflowed already, and Gregory had made its very gardens precious by the multitudes of statues, vases, and altars with which he had embellished them; for he may be said to have entirely renewed them, or even to have laid them out afresh. It was found necessary to devote some other large building to the purpose of containing works which the Vatican and Capitol either could not contain or could not suitably harbor; for new discoveries or acquisitions had been made of statues and other works that deserved conspicuous places, and would not brook collocation among inferior productions. Such was the beautiful Antinous, purchased from the Braschi palace, rescued from Russian possession by the right of pre-emption reserved to the government; such the sublime Sophocles, the rival or equal of the Naples Aristides, discovered and given to the pope, in 1839, by the family of the present Cardinal Antonelli. But what, perhaps, primarily demanded extensive accommodation was an immense mosaic pavement representing worthies of the cestus, eminent boxers and wrestlers in their day, natives of Tuscan cities, which were proud, one may suppose, of their sons' thews and sinews. These heroes of the ring have thus been suddenly restored to fame, and are likely to obtain a second immortality, if one may use the phrase, more enduring than the first. Their proportions are colossal, and, as they stand full-length in separate compartments, it required no restricted space to stretch them forth in their original position.

The Lateran palace, a noble pile, had long stood untenanted, except for a time, as a receptacle for paupers. The treasurer, Monsignor Tosti, had thoroughly repaired it, and restored it to its primeval beauty; yet it was insufficient and ill-situated for a papal residence. The "*Ædes Lateranæ*"—confiscated under Nero, celebrated by poets and historians as most sumptuous, given by Maxentius to Constantine as his daughter's dowry, and by Constantine, with its adjoining basilica, to be the episcopal palace and cathedral of Christian Rome—were admirably adapted for the purpose of a new, not merely supplementary, museum. The first evidence of fitness was, that the huge *Palæstran* mosaic carpeted one of its halls, as if it had been bespoke for the purpose of some ancient tessellator. And so were separate shrines found there for masterpieces, and galleries or chambers for lesser works, one of which is a copy in mosaic of a celebrated

floor-painting, described by Pliny as existing at Pergamus, and representing an "unswept pavement" after supper. Gregory XVI. was the founder of this new museum.

Such was Gregory, as sovereign of Rome, in his own capital. His position as head of an Italian State, in the face of that Carbonarism whose sole dream was a united Italy, and Italy a pagan republic raised on the ruins of prostrate Christianity, was one of undoubted difficulty. He saw clearly the utter godlessness of the movement, and saw this when the Protestant dupes of the movement little dreamed of the aid they were giving to the real anti-Christian conspiracy, that last revolt of paganism, which overthrown once under Constantine, rallied in that German element where it was never entirely quenched, and nearly overwhelmed Christianity in the sixteenth century, to reappear anew in the eighteenth, aided by the dormant elements of Latin paganism.

But while realizing his danger, he was firm, repressive; he knew that he had to deal with a foe that was merciless, unscrupulous, unsparing, that no oath could bind, no favor win.

Yet he had his duties to his capital, not merely the capital of the petty ecclesiastical State—as such, Rome would have been but a Genoa or a Carlsruhe—but the capital of the Christian world. He continued the labors of his predecessors, he enriched Rome with magnificent works.

What madness to claim Rome as Italian! Take from it what the popes have contributed as heads of the Church, and it will be but the desert they found it.

But we must return to Gregory as head of the Church. Everywhere difficulties arose from the hostility of governments to the Church.

Spain, as we shall see, felt the shock of revolution. France had left there seeds of irreligion, the doctrines which had produced the French revolution.

Portugal underwent a similar civil war. Don Pedro, succeeding over Don Miguel, suppressed, in 1834, the military and religious orders, seized their property and that of the Church, depriving the clergy of tithes, and reducing them to great distress.

On the 1st of August, 1834, the pope, in an allocution, deplored the sad condition of the Church in Portugal, and menaced the government with the censures pronounced by the Council of Trent against the spoliators of the Church, the enemies of liberty and of the spiritual power. Yet the patriarch of Lisbon seemed disposed to consecrate the bishops nominated by Don Pedro. But the death of that prince, in September, arrested this course. Queen Maria da Gloria ascended the throne under English rule, and the afflictions of the Church increased.

The king of Holland, by his course of persecution against the Catholics, drove the Belgian provinces to reject his authority, to which the Congress

of Vienna had subjected them. Under Leopold of Saxe-Coburg, religion, for a time, was free, although there, too, the philosophic or infidel party gradually gained the control of the government. A free Catholic university arose at Mechlin, subsequently transferred to Louvain, which successfully neutralized the evil produced by the infidel university of Brussels.

The brief reign of Louis Bonaparte, as king of Holland, had a beneficial effect for the Church, by his recognition of Bishop Van de Velde. The prince of Orange, however, revived the old bigotry of liberal Protestantism. Bishop Cramberlain was suddenly arrested at Mechlin, in 1815, and carried out of the country. A concordat finally placed the affairs of the Church on a better footing. Bishops were established at Amsterdam and Bois le Duc, and recognized by government.

Switzerland entered into the path of revolution. Even among the Catholics a party arose clamoring for independence—that is, subjection of the Church to the State. Under the impulse of this spirit, the cantons in the movement met at Baden, in 1834, and, without regard to any of the existing treaties or obligations, drew up pretended articles of conference, completely subjecting the Church to the control of the State. Gregory XVI., filled with a sense of duty, at once protested against these articles, and condemned them in an encyclical addressed to all the Swiss clergy, on the 17th of May, 1835; but, in spite of his protestation, the articles were enforced in several cantons. The Catholic party rallied, and, under the Jesuits and other zealous religious, endeavored to stay, by superior educational institutions, the march of irreligion. The infidel party, aided by the Protestant cantons, then resolved to destroy all the religious houses.

Russia had, by the Congress of Vienna, received large Catholic provinces. In these difficulties arose. The Catholics protested against the military and ecclesiastical organization of the government, against the exclusion of Catholics from office, against the interference in the elections of bishops. The matter of mixed marriages had already created trouble, and we have given the bull issued by Pius VIII. in regard to the difficult question. Notwithstanding this, the archbishop of Cologne, Count Ferdinand Spiegel, had approved the regulations of the civil power: his successor, the illustrious Clement Augustus de Droste de Vischering, after examining the whole question, declared that he would adhere to the bull, as he did not wish to retract on his deathbed what he had done in his lifetime. The government wished to compel submission, and, urged on by Bunsen, whom we have seen attempting to govern the Roman States for the pope, the authorities at last, on the 20th of November, 1837, tore the archbishop by force from his See. This act of violence, so utterly at variance with the professedly liberal and tolerant principles of the nineteenth century, filled Protestants with shame and Catholics with profound grief.

Prussia seemed guided by men who had lost all reason. Previous to this disgraceful step, Bunsen, with a *niaiserie* that is utterly inconceivable, announced that, if Rome refused to receive the documents of which he was the bearer, such conduct would be considered by his court as a *commencement of hostilities*, according to the principles of international law. He also announced that the king would hold the pope's allocution to be a *declaration of war!* Evidently this would-be-reformer of Italian local government knew no method of moral suasion but force.

Far from being shaken by so shameful a persecution, Gregory XVI. showed himself more firm and worthy than ever. He raised, in calm and serene vigor, his paternal voice, and called all Europe to witness the violence of the enemies of the Church.

In his allocution of December, 10, 1837, he said: "We deplore the grave offence recently committed against our venerable brother, Clement Augustus, archbishop of Cologne, who has been forbidden, by a royal order, all exercise of pastoral jurisdiction, and who, by violence and with a great array of military force, has been expelled from his See and banished. What has drawn these misfortunes on him is his constant readiness to render unto Cæsar what belongs to Cæsar; but, remembering that it was his duty to preserve religiously the doctrine and discipline of the Church, he has proposed no other rule in the matter of mixed marriages than that traced by our predecessor, Pius VIII., of happy memory, in his Letters Apostolic, addressed to the archbishop and to the bishop of the western part of the Prussian kingdom.

"And yet, by those letters, the Holy See had pushed indulgence so far that it may truly be said that it reached the limits that cannot be passed without prevarication. It is well known to you, venerable brethren, that our predecessor most reluctantly consented to these relaxations, and was influenced solely by the necessity of preventing the more grievous evils which, from the threats that had been made, menaced the Church and Catholic clergy of that country. Who would have thought that that pontifical declaration, although of indulgence, and repeatedly accepted by the king's minister at Rome, would be understood in a sense that overthrew the unalterable principles of the Catholic Church, and that was directly contrary to the intention of the Holy See?"

He ended in these words: "We now declare, in a solemn and public manner, what we have not ceased to do silently and privately—namely, that we disapprove and condemn every practice introduced into the kingdom of Prussia, in so far as the same are contrary to the true intent and meaning of the declaration of our predecessor on mixed marriages."

The archbishop of Cologne was not the only sufferer. Martin de Dunin, archbishop of Gnesen and Posen, had requested the publication, in his

diocese, of the bull of Pius VIII.; and, on the refusal of the ministry, appealed to the king, who also insisted on his submission to the civil laws. It was the old question. The matter was now narrowed down to the point whether to obey Christ or Cæsar. The archbishop issued a clear pastoral, enforcing, in severe terms, the bull of Benedict XIV. on mixed marriages. For this he was arraigned before the superior tribunal of Posen, whose authority he refused to recognize. That lay-Protestant tribunal sentenced the Catholic bishop to lose his office in the Catholic Church, and be confined for six months in a fortress. Returning to his diocese, in spite of the royal prohibition, he was seized and conveyed to the fortress of Colberg.

The tyranny of the Prussian government, in endeavoring to force Catholic bishops to violate known and ancient laws of their Church, excited the greatest interest. The Catholics rose with enthusiasm. Protestants were moved with admiration at the attitude of the venerable men who would not bend their knee to Baal. From every side came words of encouragement and sympathy; but Germany remembers especially the letter of condolence addressed to the two Confessors of the Faith by the Fathers of the Council of Baltimore.*

There was, therefore, seldom a period when so many troubles and oppressions afflicted the Church, and called for the watchful care of the Holy Father. In France, however, religion was rapidly regaining its sway over the hearts of men. Zealous and able defenders of the truth met error at every step in papers and other publications. The Church showed great vitality, and an intense missionary spirit. In the British dominions the removal of old and diabolical penal laws gave Catholics a liberty which was eagerly seized. The spread of Catholicity in the United States called for the erection of new Sees, and the success of missions in Asia, Africa, and Oceanica, where, amid a spiritual wilderness, new churches arose, were the other consolations which, amid his troubles and anxieties, upheld the courage of the pontiff.

In these last, Gregory XVI., an old prefect of the Propaganda, took the deepest interest; and he aided by his warmest approbation and encouragement the great Association for the Propagation of the Faith, established at Lyons in 1822, by a few zealous souls, whose names are written in the Book of Life in letters all the more brilliant from the care which they took to conceal them from the eyes of men. But for its aid the missionaries could never have erected, in poor and distant missions, those churches, schools, and seats of Catholic charity which are a miracle of our time.

In 1834, Cardinal Louis Lambruschini, a Barnabite, a statesman of the school of Gerdil and Fontana, succeeded Bernetti as Secretary of State.

* See Alzog's History of the Church, v. iii., sec. 508.

Gregory XVI. had confronted armed revolts; he did not shrink before the hostility of royal Protestantism. Occupied at Rome with the reconstruction of the Basilica of Saint Paul and the spiritual government of the Church, he was undisturbed by rumors from without and by plots which broke out at Rimini and elsewhere. Gaining fresh strength in age, he meets and defeats these revolts through his ministers, reserving for himself the government of souls and the direction of minds.

Of his internal administration Cardinal Wiseman says: "Certainly no monarch ever did more conscientiously labor, body and soul, for the good of those committed to him, and for the discharge of his public duties, than the virtuous Gregory XVI."

In the very year of his accession he published new laws on the course of judicial procedure. In the following year he issued another decree on crimes and punishments. In 1833 he re-organized the secretary of state's office, dividing it into two departments, of home and foreign affairs; and further, gave a new system to the department of public works.

In 1834 a national bank was established for the first time in Rome; and a complete code was published of laws and regulations for all public administration. The year following, a new coinage was issued, more perfectly reduced to the decimal system than before, as the gold coins previously bore no proportion to it. The entire Roman Forum was restored; and the monastery of Saint Gregory, a conspicuous public edifice, with the space and roads around it, was repaired and beautified, at the pope's own expense. Very large public works were also executed at the mouth of the Tiber, and in the harbor and city of Civita Vecchia. The Anio was sent this year also through its two new tunnels; and finally, a cemetery, which had been commenced outside the walls, at the Basilica of Saint Lawrence, was finished and opened; burial in it being made compulsory, and intramural sepulture being suppressed. In 1836 night-schools were first established.

The year 1837 was a dark one in the annals of Gregory's pontificate. The cholera had visited several parts of the States, and had been particularly severe in Ancona. The pope succored liberally from his own funds, as well as from public sources, every place attacked; but, at the same time, he omitted no precautionary measures in his capital. It would be superfluous to say that every religious act of expiation was duly performed. There were sermons in many churches, exhorting the people to repentance, that so the divine wrath might be appeased, and the scourge averted. Then there was a solemn procession, in which the holy father walked. But some questioned the prudence of thus assembling crowds together, and the events seemed partly to justify them. A sanitary commission was formed, towards which the pope largely subscribed.

The pope remained at his post, in Rome, attending to every thing, bestowing large alms, and providing for every want. Thus at length the scourge passed by, the avenging angel sheathed his sword, after raising the mortality of the twelvemonth (between Easter and Easter) from three to twelve thousand deaths. New duties then arose. The holy father put himself at the head of the subscriptions for educating the numerous orphans left destitute by the plague. Charity was here universal. Many institutions undertook the support of children. Houses were opened by charitable contributions, for those who remained; and among the most active and conspicuous agents in this merciful work was the Princess Borghese, erst Lady Gwendeline Talbot, daughter of the Earl of Shrewsbury, a rarely gifted lady, whose memory yet lives in Rome, in the prayers of the poor and the admiration of the great. It may be added, that the statistics of the cholera have nowhere been compiled with greater accuracy and minuteness than in Rome.

In spite of these anxious cares, this year saw its important improvements. Besides the opening of the Etruscan museum, and the enlargement of the Christian collection, both already mentioned, and the complete restoration of the Pauline chapel in the Vatican, there was established, for the first time in the Roman States, a general insurance company, embracing insurance against hail as well as fire.

The year 1838 was remarkable for one of the most interesting antiquarian discoveries of modern times. The gate known as the Porto Maggiore, from its vicinity to the church of S. Maria Maggiore, passes under a magnificent point of union of several aqueducts, adorned with a splendid inscription. But the gate had been fortified by most barbaric works in the middle ages. These hideous appendages were ordered to be removed; and the consequence was, not only the unveiling of the fine old work above the gate, but the unburying of a monument singular in its construction and its mystery. An excrescent bastion at the outside of the gate was subjected to incision, and disclosed in the process that its core was an ancient tomb, of republican times, built with strange materials. It had been raised by Marcus Vergilius Eurysaces, to his nameless wife; and, as he was a rich baker, for he was a public contractor (*redemptor*), he called the tomb a bakery (*pistrinum*), and built up its walls of stone kneading-troughs, surmounted by reliefs which represent the whole process of making bread.

But another curious appearance no less astonished Rome—this was the arrival of two Ottoman ambassadors; the first, Ahmed Fethi Pacha, on his way to Paris; the second, one since renowned, Redschid Pacha, minister of Mahmoud II., in London, who came to thank the pope for his kindness to his colleague. A saying of one of these intelligent Turks, when he was shown the Pantheon, and told what it formerly was, is recorded: "Where," he

asked, "are the statues of the heathen gods?" "Of course they were removed when the temple was Christianized," was the natural answer. "No," he replied, "I would have left them standing, to show how the true God triumphed over them in their own house."

It was in this year, also, that the Vatican library received the addition of ten rooms.

Besides many great public works, some already mentioned, the year 1839 was signalized by the publication of a remarkable document, the Bull "*In supremo apostolatus fastigio*" (December 3), against the slave-trade. There can be no doubt, that in several countries this splendid decree did more to put down the slave-trade than negotiations or corvettes :

"Elevated to the highest degree of apostolic dignity, and filling, although without any merit on our part, the place of Jesus Christ, the Son of God, who, by the excess of his charity, deigned to become man and to die for the redemption of the world, we consider that it belongs to our pastoral solicitude to make every effort to divert Christians from the traffic which is made of negroes and other men, whoever they may be.

"As soon as evangelical light began to be diffused, the unfortunates who had fallen into the harshest slavery, in the midst of the numerous wars of this epoch, felt their condition become ameliorated ; for the Apostles, inspired by the Spirit of God, taught the slaves, on the one hand, to obey their temporal masters as Jesus Christ himself, and to be heartily resigned to the will of God ; but, on the other hand, they commanded the masters to show themselves kind towards their slaves, to accord to them what was just and equitable, and not to treat them angrily, knowing that the Lord of both is in heaven, and that with him there is no respect of persons.

"Ere long, the law of the Gospel, establishing in a universal and fundamental manner sincere charity towards all, and the Lord Jesus having declared that he should regard as done or refused to himself all the acts of beneficence and mercy which should be done or denied to the poor and obscure, it naturally followed that the Christians not only regarded their slaves as brethren, especially when they became Christians, but that they became more inclined to give liberty to those that rendered themselves worthy of it ; which was accustomed to be accomplished particularly at the solemn feast of Easter, as is related by Saint Gregory of Nyssa. There were even found those, who, inflamed with a more ardent charity, *threw themselves into chains to ransom their brethren* ; and an apostolic man, our predecessor, Pope Clement I. of most holy memory, certifies to having known a great number who did this work of mercy. For this reason, the darkness of heathen superstition being wholly dissipated with the progress of time, and the customs of the most barbarous people being softened, thanks to the

benefit of the law working by charity, things came to the point that several centuries ago there were no longer slaves among the greater part of Christian nations.

“Nevertheless, it is with profound grief that we say it, *there have since been, even among Christians, men who, shamefully blinded by the desire of sordid gain, have not hesitated to reduce to servitude, on distant lands, Indians, negroes, and other unhappy races*; or else to aid in this ignoble crime, by instituting and organizing the traffic in these unfortunates, whom others had loaded with chains. Numerous Roman pontiffs, our predecessors of glorious memory, did not forget to reprimand, according to the whole extent of their charge, the conduct of these men as opposed to their salvation, and blighting to the name of Christian, for they saw clearly that *this was one of the causes which most strongly retained the infidel nations in their hatred of the true religion.*

“To this end tend the apostolic letters of Paul III., of May 29, 1537, addressed to the cardinal archbishop of Toledo, under the fisherman’s seal, and other much more extended letters of Urban VIII., of April 22, 1639, addressed to the collector of duties of the apostolic chamber of Portugal—letters which direct the gravest reproaches against those who dare reduce to slavery the inhabitants of the East or West Indies, sell them, buy them, kill them, exchange them, give them away, separate them from their wives and children, despoil them of their goods, carry them away or send them to foreign places, or deprive them in any manner whatsoever of their liberty; retain them in servitude, or lend aid, counsels, assistance, and favor to those who do these, under any color or pretext whatever; or again, preach or teach that it is lawful, and, in fine, co-operate in any manner, whatsoever it may be. Benedict XIV. later confirmed and renewed these pontifical prescriptions, already mentioned, by new apostolic letters to the bishops of Brazil, and all other regions, dated December 20, 1749, by means of which he aroused the solicitude of the bishops to the same end.

“Long before, another of our more ancient predecessors, Pius II., whose pontificate saw the empire of Portugal extend into Guinea and the negro countries, addressed letters bearing date October 7, 1462, to the bishop of Ruvo, who was about to set out to exercise the holy ministry in these countries with the greatest fruit; but in which he took occasion to blame Christians most severely who reduced the neophytes to slavery. Finally, in our day, Pius VII., animated by the same spirit of charity and religion as his predecessors, zealously interposed his good offices with those in power to put an end entirely to the slave-trade among Christians.

“These prescriptions and this solicitude of our predecessors have served not a little, with the aid of God, to defend the Indians and the other peoples whom we have just named against the barbarity of conquests and the cupidity of Christian traders; but the Holy See is far from rejoicing as yet

at the full success of its efforts and zeal, since, if the negro slave-trade has been in part abolished, it is still exercised by numerous Christians. Therefore, in order to put away such an opprobrium from all Christian countries, after having maturely deliberated with several of our venerable fathers the cardinals of the holy Roman Church, assembled in council, according to the steps of our predecessors, in virtue of the apostolic authority, we earnestly warn and admonish in the Lord all Christians, of whatever condition they may be, and enjoin on them that *no one shall dare in the future unjustly to annoy Indians, negroes, or other men, whoever they may be, to despoil them of their property or reduce them to servitude, or to lend aid and favor to those who abandon themselves to such excesses, or to exercise this inhuman traffic, by which the negroes, as if they were not men, but veritable and impure beasts, reduced like them to servitude, without distinction, contrary to the rights of justice and humanity, are bought, sold, and devoted to suffer the hardest labors, and on account of whom dissensions are excited, and almost incessant wars fomented among nations by the bait of the gain proposed to the first kidnappers of negroes.*

“Therefore, by virtue of the apostolic authority, we reprove all the aforesaid things, as absolutely unworthy of the name of Christian, and, by the same authority, we absolutely prohibit and interdict to all ecclesiastics or laymen to dare sustain this trade of negroes as permitted under any pretext or color whatsoever, or to teach in public or private, in one manner or another, any thing contrary to these apostolic letters.

“And in order that these letters may come to the knowledge of all the world, and that no one may pretend ignorance of them, we decree and order that they be published and placarded according to custom, by one of our officers, at the doors of the basilica of the Prince of the Apostles, the Apostolic Chancellor’s office, the Palace of Justice, Mont Citorio, and at the Field of Flora.

“Given at Rome, at Saint Mary Major, under the seal of the fisherman, November 3, 1839, in the ninth year of our pontificate.

“Countersigned,

“LOUIS, CARDINAL LAMBRUSCHINI.”

The year 1839 witnessed perhaps the most splendid functions which the Church ever performs, the canonization of five saints. Many years of severe investigation and judicial processes are required to prepare for this final and solemn recognition of sublime holiness in any of God’s chosen servants. Only a few times in a century—twice, so far, in this—does it fall to the lot of a pontiff to perform it. The entire basilica of Saint Peter is superbly decorated and brilliantly illuminated; paintings of great events in the lives of the glorified persons adorn it in every part. All the bishops of

the papal States, and many from other parts of Italy, and even from more distant countries, usually attend.

The servants of God, whose veneration by this solemn act was publicly permitted in the house of God, were : 1. Saint Alphonsus Liguori, Founder of the Redemptorists ; 2. Saint Francis, of Hieronymo, of the Society of Jesus ; 3. Saint John Joseph of the Cross ; 4. Saint Pacificus, of San Severino ; 5. Saint Veronica Giuliani.

Saint Alphonsus Liguori's canonization took place at so unprecedentedly short period after his death, that his nephew supported the pendant of his banner in the procession at this time. Saint Alphonsus was born in 1696, at Naples, of a noble family ; and after a youth of innocence and piety studied law, and was admitted to the bar as an advocate. The loss of an important case confided to his care, and for which he had prepared by long and careful study, disgusted him with the world, and he renounced all the flattering prospects before him to give himself to the service of God. He accordingly studied theology, and after his ordination devoted himself to preaching and the direction of souls. Having taken part in a mission at Amalfi, he was deeply moved by the spiritual destitution of the peasantry, and conceived the idea of a new institute to instruct the people. He accordingly, with the sanction of Clement XII., founded, in 1722, the Congregation of the Most Holy Redeemer, composed of secular priests, united with the view of imitating Christ, by instructing, like him, the people and the young. The rule of this institute was promulgated on the 21st of June, 1742. This was the period of the war made on the Jesuits, and the new congregation met with opposition from the enemies of that order, which suspected, and not unreasonably, that this new congregation was similarly intended to do the work of God. The holy founder was, greatly to his own regret, made bishop of Saint Agatha de' Goti, and though he earnestly, when broken by age, sickness, paralysis, and mental trouble, caused by divisions in his congregation, sought leave to resign, did not, for many years, obtain his release. He died on the 1st of August, 1787.

His order has spread over many countries, and has done incalculable service in the United States by its missions among both English and German speaking Catholics.

Saint Francis di Girolamo, or of Hieronymo, was also from the kingdom of Naples, and was born at Terra d'Otranto, a small village near Taranto, on the 17th of December, 1642, the oldest of eleven children of John Leonard di Girolamo and Gentilesca Gravina. At the age of sixteen he was sent to a Jesuit college, and at the close of his studies was ordained priest. He then remained for some years, though a secular priest, attached to the College of Nobles, directed by the Society of Jesus, and at the age of twenty-eight resolved to enter the order. He then earnestly sought the

Japanese mission; but being told to consider Naples his Japan, soon became in reality the evangelist of that kingdom. Poor and neglected districts in town and country were especial objects of his care, and he preached with a zeal, fervor, and eloquence which none could resist, the more especially as God favored his servant with miraculous powers, never perhaps seen since the days of Saint Vincent Ferrer.

In 1715 his health began to fail, and after a long illness, he died May 11, 1716. He was beatified by Pope Pius VII. on the 9th of February, 1806.

Saint John Joseph of the Cross was born at Ischia, in the kingdom of Naples, on the 15th of August, 1654, and was christened Charles Cajetan Calosirto. He entered the Franciscan order in one of the convents of the reform, instituted by Saint Peter of Alcantara. His piety and zeal soon caused him to be invested with responsible offices; and so great was his reputation for sanctity and eloquence, that, in 1702, he induced the pope and cardinals to recall an order for the suppression of the reform. A success still more consoling to his humility was the obtaining of a brief exempting him from all offices in his order. In 1722 he retired to the convent of Saint Lucy at Naples, and here spent the residue of his life in the labors of his ministry, in prayer and austerities.

Saint Pacificus of San Severino, was born in 1653, and was baptized by the name of Charles Anthony Divini. Losing his parents at an early age, he was treated with great harshness by his uncle, whom he obeyed in all humility and patience. In 1670 he entered the Franciscan convent at Forano, and soon became a model of every virtue. His life was one of zeal, devotion, and piety, and after edifying his brethren and converting many by his preaching and his works of charity, he passed quietly to his rest on the 24th of September, 1721. He was beatified by Pope Pius VI. in 1785.

Saint Veronica Giuliani was born at Mercatello, in the States of the Church, on the feast of Saint John the Evangelist, in the year 1660, and was baptized by the name of Ursula. Her early piety was rewarded by supernatural favors; but as she grew up she evinced a wilfulness and vanity that was a strange contrast to her pious intervals. Her father sought to induce her to marry, and, to divert her mind, sent her to live with her uncle. But her vocation was too decided. On the 17th of July, 1677, she entered the Capuchin convent at Citta del Castello. Her life was a model of every virtue, and after holding every other office she was elected abbess in 1716, and remained superior for eleven years.

On the 5th of April, 1697, she, like the great Saint Francis, received the stigmata. They closed three years after, but were renewed in 1703 and 1726. Her holy and extraordinary life closed on the 9th of July, 1727. She was beatified in 1804, by Pope Pius VII.

Spain was in a terrible state. The religious houses had all been suppressed, and their property seized to be wasted in extravagance, for it is a curious financial problem that not only no State is ever enriched by Church property, but that the pouring of the money into the State treasury is a sure prelude to an overwhelming state debt. So it proved in Spain. The whole Church property was then seized, tithes were abolished, and the Cortes appointed a committee to reorganize the Church and clergy. This committee proceeded, like the National Convention in France, to create a Constitutional Church. They proposed the abolition of seventeen Sees, the erection of five new ones, the suppression of eighteen cathedral churches, and the support of the clergy and public worship from the State treasury. The eleventh article of the new constitution of 1837 had declared that the nation would support them.

During the civil war Gregory had refrained from acknowledging Isabel II.; many of the clergy sided openly with Don Carlos, and consequently Sees and parishes were left without bishops and pastors; monks, nuns, and priests were left destitute. Meanwhile, the Spanish government proceeded to nominate archbishops, whom the Holy See could not recognize and institute. At last, in 1839, the Spanish government sent to Rome Don Julian Villalba, who labored with great energy, as the urgency of the case required, there being no less than twenty-two Sees vacant in Spain and the colonies. The favorable moment came. The convention of Vergara closed in a manner the civil war. A religious reaction began. Catholic periodicals appeared, arousing the dormant faith of the Spanish people. The overthrow of Queen Christina in 1840 gave the infidel party new power. New violences ensued, and the nuncio-apostolic, Ramirez de Arellano, after seeing his court suspended, was expelled from the kingdom.

The hostility against the Church and court of Rome reached its height, in spite of the allocutions of Gregory XVI., on the 1st of February, 1836, and 1st of March, 1841, in which the Holy Father raised his voice to denounce, in the presence of the Almighty, the outrages with which the Spanish government assailed the Church. The cabinet of Madrid replied by a manifesto, and by still more violent acts. It attempted to institute by force bishops not recognized by the Holy See. But all Spain was not infidel. Vallejo, primate of Spain, Posadas, archbishop of Valencia, Ortigosa, archbishop of Burgos, all revolutionary and liberal in their ideas, protested against this violence. The archbishops of Seville, Saragossa, and Cordova, with the bishops of Calahorra, Pampeluna, Urgel, and Valencia, did the same, and expiated their opposition by expulsion and exile. The chapters of vacant Sees, boldly denouncing the tyranny, met severe measures.

In this extremity Gregory XVI. issued to the whole Church the following encyclical, inviting the faithful to join in prayers for the Spanish Church :

“ GREGORY XVI.

‘ For perpetual commemoration :

“ The cause of the Catholic religion, committed to our lowliness by the Supreme Prince of pastors, and most loving repairer of the human race, Christ Jesus, and the charity with which we follow all nations, press and urge us so intimately that we cannot ever pass over any thing which we may understand to pertain towards keeping in integrity the deposit of the faith, and driving from before us what is pernicious to souls. With what grief of mind we have been forced to deplore, for many years past, the most sad vicissitudes of the Church in Spain, is now, indeed, most clearly ascertained. Verily, that people has not varied from the most holy teaching of its fathers, and is, with all its might, addicted to the orthodox faith ; its clergy, for the most part, fight strenuously the battles of the Lord ; and almost all its holy prelates, albeit harassed in a manner to excite pity, nay, even though expelled and afflicted with the severest sufferings, exert themselves, according to their strength, in giving care to the salvation of their own flocks. Nevertheless, men of perdition, and those too not few in number, are found there, who, joined together in nefarious association, and, like the waves of a wild sea vomiting forth confusion, carry on a most foul war against Christ and his saints, and combine their endeavors impiously to turn out the Catholic religion, on which the greatest detriment has already been inflicted.

“ We indeed, raising up our apostolic voice, have not omitted publicly to lament the most grievous wounds dealt to the Church by the government of Madrid ; and we have declared plainly null and void all acts promulgated by the civil power against the rights and laws of the Church herself. We have, moreover, with all signification of grief, vehemently complained of the most atrocious calamities and injuries offered to our venerable brothers the bishops of that kingdom, and the sacred persons of each order of the clergy, as well as of the abominations established in the sacred place, and the ecclesiastical goods that have been sacrilegiously despoiled, put up to auction, and adjudged to the public treasury ; at the same time, recalling to the memories of those concerned the penalties and censures incurred at once by the mere act which the apostolic constitution and the œcumenic councils inflict on those who do not fear to perpetrate such crimes. And this duty of our apostolic office we took care to have once and again performed, in each of two allocutions held to our venerable brothers the cardinals of the holy Roman Church, in the kalends of February, in the year 1836, and the kalends of March, of the year 1841 ; which, indeed, we ordered to be printed, that there might exist that perennial monument of our apostolic solicitude and reprobation.

“ We were raised to a hope that our voice, which was bursting forth from

the most afflicted heart of the common father of all the faithful, would be heard, and that, through the iteration of our admonitions and expostulations, the harsh persecution of the Catholic religion might cease. For this cause we have assuredly never omitted, prostrated nights and days at the foot of Him that was crucified, amid many tears and groans, and in humility of heart, to pray that, for his immeasurable mercy, he would be pleased to stretch forth a helping hand to the laboring nation of Spain, and show the light of his truth to the wanderers, that they might return to the ways of justice. But in the inscrutable divine judgment no event has as yet answered our hope; nay, we daily behold evils so increase throughout those most extensive regions, that it would appear as though utter destruction to the Catholic religion were being openly planned. For, passing over in silence very many other things sufficiently ascertained, which have been there most recently decreed or actually executed against the most holy laws of the Church and the rights of the Apostolic See, we grieve that things have reached such a degree of wickedness that, by malice truly diabolical, an execrable law has been proposed in the supreme assembly of the kingdom, the chief object of which is that lawful ecclesiastical authority be abolished, and the impious opinion become law, that lay authority, by virtue of its supreme jurisdiction, has dominion over the Church herself and her affairs.

“In fact, it is determined by that law that no account of the Apostolic See shall be held by the Spanish nation; that all communication with it for all manner of graces, indultos, and concessions shall be intercepted, and that those who contravene this prescript shall be severely punished. It is also decreed that letters apostolic and other rescripts issued by the same Holy See, unless they shall have been demanded by Spain, shall not only not be kept and want all efficacy, but that they shall be denounced to the civil authority in the shortest interval of time, by those whom they shall reach, that by it they may be delivered to the government; and for those who shall violate this prescript a penalty also is fixed. It is moreover ordained that impediments of matrimony shall be subject to the bishops, until a code of civil laws shall establish a distinction between the contract and the sacrament of matrimony; that no cause involving religious matters shall be sent from Spain to Rome; and that in no time shall a nuncio or legate of this Holy See be there admitted with the power of granting graces or dispensations, even gratuitously. What more! The most sacred right of the Roman pontiff to confirm or reject the bishops elected in Spain is plainly excluded; and the punishment of exile is to be inflicted as well on all priests designated to any episcopal church, who shall seek confirmation or letters apostolic from this Holy See, as on all metropolitans who shall demand the pallium from it. After this, it is indeed to be wondered

at that the Roman pontiff himself is in that law asserted to be, as it were, the centre of the Church, since room for communication with him is not left, save by the license and under the inspection of the government.

“Desiring, then, with all our might to restrain, as much as in us lies, the evils which in this great perturbation of the Catholic religion throughout Spain are there growing more heavy ; and to give our assistance to those most dear of the faithful, who, long since, are stretching forth suppliant hands towards us, we have determined, after the example of our predecessors, to resort to the prayers of the universal Church, and most studiously to excite the piety of all Catholics towards that nation. And certainly, as no one can be separated from participation in this sadness, and as in such peril of religion and faith the cause of grief is the same to all, the manner of assistance of all ought equally to be one and the same. Therefore, while we renew and confirm, by these letters apostolic, the complaints and expostulations published in the allocutions that have been mentioned, and abrogate and declare to be of no force all acts hitherto done by the government of Madrid against the rights and dignity of the Church and of this most Holy See, we again and again exhort each our venerable brothers, the patriarchs, primates, archbishops, bishops, wherever and whithersoever the Catholic world extends, having favor and communion with this Holy See, by that charity in which we are one in the Lord, and by that faith by which we coalesce into one body, that, mingling their tears with ours, they unanimously strive to bend the divine wrath, and implore the mercy of the omnipotent God for the unhappy Spanish nation, and earnestly study to inflame the clergy and people to assiduous prayer for the same object. We will and command, moreover, that each our venerable brothers, the archbishops and bishops within our pontifical sovereignty, in such manner as they shall deem most expedient in the Lord, have a care that public supplications be addressed to the Father of mercies that, for the sake of the blood of his Son, which was shed for all, the days of temptation may be shortened in the kingdom of Spain. And that God may more easily incline his ear to our prayers, let all suppliantly approach the Virgin Mother of God, the most powerful protectress of the Church, our most loving mother to all, and the most faithful patron of Spain ; let them seek further the suffrages of the prince of the apostles, whom Christ made the rock of the Church, against which the gates of hell shall not prevail ; also those of all in heaven, especially those who have made Spain illustrious by their virtue, sanctity, and miracles. In order that each of the faithful, of every order, degree, and condition, may persevere in prayer and supplication, with more fervent charity, and with riper fruit, we have determined to proffer, with a liberal hand, the treasures of heavenly gifts. Hence, we grant a plenary indulgence in the form of a jubilee, to be gained by all the faithful of

Christ who, duly purified by sacramental confession, and refreshed by the most Holy Eucharist, shall be present at least three times at solemn supplications, to be appointed by the proper ordinary of each, and shall fervently pray, on the account above mentioned, three times within fifteen days, in churches to be designated by the ordinaries themselves.

“We trust that it will be, that *the angels of peace, holding the golden vials and the thurible of gold in their hands*, will offer to the Lord, on *the altar of gold*, our fervent and humble prayers, and those of the whole Church, for Spain; and that He, who is rich in mercy, receiving the same from them with a benignant countenance, will be pleased to condescend to our vows and the common vows of the faithful, and, at the same time, to effect that, by his right hand and the arm of his strength, all adversities and errors being overthrown, our holy mother the Church may there at length breathe again from such calamities, and enjoy that peace and liberty with which Christ endowed her.

“But that these our letters may the more easily become known to all, and that no one may be able to allege ignorance of them, we will and order that they be published at the gates of the Basilica of the Prince of the Apostles, of our Apostolic Chancery, of the palace of the governor in Monte Citorio, and also in the Field of Flora de Urbe, according to custom, by some one of our messengers, and that copies of them be left affixed in those places.

“Given at Rome, at Saint Peter's, under the ring of the Fisherman, on the 22d day of February, in the year 1842, of our pontificate the twelfth.

“A. CARD. LAMBRUSCHINI.”

The persecutors of the Church soon met their reward. Isabel II. assumed the direction of government in October, 1844, and began her administration by acts of justice to the Church, permitting the exiled bishops to return, liberating the episcopate from State supervision, and restoring the Rota of the apostolic nunciature. The Church property was, however, irrevocably lost to the good of religion.

On the 3d of June, Pope Gregory XVI. issued a decree, stamping with authenticity a miraculous conversion which had recently occurred at Rome.

Towards the close of the autumn of 1841, a young man belonging to a family in Strasburg, of high rank and universally esteemed, arrived at Naples, with a view to proceed on a tour to the East, partly for health, partly for pleasure. It was not without much regret that he had quitted his native town, as he had left there a young lady to whom he was engaged in marriage—a sweet and lovely person, whom he loved as the treasure of all his hopes. It was an engagement springing solely from their mutual affection. Alphonzo was an Israelite. Destined to occupy a conspicuous

position, he resolved to dedicate his best exertions to the regeneration of his own community. To this object he bent his thoughts most ardently, for he could not contemplate without deep pain any state of things connected with that body which might call to mind the malediction which weighs upon the descendants of Jacob. He had scarcely reached his fifteenth year when an occurrence took place which severed one of his most cherished affections. Theodore Ratisbonne, his brother, adopted the Catholic faith, and entered into holy orders. Time had not healed this wound; every succeeding year increased his hatred to his brother; never (he thought) could he forgive one whom he looked upon as an apostate, and against whom he excited and fostered, incessantly, the resentment of his whole family.

The charming climate of Naples could not induce him to postpone his meditated journey to the East, or, above all, the joy that awaited his return. He had only a few months to visit Sicily, Malta, and Constantinople. The summer of 1842 was to bring him to her he loved so well, and to witness a union which was thenceforth to fix his happiness. He resolved upon his departure. On proceeding to engage his berth in the steamboat which plies between Naples and Palermo, he bethought him that he had not yet seen Rome; and that if he quitted Italy without visiting the eternal city, he might not probably have the opportunity of seeing it soon again, occupied as he should be in the cares of business, as a partner in the firm of his uncle. Absorbed in these reflections, he entered an office—but it was the diligence office—he took his place, and in three days afterwards found himself in Rome.

He determined, however, that his stay should be very short; upon this he was quite resolved—his return within fifteen days to Naples was irrevocably fixed. In vain did the eternal city hold out to him all her wonders; he would not stay one moment longer—the East and his affianced bride were expecting him. Behold him, then, visiting the ruins, the churches, the galleries; heaping together, like a true tourist, notes of his various expeditions and his confused recollections. He was all haste to get through the “lions” of a city which he had come to see, less through curiosity than by a sort of attraction which he felt but could not to himself explain.

The time for his departure having arrived, he could not think, however, of leaving Rome without bidding adieu to his old friend Gustave de Bussière, who had been educated in the same school with him, and with whom he had been connected by ties of a sincere friendship, notwithstanding their difference of religion.

In conversation with the Baron de Bussière, he mentioned an extraordinary circumstance which had happened to him. “While I was in the church of Araceli, near the capitol, I felt myself touched by profound emotion, which I could not explain. The *valet de place* who accompanied me,

perceiving my agitation, asked me what had happened, and if I wished to retire; adding, at the same time, that he had often seen strangers experience a similar emotion."

It so happened that while Ratisbonne was mentioning this fact to me, says the baron, my looks, sparkling with pleasure, seemed to say to him, *you will belong to us*; for he immediately affirmed that this impression was purely of a religious character, and had nothing of Christianity in it. Moreover, he added, "When I was descending from the capitol, a very sad spectacle presented itself to my eyes, which rekindled all my hate against Catholicism; I traversed the Ghetto (a street in Rome particularly assigned to the Jews), and witnessing there the degradation and misery of the Jews, I said to myself that, after all, it was much better to be upon the side of the oppressed than of the oppressors." Our conversation rapidly tended towards discussion; I was very anxious to make him participate in my Catholic convictions, and he, smiling at my efforts, seemed to pity my benevolent superstition, and declared emphatically that *a Jew he was, and a Jew he would die*.

An idea the most extraordinary then came into my mind; it was a thought from heaven, although the wise men of earth would most probably call it a folly. I said to him: "As you have so strong a mind, and are so certain that you cannot change, allow me to present to you that which I shall now give you."

"Well," said he, "let us see, what is it?"

"Simply this medal."

And then I showed him a miraculous medal of the Blessed Virgin. He threw it down behind him, with a mixture of indignation and surprise.

"Well," said I, very coolly, "according to your mode of thinking, this ought to be a matter of perfect indifference to you, and yet your accepting it would afford me the greatest pleasure."

"Oh!" said he, "so far as that (laughing aloud), I am ready at least to prove to you that they wrong the Jews who accuse them of an obstinacy not to be overcome. Moreover," he added, "this little incident will form an amusing chapter in my journal." He continued a little while in this style of pleasantry, which wounded my heart; for, according to my mode of thinking, it approached to an impiety.

Meantime I put round his neck a riband, to which my granddaughters during our conversation had attached the blessed medal. Another difficulty still remained for me to conquer; I wished to prevail upon him to recite the pious invocation of Saint Bernard, "Remember, O most pious and blessed Virgin," &c.

No—he could go no further; he positively refused to accede to my wishes, and his manner even seemed to say that really this man is rather

impertinent. But I felt myself impelled by an internal energy, and I contended against his refusal with a degree of more than ordinary earnestness. I held out to him the prayer, entreating him to take it with him, and to have the goodness to transcribe it, as I had no other copy.

He then, in a manner at once humorous and ironical, said, as if he wished to escape my importunities, "Well, be it so; I shall transcribe it; you shall have my copy, and I will have yours." He then went away, saying to himself, in under tone, "This man is really an original. I should like much to know what he would say if I tormented him in a similar manner to recite one of my Jewish prayers."

On Thursday, 20th, Ratisbonne had not yet made a single step towards the truth; his determination still seemed unchangeable, his manner was still as full of raillery as ever, and his thoughts still remained bent on the things of earth. Towards mid-day he happened to go into the café in the Piazza di Spagna, to read the journals. He there found my brother-in-law, Edward Humann; he chatted with him on the news of the day with a gayety of mind which excluded every idea of his having any thing else to think of for the moment. Upon leaving the café, he met the Baron A. de Lotsbeck, who lived at the same hotel with him. He talked to him upon trivial matters; he spoke of the ball and of the pleasure he had derived from the brilliant entertainment given by the Prince Torlonia. Assuredly, had any body then said to him, "You shall be a Catholic in two hours," he would have pronounced his informant a madman. At one o'clock I was obliged to go to the church of Saint André della Fratte, to make arrangements for the obsequies of the next day. Behold! as I was going along, whom should I meet in the Viâ Condotti but Ratisbonne; he then came with me. We entered the church; and he, perceiving the preparations for the funeral service, asked me what they meant. "They are for a friend whom I have just lost, M. Laferronnays, whom I loved exceedingly." He then walked up and down the nave for a while, with a cold and indifferent look, as much as to say, "What a paltry affair this church is!" In the meantime I had occasion to go into the interior of the convent; upon my return, after an absence of a few moments, I could no where see Ratisbonne. At length, looking about, I found him upon his knees in the chapel of Saint Michael the archangel. I approached him; I touched his shoulder three or four times before he appeared sensible of my presence. At length he turned towards me, his face bathed in tears, his hands joined together, and he said to me, with a degree of expression which I cannot describe, "O how this good gentleman must have prayed for me!" I was overcome with astonishment; I at once felt that a miracle had been wrought in his favor. I raised him up; I took his arm and almost bore him out of the church. I then asked him what was the matter. "Oh," he exclaimed, "take me

where you like ; after what I have seen I am all submission." I entreated him to explain himself to me. He could not ; his emotions were too strong. He took out of his bosom the miraculous medal, which he kissed again and again, and bathed it in his tears. I conducted him home ; and, although I pressed him much for an explanation, he answered only by exclamations mingled with deep sobs—"Ah ! how happy I am !—How good is God !—what an abundance of grace and happiness has he not showered down upon me ! Oh, how much those are to be pitied who have not obtained knowledge." He then poured forth his tears again over heretics and sinners. "But," he said, turning to me, "do you not think me a fool ? No, no, I am no fool ; every body knows that I am no fool."

When this apparently delirious emotion passed away, Ratisbonne, with a countenance all radiant with joy, embraced me, and requested that I would take him at once to a confessor. He wished to know when he could receive baptism, without which he said he knew not how he could live. He sighed for the happiness of the martyrs whose torments he saw pictured on the walls of the church in which we had been. He then said that he would not explain himself to me until after he had obtained the permission of a priest so to do ; "For," said he, "that which I have to say I ought not to say except upon my knees."

I conducted him as soon as possible to the house of the Jesuits, and placed him under the care of Father Villefort, who asked him to explain himself. Then Ratisbonne drew out his medal, pressed it to his lips, showed it to us, and exclaimed—"I HAVE SEEN HER ! I HAVE SEEN HER !" He was still in a state of great excitement ; but he soon after became calm, and expressed himself in the following words :

"I had been scarcely a few moments in the church, when all of a sudden I felt myself overcome by disturbance of mind. I raised my eyes : the whole edifice disappeared from my view ; one chapel alone, if I may say so, concentrated all the light, and, in the midst of the glory which it made, appeared high above the great altar, grand, brilliant, full of majesty and sweetness, the VIRGIN MARY, such as she is figured on my medal. An irresistible power impelled me towards her. The VIRGIN made a sign to me with her hand to kneel down, and she seemed to say to me, 'It is well !' She spoke not, but I understood all."

This short recital was made to us by Ratisbonne, interrupting himself often, as if to recover his breath, and get the better of the emotion which oppressed him. We listened to him with a sacred awe, mingled with joy and gratitude, admiring the depths of God's ways, and the ineffable treasures of his mercy. One phrase particularly struck us, from its mysterious character—"She spoke not, but I understood all." From that moment it was sufficient merely to hear Ratisbonne ; the Catholic faith exhaled, as it were, from his heart like a precious perfume from the vase inclosing it, but not re-

straining its fragrance. He spoke of the real presence as a man who believed in it with all the energy of his mind, or rather, indeed, to use a more adequate expression, who felt it. Taking leave of Father Villefort, we went to return thanks to God, to Saint Mary Major, and then to Saint Peter's.

Ratisbonne was accordingly received into the Church, on the 31st of January, amid the exultation of all Rome. Pope Gregory's decree was in these words :

"In the year of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, one thousand eight hundred and forty-two ; of the Roman indiction, fifteen ; and in the twelfth year of the pontificate of our holy father, Gregory XVI., and the third day of June.

"In the presence of his Eminence Cardinal Constantine Patrizi, Vicar-general of our Holy Father the Pope, in this city of Rome, judge in ordinary of the Roman curia, and of its jurisdiction, has appeared the Reverend Father Francis Aniviti, promoter fiscal of the tribunal of the vicariate, and specially delegated by the cardinal-vicar to search out and interrogate witnesses relative to the truth and authenticity of the wonderful conversion from Judaism to the Catholic religion, which was obtained through the intercession of the Blessed Virgin Mary, by Alphonse Marie Ratisbonne, of Strasbourg, aged twenty-eight years, and then being in Rome ; the said promoter declares that he applied himself with all the solicitude and zeal of which he is capable, to the fulfilment of the duty which was thus undertaken by him with eagerness and joy ; and having subjected to a formal examination nine witnesses, all of whom, judicially questioned, have exhibited in their sincere recital an astonishing unanimity in every thing relating both to the substance and to the results of that wonderful event ; he therefore further declares that he is convinced that nothing more is required to constitute the character of a true miracle. Nevertheless, he has referred the definition of the whole matter to his very reverend Eminence, who, after having seen and examined the acts, interrogatories, and documents, shall vouchsafe to interpose a definite degree, as shall seem expedient to him in the Lord.

"Wherefore, after having heard this report, and seen the process, the interrogatories of the witnesses, their answers and references, and having considered all these things carefully and maturely ; having also collected the opinions of theologians, and other men of eminent piety, according to the form prescribed by the council of Trent (*sess. 25 de invocatione, veneratione et reliquiis sanctorum, ac sacris imaginibus*), his Eminence, the Cardinal-vicar of his holiness has declared and definitely pronounced that there is full evidence (*plene constare*) of the true and illustrious miracle operated by

the most just and great God, through the intercession of the Blessed Virgin Mary ; to wit, the instantaneous and perfect conversion of Alphonse Marie Ratisbonne from Judaism. And whereas it is an honorable thing to reveal and confess the works of God (Tobias xii. 7), therefore, for the greater glory of God, and to increase the devotion of the faithful towards the Blessed Virgin Mary, his Eminence has deigned to permit that the relation of this remarkable miracle should be printed, and published, and authorized.

“ Given at the palace of his Eminence, the said Cardinal-vicar, and judge in ordinary, on the day, and month, and year mentioned above.

“ C. CARDINAL VICAR,

“ CAMILLUS DIAMILLA,

“ *Notarius deputatus.*

“ Conformable with the original,

“ JOSEPH, CANON TARNASSI, *Secretary.*”

(*Place of the Seal.*)

Unhappy Poland suffered under the tyranny of Russia. On the 22d of July, 1842, Gregory addressed this allocution to the cardinals :

“ Venerable Brothers :

“ More than once already, from this very place, have we communicated to you the sorrow with which our mind has long been filled on account of the most unhappy position of the Catholic Church in the Russian empire. He, whose vicarious authority we, unworthy though we are, exercise on earth, is our witness that, from the very moment that we undertook the duties of the sovereign pontificate, we have neglected nothing that zeal and anxiety could suggest, in order to remedy, as far as possible, so many and such great evils, increasing as they are from day to day. But events, and recent events too, show you but too plainly what has been the fruit of all those efforts ; whence you will understand much better than it is possible for us to explain, to what extent our never-ceasing sorrow has increased. But there is a circumstance which raises as it were to the utmost the bitterness of our grief, and which, considering the holiness of the apostolic ministry, leaves no limit to our anxiety and our alarm. For the measures which we have taken without intermission to guarantee the integrity of the Catholic Church throughout the extent of the Russian dominions not having obtained any publicity, especially in that country, the enemies of the Holy See, with their hereditary perfidy, have taken advantage of that circumstance to propagate among the numerous faithful of that empire the odious calumny, that, unmindful of our most sacred duties, we have shamefully passed over in silence those great calamities, and almost abandoned the cause of the Catholic religion. Thus have they so far succeeded, that

we have almost become a rock of scandal and of offence to a great portion of the Lord's flock, whom we are divinely called on to rule; and even to the universal Church, which has been founded on a firm rock, in him whose venerable dignity we now, by right of succession, possess. In such a state of things the interest of God and religion, and even our own interest, absolutely require that we should cast off, as far as possible, from ourselves every suspicion of a fault so unworthy of our character. It is for this purpose we have ordered that each one of you should receive a complete exposition of every thing that we have attempted in favor of the Catholic Church in that country, in order that it may be obvious to the whole Catholic world that we have not neglected in any thing the duties of the apostles. On the other hand, let us not, venerable brothers, lose confidence; let us hope that the most powerful emperor of the Russias and the illustrious king of Poland, yielding to his natural rectitude, and to the loftiness of his feelings, will at length lend a favorable ear to the wishes which we and the Catholic portion of his subjects have so long entertained. Sustained by that hope, let us not cease in the mean time to raise our eyes and hands towards the mountain whence assistance will come to us; and in the unanimity of an ardent prayer, let us conjure the Almighty and most merciful God to grant, as soon as possible, to the long afflictions of his Church a consolation so earnestly sought after."

Affairs in Holland began to improve for the welfare of the Church; and in 1840 William II. ascended the throne more favorably disposed. Gregory XVI. sent Monsignor Capaccini as nuncio, whose efforts were not unavailing.

The year 1840 also brought to Pope Gregory the consolation of beholding, under Frederick William IV., who ascended the throne on the 7th of June, 1840, prospects of a returning peace for the Church in that country. The new monarch showed his good-will and impartiality, as well as his clear views, by rising above the fanaticism of his ministers. On the 29th of July, 1840, the month following his accession, he authorized the return of Monsignor de Dunin to Posen and Gnesen. His pastoral to his flock on his return was conciliatory to the government.

On his side, the king showed his liberality and his respect for the laws of the Church of his devoted Catholic subjects. A royal decree of January 1, 1841, permitted the bishops to correspond freely with Rome; another decree of February 12, 1841, created in the ministry of worship and public instruction a special division for Catholic affairs.

The affair of the archbishop of Cologne was also brought to a satisfactory termination. Reparation was made to the archbishop of Cologne, who, to avoid all complication, renounced the administration of the diocese, and Geissel, bishop of Spire, was made coadjutor.

To show his interest in all that concerned his Catholic subjects, the king gave a new impulse to the continuation of the works on the cathedral of Cologne, contributing largely, and laying with his own hand the cornerstone of the new portion.

In 1841 the internuncio, Cappacini, succeeded in establishing intercourse between the Holy See and Portugal. Gregory XVI., in consequence, recognized Maria de Gloria as queen, and forwarded to her, according to usage, the golden rose, in March, 1842. Concessions made by the internuncio, especially in regard to the goods of religious orders, enabled them to discuss the terms of a concordat. On the 3d of April, 1843, the Pope confirmed the nomination of the patriarch of Lisbon, the archbishop of Braga, and the bishop of Leiria.

Switzerland had long excited the anxiety of the Holy Father. In his encyclical letter to the Swiss clergy, on the 17th May, 1835, Gregory had condemned the so-called articles of conference by which the Protestant cantons sought to make the Church the creature and the slave of the State. But in spite of the remonstrance of the Holy See, the obnoxious articles were enforced in several cantons by the civil power. The fears of Catholic families naturally increased. Encouraged by the happy results obtained at Fribourg, they founded a Jesuit college at Schwytz. The Jesuits had obtained complete success since their return to the college founded at Fribourg, by the blessed Peter Canisius. The infidel leaven of the schools of Lucerne and Soleure drove from them the sons of truly Catholic parents. The college at Fribourg saw its pupils daily increase; and a convent of ladies of the Sacred Heart at Montel met with no less encouraging success.

However, new hostilities began. On the 20th January, 1841, the canton of Argovia suppressed all the monastic houses in its limits, many of them coeval with the origin of the Helvetic history. This was in direct violation of the twelfth article of the Federal Pact. The Vorort was accordingly forced by the protest of the apostolic nuncio, Gizzi, and the Austrian ambassador, as well as the general discontent, to recall its unjust and arbitrary act. The victory of law and justice was, however, brief. Although each canton, like each one of the United States, reserved to itself the exclusive right of legislation on internal affairs, the Protestant cantons combined to force the Catholic cantons to suppress the religious houses, and in other respects adopt Protestant views. To protect themselves, the seven Catholic cantons, Lucerne, Uri, Schwytz, Unterwalden, Zug, Fribourg, and Valais, formed the Sonderbund, claiming the right to establish a separate union.* The Diet resolved to put them down by force; and after a long and sanguinary

* Switzerland contained, in 1841, 832,859 Catholics, 1,292,872 Protestants, and 1,755 Jews. The Catholics have four bishops, Bale, Lausanne, Geneva, Sion and Coire Saint Gall, besides two districts under the Italian prelates, the bishop of Como and the archbishop of Milan.

struggle, crushed Swiss liberty to the earth. The Catholic cantons were conquered; the independence of the cantons became a myth; they were, to all intents, departments ruled by the Diet.

Such was the condition of the relations of some of the European States with the Holy See, from which it is easy to see that the papacy is a heavy cross. Civil dissension in Italy, with persecution in almost every land. Yet there were consolations for the heart of the Holy Father. Ireland was beginning to profit by the freedom given by the emancipation. Schools, colleges and convents rose, and the faithful, driven from their home by famine and pestilence, carried to freer lands their heroic constancy in Catholic doctrine and practice. In England and the United States the Catholic Church gained not only by accessions from Catholic countries, but by a movement in the Anglican Church, which began at Oxford, and resulted in studies that convinced many unbiased men, whose judgment was unswayed by considerations of worldly prosperity and standing, that the Reformation was intrinsically absurd in itself, wrong in principle, no less than in its practice. The first idea was to revive in the Anglican Church its former faith and practice; but after a time, many who had first clung to that church with love, saw that such an attempt was impossible. They came humbly unto the church which their fathers had abandoned, and Newman, Faber, Manning, Spencer, and a host of others in England, while Bishop Ives, Bayley, Hecker, Brownson, and others, in the United States, not only from the Episcopal Church, but from every other form of human belief, came to seek consolation and support in the rock-built Church of Christ.

In 1844 a religious political association was formed in England and America, with a view to introduce new ideas into Italy. Against this Christian league Gregory XVI. issued the following:

“To our venerable brethren the Patriarchs, Primates, Archbishops, and Bishops:

“GREGORY, PP. XVI.

“Venerable brethren, health and Apostolical benediction:

“Among the chief machinations of heretics* of various denominations in this our age, directed to ensnare the professors of Catholic truth, and to estrange them from our holy faith, the bible societies hold a conspicuous place, which were first instituted in England, and thence spread far and wide, and which are strenuously laboring to publish an immense number of copies of the divine Scriptures, translated into the vulgar languages, and to disseminate them indiscriminately among Christians and infidels, and to

* *Acaholici*, not *Catholics*. We have no corresponding term in English.

entice every one to read them without any guide. Thus, as Jerome in his day complained,* *the loquacious old woman, and the doting old man, and the wordy caviller*—in fine, all persons of every class, if they but know how to read—are supposed to be able to understand the Scriptures without a teacher; and what is still more absurd, and almost unheard of, the very infidel nations are not thought incapable of understanding them.

“You are well aware, venerable brethren, to what the efforts of these societies tend; for you well know the admonition recorded in the Holy Scriptures themselves, of Peter, the Prince of the Apostles, who, having extolled the epistles of Paul, observes that in them ‘there are some things hard to be understood, which the unlearned and unstable wrest, as also the other Scriptures, to their own perdition;’ and immediately adds: ‘You, therefore, knowing these before, take heed, lest being led aside by the error of the unwise, you fall from your own steadfastness.’† You well know, that, from the earliest times of Christianity, heretics, discarding the word of God handed down by tradition, and rejecting the authority of the Catholic Church, studied either to *interpolate* the Scriptures, or to *pervert their meaning*.‡ You are also fully aware what great diligence and skill are necessary for the faithful translation of the oracles of the Lord into a strange tongue—so that either through the unskillfulness or design of so many translators, the most serious errors easily creep into the numerous versions published by the bible societies; which errors, in consequence of the number and variety of the translations, may long pass unnoticed, with injury to many persons. It matters little or nothing to these societies, that men, reading the bibles rendered in the vulgar tongues, fall into this or that error; provided they be gradually emboldened to claim for themselves the free judgment of the meaning of the Scriptures, and to despise divine traditions preserved in the Catholic Church, as taught by the fathers, and to reject the authority of the Church herself.

“With this view the said bible societies incessantly calumniate the Church and this holy See of Peter, as if she endeavored for many ages past to deprive the faithful of the knowledge of the Holy Scriptures; although there are numerous and splendid proofs even in latter times, of the extraordinary zeal of the sovereign pontiffs, and of the other Catholic bishops, after their example, to instruct the Catholic nations fully in the Divine word, both written and handed down by tradition. To this end were directed the decrees of the Council of Trent, whereby not only were bishops charged to see that the sacred Scriptures and divine law should be frequently proclaimed through their dioceses,§ but, in addition to a provision made in the

* Ep. ad Paulinum § 7 quæ est ep. liii. t. 1. op. S. Hieronym. edit. Vallarsii.

† 2 Pet. iii. 16, 17.

‡ Tertullian 1. de præs. c. 37, 38.

§ Sess. 24, c. 4. de. Ref.

Council of Lateran,* it was decreed that in all cathedral or collegiate churches of cities and large towns, there should be a Theological Prebend, to be conferred only on persons capable of expounding and interpreting the sacred Scriptures.† In several provincial synods,‡ and in the Roman council held in the year 1725,§ to which Benedict XIII., our predecessor of happy memory, summoned, not only the prelates of the Roman province, but many archbishops, bishops, and other prelates immediately dependent on his Holy See,|| measures were taken to establish this Theological Prebend, conformably to the decree of Trent, and to secure the delivery of lectures on Scripture by the prebendary to the clergy, and also to the people. The same sovereign pontiff made some decrees to the same end in his apostolic letters specially regarding Italy and the adjacent islands.¶ You, yourselves, venerable brethren, who, at certain periods, report to the Apostolic See the state of your dioceses,** know well, from the answers repeatedly given to your predecessors, or to yourselves, the warm congratulations of the Holy See to bishops in whose dioceses divines deliver, in a becoming manner, public lectures on the Holy Scriptures, and her earnest endeavors to awaken and sustain their pastoral solicitude in this respect, whenever it is not as successful as is desirable.

“As to what regards translations of the bible in the vulgar tongue, many ages past, the prelates in various places found great vigilance necessary where such versions were read in secret conventicles, or were actively disseminated by heretics. To this were directed the admonitions and precautions of Innocent III., our predecessor of glorious memory, in regard to assemblies of men and women, clandestinely held in the diocese of Metz, under the cloak of piety, and for the purpose of reading the Scriptures;†† as also some special prohibitions of bibles in the vulgar tongue, in France, at a period somewhat later,‡‡ and in Spain before the sixteenth century.§§ Greater care became necessary, when the Lutherans and Calvinists, assailing the unchangeable doctrine of faith with an incredible multitude of errors, made every effort to deceive the faithful by perverse explanations of the Holy Scriptures, and new versions of them in the vulgar language made by their partisans; the multiplication and rapid dissemination whereof was greatly promoted by the recent discovery of the art of printing. Wherefore, among the rules which were framed by fathers appointed by the Council of Trent, and which were approved by our predecessor of happy memory

* Conc. lat. an. 1215, sub. Innoc. III. c. ii. quod in corpus juris relatum est cap. 4. de Magistris.

† Trid. Sess. 5, c. 1, de. Ref.

‡ In Conc. Mediol. 1. an. 1565. Aquensi an. 1585.

§ Tit. 1. cap. 6, 129.

|| In litteris indict. Conc. 24th. Dec. 1724.

¶ Const. Pastor officii XIV., Kal. Junii an. 1725.

** Ex. Constit. Sixti. V. Romanus Pontifex.

†† In tribus litteris datis ad Matenses.

‡‡ In Conc. Tolos. an. 1229.

§§ Ex. test. Card. Pacecco in Conc. Trid.

Pius IV., and placed in front of the list of prohibited books, this general regulation is found, that bibles in the vulgar tongue should be allowed to those only who are judged likely to increase in faith and piety from their perusal.* This rule was subsequently accompanied with new precautions, on account of the continual artifices of heretics, a declaration being added by the authority of Benedict XIV., that *the reading of vulgar versions, approved of by the Holy See, or published with notes taken from the Holy Fathers of the Church, or from learned Catholic writers, should be considered as permitted.*†

“There were not wanting, however, new sectaries of the school of Jansenius, who, in imitation of the Lutherans and Calvinists, were not ashamed to censure this most wise discipline of the Church and Apostolic See, as if the reading of the Scriptures were useful and necessary to every class of the faithful at all times, and everywhere, and could not be denied to any one by any authority. This bold assertion of the Jansenists was condemned under severe censure in the solemn decrees passed on their doctrine, with the applause of the whole Catholic world, by two popes of happy memory, namely, Clement XI., in the Constitution, beginning *Unigenitus*, in the year 1713,‡ and Pius VI. in the Constitution *Auctorem fidei*, in the year 1794.§

“Therefore, long before the institution of bible societies, the faithful were cautioned by the aforesaid decrees of the Church against the wiles of heretics, veiled under the specious cloak of zeal for the diffusion of the sacred Scriptures for general use. Pius VII., our predecessor of glorious memory, perceiving that those societies which had sprung up in his time were rapidly increasing, did not neglect to oppose their efforts, both by his Apostolic Nuncios and by letters and decrees of various congregations of cardinals of the Holy Roman Church,|| and by two pontifical letters addressed to the archbishops of Gnesen¶ and Mohilif.** Afterwards, Leo XII., our predecessor of happy memory, pointed out the machinations of the bible societies, in his encyclical letter to all bishops of the Catholic world, dated 5th May, 1824, as did also our predecessor, Pius VII., in his encyclical epistle of 24th of May, 1829. Finally, we ourselves, who, although far inferior to him in merit, succeeded him in office, did not fail to direct our apostolic solicitude to the same end, and, among other things, we took care that the rules formerly made concerning vulgar translations of the Scriptures, should be recalled to the minds of the faithful.††

“We have reason to congratulate you, venerable brethren, since urged

* In *Regulis Indicis* III. ep. iv.

† In *addit. ad. dict. Reg. ex. dec. Cong. Indic.* 17 Junii 1757.

‡ In *proscript. prop. Quesnelli* a num. 79 ad 85.

§ In *damn. Pseudo-syn. Pistor.* n. 67.

|| *Imprimis per ep. Cong. Prop. ad. Vic. ap. Persiæ, etc.* ¶ 1st June, 1816.

** 4th Sept., 1816.

†† In *monito ad Dec. Cong. Indicis*, 7th Jan., 1836.

on you by your own piety and prudence, and animated by the above letters of our predecessors, you have not neglected to admonish, when necessary, your Catholic sheep to beware of the snares laid down for them by the bible societies. From these efforts of the bishops, in concert with the solicitude of this supreme See of Peter, through the divine blessing, some rash Catholics, who unwisely had countenanced the bible societies, discovering their designs, withdrew from them, and the body of the faithful remained free from the threatening contagion.

“The biblical sectaries cherished the hope of reaping great glory, by leading infidels to some kind of profession of Christianity, by the reading of the sacred books in the vulgar tongue, numberless copies of which they caused to be distributed through those countries by their missionaries and agents, and to be obtruded on people who are unwilling to receive them. But the event did not at all correspond with the expectations of men who were seeking to propagate Christianity in a way different from that instituted by Christ, since they did no more than occasionally throw obstacles in the way of Catholic priests, who, clothed with the mission of this Holy See going to those nations, spared no labors to bring forth children to Christ by the preaching of the Word of God, and the administration of the Sacraments, being ready even to shed their blood amidst cruel torments for their salvation and in testimony of their faith.

“Among those sectaries whose expectations have been thus disappointed, and who see with regret that immense sums of money have been hitherto wasted to no purpose in the publication and dissemination of their bibles, some have recently given a new direction to their manœuvres, endeavoring, in the first instance, to corrupt the minds of the Italians particularly, and of the citizens of our own capital. From advices recently received, and from documents, we learn that several of various sects assembled last year at New York, in America, and, on the 12th of June, formed a new society, styled the *Christian League*, intended to be augmented by admitting members of all nations, or by forming branch societies in conjunction with it, whose common object is to communicate to the Romans and other Italians, religious liberty, or rather *insane indifference to all religion*. They admit that for several ages the institutions of the people of Rome and Italy were so important in the eyes of all, that nothing great took place in the world that did not originate in this august city; which they account for, not by the establishment here by divine disposition of the supreme See of Peter, but by certain vestiges of the ancient dominion of the Romans continuing, as they assert, in the power usurped by our predecessors. Wherefore, it being their determination to give to all nations liberty of conscience, or rather of error, from which, as from a fountain, political liberty likewise flows, with an increase of public prosperity, as they understand it, they despair of

success unless they first make an impression on the citizens of Italy and Rome, whose authority and exertions would be afterwards highly influential among other nations. They feel confident that they can easily accomplish this, since so many Italians are scattered abroad in various countries, and many return home, several of whom, caught by a love of novelty, or being of corrupt morals, or suffering from poverty, may be induced to join the society, or at least sell their services to it. They have, therefore, turned their attention to this object, to introduce by means of such persons, wherever they can find them, vulgar and corrupt bibles, and to place them clandestinely in the hands of the faithful; and with them to distribute, at the same time, the worst kind of books and pamphlets, directed to estrange the readers from the Church and from this Holy See, which are composed by those Italians, or are translated by them from other authors into their mother tongue, among which they particularly select, *The History of the Reformation*, by Merle D'Aubigne, and *Memoirs of the Reformation in Italy*, by John Cric. The character of this whole class of books may be understood from a rule said to have been adopted by the society, that no two members of the committee of publication shall be chosen from one religious sect.

"On receiving the first intimation of these measures, we could not but feel grieved at the danger which menaced, not distant regions, but places near the very centre of Catholic unity. For although there is no cause for apprehending that the See of Peter should ever fail, wherein the immovable foundation of His Church was placed by Christ our Lord, we must not, therefore, be insensible to the duty of maintaining its authority; and the very office of our supreme apostleship reminds us of the strict account which the Divine Prince of Pastors will require of us for the tares growing up in the field of the Lord, if sowed by the enemy whilst we were sleeping, and for the blood of the sheep entrusted to us, if through our neglect they perish.

"Therefore, having taken counsel from some of the cardinals of the Holy Roman Church, and having seriously and maturely weighed the whole matter, at their suggestion we determined to write this letter to you, venerable brethren, whereby with apostolical authority we condemn anew all the aforesaid bible societies long since condemned by our predecessors, and in like manner by the judgment of our supreme apostleship, we specially reprobate and condemn the aforesaid new society of the *Christian League* formed last year at New York, and all societies of the same kind already connected with it, or which may hereafter be connected. Wherefore be it known to all, that all those who enrol themselves in such societies, or who presume to aid or abet them in any way, are guilty of a most grievous sin before God and the Church. Moreover, we confirm and renew,

by apostolical authority, the above-mentioned regulations* long since made as to the publishing, distributing, reading, and retaining of books of sacred Scripture translated into the vulgar tongues. As to other works of any author, we wish it to be generally known, that the general rules and decrees of our predecessors, prefixed to the list of prohibited books, should be observed, and consequently, that not only such books as are specially put in the list are to be guarded against, but also others comprised under the aforesaid general prohibitions.

“Venerable brethren, called to share our solicitude, we earnestly recommend you to announce and explain to the people intrusted to your pastoral charge, in due place and time, the apostolic judgment, and these our mandates, and to endeavor to withdraw the faithful sheep from the aforesaid society of the *Christian League*, and other auxiliary societies, as also from other bible societies, and from all communication with them. Accordingly it is your duty to remove from the hands of the faithful bibles translated into the vulgar tongue, such as have been published contrary to the decrees of the Roman pontiffs, and all other prohibited or dangerous books, and to see that the faithful themselves by your admonitions and authority *may learn what kind of food they should consider wholesome, and what noxious and deadly.*†

“In the meantime, venerable brethren, be daily more earnest in the preaching of the word of God, both personally, and by the ministry of all who are charged with the care of souls in your respective dioceses, and of other ecclesiastics competent for the task; and be more particularly careful that such especially as are appointed to deliver public lectures on the Holy Scripture, may diligently perform this duty in a manner suited to the capacity of their hearers, and may never, under any pretext whatever, dare interpret and explain the Divine Scriptures contrary to the condition of the fathers, or otherwise than the Catholic Church understands them. Finally, as it is the part of a good shepherd, not only to protect and feed the sheep that follow him, but likewise to seek after and bring back to the fold those which have strayed far away, so it is your duty and our own to employ all the efforts of pastoral zeal, that such as have suffered themselves to be led astray by these sectaries and distributors of bad books, may, through the grace of God, know the enormity of their sin, and endeavor to expiate it by the remedy of wholesome penance. Nor must we exclude from our pastoral solicitude their seducers, or even the very chief masters of impiety, the greatness of whose iniquity must not deter us from earnestly seeking their salvation in whatever way it may be possible.

“We look, venerable brethren, for special and earnest vigilance against

* Præscriptiones. † Ex mandato Leonis XII. edit. una cum. Decr. Cong. ad. 26 Martii, 1825.

the snares and machinations of the members of the *Christian League*, from such of your order as govern churches in Italy, or in other places where Italians are numerous, and especially in the confines of Italy, or wheresoever there are marts, and ports, and easy access to Italy. For since the sectaries design to accomplish objects in such places especially, it behooves you to co-operate with us, strenuously and perseveringly, to defeat their machinations with the aid of the Lord.

“We are confident that our exertions and yours will be seconded by the civil authorities, especially by the most serene princes of Italy, no less on account of their eminent zeal for maintaining the Catholic religion, than from a conviction that the public welfare requires the aforesaid machinations of sectaries to be defeated. For it is manifest, and proved by the long experience of past ages, that there is no easier way of withdrawing nations from fidelity and obedience to their princes than by introducing indifference in religion, which sectaries propagate in the name of religious liberty. Nor, indeed, do these new members of the *Christian League* dissemble it; for although they declare themselves unwilling to excite sedition, yet by claiming for each one of the humblest class the right to interpret the Bible, and by establishing throughout the Italian nation an unqualified liberty of conscience, as they term it, they acknowledge that the political liberty of Italy will also follow as a matter of course.

“Above all, let us, venerable brethren, raise simultaneously our hands to God, and with all possible humility, in fervent prayer recommend to Him our cause, and that of the whole flock of His Church; invoking, at the same time, the most holy intercession of Peter, the Prince of the Apostles, and the other saints—especially of the Most Blessed Virgin Mary—whose privilege it is to destroy all heresies throughout the universe.

“Finally, with all our hearts, in token of our most ardent charity, we affectionately impart the apostolical benediction to you all, venerable brethren, and to the clergy intrusted to your charge, and the faithful laity.

“Given at Rome, at Saint Peter’s, on the 8th May, 1844, in the fourteenth year of our pontificate.

“GREGORY, PP. XVI.”

The various missions in foreign lands had, during the first decade of Gregory’s reign, begun to show an extent and vitality full of consolation to the heart of one who had so long, as prefect of the Propaganda, taken an active interest in them. These missions embraced five great divisions: 1. The Levant, including the Archipelago, Constantinople, Syria, Armenia, the Crimea, Ethiopia, Persia, and Egypt; 2. India, extending to Manilla and the Philippines; 3. The Missions of China, Siam, Cochin China, and Tonquin; 4. The American Missions; 5. The Missions in Australia and Oceanica.

Here missionaries of various orders and societies labored, Dominicans, Franciscans, Jesuits, Lazarists, Priests of the Foreign Missions of Paris, and of the society of Picpus, as well as missionaries directly sent from the Propaganda. New vicariates were formed and bishops consecrated, to give solidity and form to the rising Churches. To continue this great work where savage ferocity and barbarism were often stimulated by Protestant prejudice, means were furnished by the association for the propagation of the faith in France, the Leopold society in Austria, the Ludwig society in Bavaria, and the Xavier society at Aix-la-Chapelle.

Gregory XVI., during his long reign, created many distinguished cardinals.

Among those whom Gregory deservedly called to the highest honors in Rome, was that amiable prodigy Cardinal Joseph Mezzofanti. When, after the revolution, the city of Bologna sent a deputation to renew its fealty to the pope, it wisely named as one to compose it, Professor Mezzofanti. The pope, who had not known him before, and was charmed with him, gave him the rank of prelate, and shortly after brought him to Rome, to reside there permanently. He named him first warden of the Vatican Library—that is, in truth, librarian—this title being then reserved to a Cardinal; and in February, 1838, raised him to the cardinalitial dignity.

I can attest, says Cardinal Wiseman, his perfect utterance and expression in the few languages with which I happen to be acquainted, and that I have heard natives of almost every country in Europe and Asia, not to mention California, who have borne witness in my presence to his perfection in accent and phrase, when speaking their various languages. The general observation used to be, that they would have easily taken him for a native each of his own country.

This magnificent gift of universal speech was not thrown away in any sense. It was habitually employed in good, in instructing and assisting spiritually, many who, without him, might have remained ignorant or helpless. Though it was natural that he should be fond of conversing in his many languages, it was never done from love of display; for he was humble and shrinking on every occasion. Indeed he knew his powers to be a gift, rather than an acquisition. His appearance certainly did not bear the seal of his high intellectual mark, for his learning on all subjects was accurate, extensive, and solid. The countenance, which was the dial to the busy and complicated works above it, was not ample or noble in its traits. His brow was a problem to phrenologists; though his eyes were heavily pressed outwards by what they may have considered lingual faculties. One of this order once told him gravely that he had great facility in learning languages. "But then," Mezzofanti archly added, "in telling me this wise discovery, he knew that I was already acquainted with fifty." Most

amiable too he was, simple and childlike, charitable to excess, and ready to help any one with head or hand.

At the period of the revolution at Rome, he remained in Rome when most of his colleagues retired. His constitution, shaken by age and infirmities, was probably further enfeebled by mental sufferings proceeding from the events of the times. He sunk, and died March 12th, 1849.

Cardinal Mai was the discoverer of more lost works, and the transcriber of more ancient manuscripts, sacred and profane, than it has fallen to any one else's share, in modern times, to publish.

Born in the province of Bergamo, part of the Lombardo-Venetian kingdom, at a little mountain village named Schilpario, on the 7th of March, 1774, a member of the suppressed order of Jesuits was his first preceptor, and the guide to his future fame. This was Luigi Mozzi, under whose direction, in the episcopal seminary at Bergamo, he made rapid progress in classical and modern letters. Suddenly, with four school-fellows, he left his native country, and repaired to Colorno, in the Duchy of Parma, where Ferdinand of Bourbon, with the consent of Pius VI., had permitted that society to establish themselves. He joined the order in 1799, and continued his studies with such success, that in 1804 he was sent to Naples as professor of Belles-lettres.

From Naples he went to Rome for a short time, and thence to Orvieto, at the special desire of its bishop, John Baptist Lambruschini. There he remained some years in retirement, and received the priesthood. Under the tuition of Fathers Manero and Monchaca, Spanish ex-Jesuits, he made great progress, not only in the ancient languages, Hebrew included, but in that art, likewise, of palæography, which had to win him his highest honors. But, as of old, under Augustus Cæsar, there went forth an imperial and imperious edict, that every subject of the "Italian kingdom" should betake himself to his native province. In obedience to it, Mai, accompanied by his mentor, Mozzi, proceeded to Milan.

It was a providential journey; and Mai had reason to thank Napoleon for his stern mandate. And so, perhaps, has the "republic of letters," whatever hostility that title may imply to all despotic commands. Mozzi, fully acquainted with the powers and acquirements of his pupil, had him named a doctor of the Ambrosian library. The magnificent collection of manuscripts, which form its chief treasure, is mainly due to the munificence of Cardinal Frederick Borromeo, nephew and almost rival of the great Saint Charles. He sent learned men all over the world to purchase manuscripts, or have them diligently copied. Among other sources of additional literary wealth had been the famous monastery of Bobbio, founded by the Irish Saint Columbanus in the seventh century, the manuscripts of which had been divided between the Ambrosian and the Vatican libraries.

The period for the study of manuscripts might be said to have passed; at least, in the noblest sense of the word. The known manuscripts of some given author, the twenty Homers, or the five Demostheneses, or the two hundred testaments, which a great library was known to possess, might be looked through twice in a century for a new edition, "coll. Codd." or "Cum variantibus Lectionibus ex Codd. MSS." But the hunt after new, or rather old, works of ancient authors, in the manuscript-rooms of ancient libraries, was quite as much given up as falconry in the modern chase. To revive it was reserved to Angelo Mai. He found in the Milanese library an unexplored mine. No doubt its manuscripts had been catalogued, perhaps described, and that accurately. But those who had preceded him had only cultivated the upper soil in this literary field. They had not discovered the exuberantly precious "royalties" which lay hidden beneath the surface. Under the letter of the writing there slumbered a spirit which had long lain there spell-bound, awaiting a master-magician to free it: a spirit of poetry sometimes, sometimes of eloquence; a muse of history, a genius of philosophy, a sprite of merest unsubstantial elegance.

To drop figures, the peculiarity of Mai's wonderful discovery consisted in the reading of manuscripts twice written; or, as they are more scientifically called, palimpsests. A book, for instance, may have been very properly catalogued as containing the commentaries or sermons of some abbot of the eleventh or twelfth century, works of which there may be several other transcripts in the library. Edited or not, it is improbable that the volume has been, or will be, looked into during a generation. But the lens-like eye of a Don Angelo peers into it, and it becomes a treasure-trove. The writer of the middle ages had taken down from the shelves a work which he considered of small value—perhaps there were duplicates of it—some letters, for instance, of a heathen emperor to his tutor, and had scrubbed, as he thought, the parchment clean, both of its inky and of its moral denigration, and then had written over it the recent production of some favorite author. It is this underwriting that Mai scanned with a sagacious eye; perhaps it was like the lines of a repainted canvass, which in course of time came through the more evanescent tints superadded, a leg or arm cropping out through the mouth of an impassioned head by the second artist; and he could trace clearly the large forms of uncial letters of the fourth or fifth century, sprawling through two lines of a neatly-written brevier. Or the scouring had been more thoroughly done; and then a wash of gallic acid revived the pallid reed-strokes of the earlier scribe.

Ingenuity, patience, learning, and immense perseverance were requisite for the process. Often only unconnected passages were found, half a sentence in one page, which the next did not continue, but the rest of which might perhaps be found in another manuscript three hundred numbers off,

Sometimes portions of various works were jumbled together under one later production, upside down, back to back like shuffled cards, while perhaps not one page contained the "Incipit," or the "Explicit feliciter liber I. de —," so as to give a clew to what these fragments contained. Learning was then indeed necessary; for conjecture often gave the first intimation of what had been discovered, from the style, or from the sentence having been fortunately embalmed or petrified, by quotation, in some later author.

In this way did Mai labor on, looking through the tangled mass of confused materials, catching up the ends of different threads, and pursuing them with patient diligence, till he had drawn each, broken or perfect as it happened to exist. After one minor publication of a translation, he began in 1813, and continued till 1819, to pour out an unintermitting stream of volumes, containing works, or portions of works, lost as it was supposed irrecoverably. Various orations of Cicero; the lost writings of Julius Fronto; unpublished letters of Marcus Aurelius, Antoninus Pius, Lucius Verus, and Appian; fragments of speeches by Aurelius Symmachus; the History of Dionysius of Halicarnassus, from the twelfth to the twentieth book; unpublished fragments of Philo; ancient commentaries on Virgil; two books of Eusebius's *Chronicles*; the *Itineraries* of Alexander, and of Constantius Augustus, son of the Emperor Constantine; three books of Julius Valerius, on the actions of Alexander the Great; the sixth and fourteenth *Sibylline books*; finally, the celebrated Gothic version, by Ulphilas, of St. Paul and other parts of Scripture; such were the principal works recovered and published, with notes, prefaces, and translations, by this indefatigable scholar, in the period just mentioned of six years. It was a work in which he could have little or no assistance from others; in fact, it was an art exclusively his own.

Mai's reputation was already European. At the early age of thirty-seven he had made more additions to our stock of ancient literature than a century had done before him. At this moment a vacancy occurred in the Vatican library, that of first librarian. Cardinals Consalvi and Litta, the secretary of state and head-librarian, at once cast their eyes on the young priest at Milan, as the fittest person to occupy the post. On his arrival at Rome he lost no time in exploring the wider and richer field offered to his cultivation. He came no longer to learn, but with a perfected tact, an experienced eye, and a decisive critical judgment. Hence he soon began his work of reproduction, and, singularly enough, in continuation of his previous successes. For he discovered, in the Vatican, portions of the very Bobbio manuscripts which he had explored in the Ambrosian, containing, consequently, the wanting parts of authors already partially recovered. This was the case with Fronto and his imperial pupils and friends, one of

the most charming epistolary collections ever published. By adding what was in Rome to what had been given at Milan, Mai was able to present a much more complete edition of it. He also published valuable fragments of civil law, anterior to the Justinian code, and of works on orthography by comparatively obscure authors.

But whatever he had till now performed was eclipsed by the most fortunate and brilliant of his discoveries, that of Cicero's long-coveted treatise "*De Republica*." Petrarca, Poggio, and Bessarion, with a host of elegant scholars, had desired and sought in vain to see this treatise. It had eluded every research. Under a copy of Saint Augustine's Commentary on the Psalms, Mai discovered it, in large, bold characters, with its title legible.

It need not be said that further honors and promotions were lavished upon him. He was made canon of St. Peter's, a burden indeed, but a distinction also, and a prelate of the highest order. Gregory XVI., wishing to employ his extraordinary abilities in the service of religion, named him secretary of the Congregation of Propaganda. This was in 1833; but, though this office took him away from his dear manuscripts, and gave him occupation enough for any other man, it did not interrupt his studies. He was allowed to have the codices at his house, and went on transcribing and printing as much as before. At length, on the 12th of February, 1838, Pope Gregory named him cardinal, together with his illustrious friend, and successor in the librarianship, Mezzofanti.

Even now, he was appointed to offices that required great attention and assiduity: still there was no intermission in his favorite pursuits. He did not confine his industry to palimpsests; but drew from the shelves of the Vatican, histories, poems, medical and mathematical treatises, acts of councils, biblical commentaries—in fine, works of every age and of every class, classical, patristic, mediæval, and even modern, not only in Greek and Latin, but in Arabic, Syro-Chaldaic, and Armenian. He re-established, under the auspices of Gregory, the celebrated Vatican press, which had formerly published the splendid St. Ephrem; he had cast for it new sets of types, for various alphabets, from the best models in old manuscripts; and especially employed it in the printing of the great Codex Vaticanus, which he transcribed.

The fruit of this unceasing industry may be summarily described as follows:

1. "*Scriptorum veterum nova collectio*." A collection, in ten huge quarto volumes, of writers sacred and profane, of every age.
2. "*Classici scriptores ex codicibus Vaticanis editi*," in ten volumes, of smaller dimensions. These two series closely followed one another. The first began to be published in 1827, and the second was closed in 1838.

3. "*Spicilegium Romanum*," another series in ten volumes, which he finished in 1844.

In 1853, on the death of Cardinal Lambruschini, he was named cardinal-librarian, though it can hardly be said that this appointment changed his habits or increased his advantages. Still he continued his work, and commenced the publication of a new series of twelve volumes.

4. "*Nova Patrum Bibliotheca*." Only six volumes had appeared, when death brought his labors prematurely to a close.

This took place on the 8th of September, 1854, after a short inflammatory attack, which lasted thirty-five hours, at Albano, whither he had retired for change of air. His end was calm, resigned, and most devout.

The mere catalogue of the authors, some of whose works he for the first time published, would fill several pages; but it may be worth mentioning, that, besides the many classical authors whom he thus illustrated, there is not a single century of the Christian era, from the second to the seventeenth, from which he has not produced important and previously unknown works. He had transcribed all with his own hand—translated, if Greek; and added notes and prefaces (generally full of learning), entirely by himself. This, however, was at an earlier period, for, in the preface to the second volume of his last work, he mentions the Abbate Matranga as his assistant. He had also the aid of learned Orientals for eastern manuscripts.

His transcript of the celebrated manuscript of the entire Greek Scripture was printed many years before his death, but not published. In a copy of such a manuscript the most rigorous exactness is the first requisite. Not only a word, but a letter, a sign, a jot or tittle that deviates from it, impairs its value as a representative or a referee in doubtful or difficult passages. Interminable disputes might arise on a reading as presented by the original, on the faith of its copy; and if final appeal is made to the manuscript, and it is found to have been unfaithfully transcribed in one place, all trust is at an end. Now, that in copying so huge and inconvenient a book some slight errors should have been committed, especially when it is done by a person distracted by numerous other undertakings, is only in conformity with a trite axiom about the most natural proneness of humanity.

The work was minutely collated with the original, by a commission of able scholars; and a list, extending to fourteen pages, has been made of mistakes. The Vatican Testament was then published, and its appearance was hailed with delight by students in every land. The Roman edition being large and costly, it was reprinted in Germany and England.

The will of this no less estimable than learned man was in his own hand, and was remarkable for the kindness of its provisions. All his household were secured their full pay for life if they had been ten years in his service,

half-pay if they had been six. A large sum, besides, was to be divided among them. For the very poor of his native village he provided an endowment of twelve thousand dollars, besides leaving them his residuary legatees. To its parish church he bequeathed all his ecclesiastical plate and furniture.

Gregory XVI. did not discourse freely in any languages but Italian and Latin ; and, therefore, persons who had to communicate with him through an interpreter could form a very imperfect opinion of his conversational powers. But those who could speak Italian freely, and approached him merely to receive his blessing, soon found him launch into familiar conversation, which drew them on almost into forgetfulness of his twofold dignity. His countenance then, and still more when discoursing on graver topics, lighted up, and was mantled with a glowing expression ; his eyes became bright and animated, and his intelligence and learning gave themselves utterance through his flowing and graceful language.

In health he was robust, and his powers of exertion, physical and mental, were very great. He could tire most of his attendants in his daily walks. His favorite one was beyond Pontemolle, along the old Flaminian Way to Torre di Quinta, a considerable distance ; and he enjoyed seeing much younger men glad to remount their horses or their carriages to return home. His health was, indeed, so hale and sound, on his accession, that he declined naming any physician or surgeon for his own person, but ordered the salaries of those offices, and others which he similarly kept in abeyance, to be invested towards forming a superannuation fund for the servants and officers of the palace. This he nursed and increased till it became of considerable amount. After a few years, however, a cancerous affection attacked his face ; and, in 1835, by advice of the Prussian minister, he sent for an able physician, Dr. Alertz, of Aix-la-Chapelle. The young German, acting with the Italian physician to the palace, arrested the progress of the disease, so that it does not seem to have acted on Gregory's constitution or shortened the fulness of his days.

This strength of frame and soundness of organs enabled the pope, throughout his reign, to attend to business, temporal and ecclesiastical, with unwearying assiduity and unvarying cheerfulness. The severer habits of his claustral life had inured him to the regularity and even monotony of the papal—its early hours, its seclusion from social enjoyment, its silent meals, its many solitary hours, and their unrelaxed occupation. He commenced his morning so truly matutinally that he dispensed with the attendance of a chaplain at his own Mass, saying that it was unreasonable to expect other persons to accommodate themselves to his unseasonable hours. His own servant alone assisted him. A peculiar simplicity of habits was remarkable in him ; and he would do himself what ordinarily a

servant might have been called in to perform. Hence, while he provided richly for the splendor of divine worship, and replaced some of its plundered ornaments, he would wear nothing costly himself.*

His vigorous mind, as has been observed, seemed to shrink from no amount of application to business of every class. It was no idle life, indeed, that he led. In the management of ecclesiastical affairs business is divided among congregations, or boards, as we should call them, but the ultimate result, in every important case, depends on the papal approbation. It was not uncommon for Gregory to hesitate in giving his assent, and to have the papers in the cause brought to himself, and finally come to a different decision from that of the congregation. Cardinal Acton used to say that he had known as many as eight or ten cases in which the pope had refused to ratify the judgment of a congregation, and had at length reversed it, upon canonical grounds which had been overlooked by the many learned persons previously engaged in its discussion. And this instinctive perception occurred in cases affecting distant countries. One instance related to Canada. A distinguished bishop of that country found that the pope demurred to a resolution passed by the Propaganda about it; and in a few days, as he declared, fresh information arrived, which fully justified the correctness of the sovereign judgment. A similar instance referred to Germany.

I remember that on one occasion, says Cardinal Wiseman, admitted on a day of privacy, I found him writing, himself, a long Latin letter to a bishop in Germany, which he most condescendingly read to me; and masterly it was in sentiment and expression. It produced, indeed, its intended effect, though involving one of the rarest exercises of pontifical authority. In like manner he wrote, himself, an answer of several sheets, sending his own autograph copy, to one of the bishops in England, on a matter which related to an ecclesiastical affair of that country.

In the beginning of his reign long edicts were published on the turbulence and disorder of the times, full of touching appeals and generous sentiments, which were considered as the productions of his own pen. In cases of life and death, the silence of the pope, on the report of the trial being submitted to him by the chief judge, is equivalent to a ratification of the sentence, which then takes its course. But Gregory always desired the entire proceedings and depositions to be brought to him, and went carefully through them himself; and if he made no observation in returning the papers, it was understood that he tacitly approved the fatal sentence. Oftener, however, he leaned to the side of mercy; and executions were rare,

* Such as shoes richly embroidered, in accordance with the practice of the pope's wearing the cross upon his.

and only for atrocious crimes. I am not aware that there was a single political execution in his pontificate.

In the discharge of his high duties he respected not the person of man, and cared nothing for the pride or strength of those whom he had to encounter. Such struggles have become in our age by no means few or trifling, the pope is attacked in his temporal power, and in his spiritual power, both as to the definition of dogma and the maintenance of discipline. In the imprisonment of the archbishop of Cologne, Gregory fully sustained his character for unflinching support of the cause committed to the protection of his sublime office. Indeed, scarcely a year of his pontificate passed by, without his having to pronounce an allocution on the oppression of the Church in some country or other, north or south of Europe, east or west of the world. He spoke the truth plainly and publicly; and generally reaped the fruit of his straightforwardness and courage.

The most painful of his conflicts, however, was one face to face with the greatest of Europe's sovereigns, a man accustomed to command without contradiction, and to be surrounded by complete submission. He did not imagine that there was a human being who would presume to read him a lesson, or still less to administer him a rebuke. It may be proper to premise that the late emperor of Russia, while czarowich, visited Rome, and was received with the utmost respect by all ranks, and with extreme kindness by the pope. The young prince expressed himself highly gratified by his reception; and he had procured a portrait of Gregory, which he said he should always keep, as that of a friend deeply venerated and esteemed. Further, in 1842, the emperor, his father, had sent very splendid presents to the pope, a vase of malachite, now in the Vatican library, and a large supply of the same precious material for the Basilica of Saint Paul. Still he had not ceased to deal harshly, not to say cruelly, with his Catholic subjects, especially the Poles. They were driven into the Greek communion by putting it out of their power to follow their own worship; they were deprived of their own bishops and priests, and even persecuted by more violent inflictions and personal sufferings. On this subject the Holy See had both publicly and privately complained; but no redress, and but little, if any, alleviation, had been obtained. At length, in December, 1845, the Emperor Nicholas I. came himself to Rome. It was observed, both in Italy and, it is believed, in England, how minute and unrelaxed were the precautions taken to secure him against any danger of conspiracy: how his apartment, bed, food, body-guard, were arranged with a watchful eye to the prevention of any surprise from hidden enemies. Be this as it may, nothing amiss befell him, unless it was his momentous interview with the head of that Church which he had mercilessly persecuted, with him whose rival he considered himself, as a real autocratic head of a large proportion

of what he called the "Orthodox Church," and as recognized protector of its entire communion. It was arranged that the emperor should be attended by Mr. de Bouténeff, his minister at Rome, and that the pope should have a cardinal at his side. He selected, as has been said, the English Cardinal Acton. This was not a usual provision for a royal visit, but gave it rather the air of a conference; and so in truth it was. The pope felt he had a solemn and trying duty to perform. Could he allow the persecutor of his flock to approach him, and depart without a word of expostulation and even of reproof? Could he receive him with a bland smile and insincere accolade; speak to him of the unmeaning topics of the hour, or of the cold politics of the world? Impossible! It would have been at variance, not with personal disposition, but with the spiritual character which he held of Father of the faithful; defender of the weak; shepherd of the ravaged flock; protector of the persecuted; representative of fearless, uncompromising, martyred pontiffs; vicar of Him who feared no stalking, any more than prowling, wolf. It would have been to his conscience a gnawing and undying reproach, if he had lost the opportunity of saying face to face what he had written and spoken of one absent, or if he had not employed his privilege as a sovereign to second his mission as a pontiff. He would have confirmed by his cowardice or his forbearance, though it might have been called courtly refinement or gentleness of character, all the self-confidence and fearlessness of a fanatical persecutor, placed above all but some great moral control.

Certainly much hung in the balance of that pontiff's deliberation, how he should act. That meekest of men, Pius VII., had not neglected the opportunity of his captivity, to enumerate, with fervid gentleness, to his powerful master, the evils which the Church had suffered at his hands. Gregory never undertook any grave work without much prayer; and one so momentous as this was not assuredly determined on, except after long and earnest supplication. What were the emperor's intentions, what his ideas, what his desires in coming to Rome, and having necessarily a personal meeting with the pope, it is impossible to conjecture. Did he hope to overcome him by his splendid presence, truly majestic, soldier-like, and imperial? Or to cajole and win him by soothing speeches and insincere promises? Or to gain the interpretative approval of silence and forbearance? One must conjecture in vain. Certain it is, that he came, he saw, and conquered not. It has been already mentioned, that the subject and particulars of the conference were never revealed by its only witness at Rome. The pope's own account was brief, simple, and full of conscious power: "I said to him all that the Holy Ghost dictated to me."

And that he had not spoken vainly, with words that had beaten the air, but that their strokes had been well placed and driven home, there was

evidence otherwise recorded. An English gentleman was in some part of the palace through which the imperial visitor passed as he returned from his interview, and described his altered appearance. He had entered with his usual firm and royal aspect, grand as it was from statue-like features, stately frame, and martial bearing; free and at his ease, with gracious looks and condescending gestures of salutation. So he passed through the long suite of ante-rooms, the imperial eagle, glossy, fiery, "with plumes unruffled, and with eye unquenched," in all the glory of pinions which no flight had ever wearied, of beak and talon which no prey had yet resisted. He came forth again, with head uncovered, and hair, if it can be said of man, dishevelled; haggard and pale, looking as though in an hour he had passed through the condensation of a protracted fever; taking long strides, with stooping shoulders, unobservant, unsaluting: he waited not for his carriage to come to the foot of the stairs, but rushed out into the outer court, and hurried away from apparently the scene of a discomfiture. It was the eagle dragged from his eyrie among the clefts of the rocks, "from his nest among the stars," his feathers crumpled, and his eye quelled,* by a power till then despised.

But let us be fully just. The interview did not excite rancorous or revengeful feelings. No doubt the pontiff's words were in the spirit of those on the high priest's breastplate—"doctrine and truth," sound in principle and true in fact. They convinced and persuaded. Facts with their proofs had, no doubt, been carefully prepared, and could not be gainsayed. The strong emotion which Gregory on other occasions easily betrayed could not have been restrained here. Often in prayer has every beholder seen the tears running down his glowing countenance; often those who have approached him with a tale of distress, or stood by when news of a crime has been communicated to him, have seen his features quiver, and his eye dim with the double sorrow of the apostle, the tear of weakness with the weak, the scalding drop of indignation for sin.† This sensibility cannot have been stemmed, even by the coldness of an interpreted discourse, but must have accompanied that flow of eloquent words to which, when earnest, Gregory gave utterance.

All this must have told effectually, where there could be nothing to reply. Mistaken zeal, early prejudice, and an extravagance of national feelings, had no doubt influenced the conduct of the Czar towards his Catholic subjects, against the better impulses of his own nature, which Russians always considered just, generous, and even parental. No one had before possessed the opportunity, or the courage, to appeal to the inward tribunal of this better sense. When well made, such a call could hardly fail. From that

* Abdias, i. 8, 9.

† 2 Cor. xi. 29.

interview the Catholics of Russia may date a milder treatment, and perhaps a juster rule.

Other instances might be given of Gregory's firmness in dealing with cases requiring that virtue as well as prudence. Such was the cutting up, root though not branch, of a man giving promise at one time of being leader, as he had been founder, of a magnificent politico-religious school in France, the abbé de la Mennais, whom one of his predecessors thought of investing with the purple. By the Encyclical of June 25th, 1834 (*Singulari Nos*), Gregory condemned the "Paroles d'un Croyant," and thereby tore off the mask from him who soon exhibited himself to wondering and weeping thousands in his true aspect. Similarly did he deal with a different school, that of Hermes, in Germany, the errors of which were purely theological, and of a rationalistic tendency. It was seriously affecting ecclesiastical education on the Rhine; for it was supported by professors of unimpeachable conduct, and mainly sound doctrine. The creeping error was crushed in its infancy, after much discussion and much forbearance.

Kindness and considerateness were indeed discernible in all the pope's actions. His charities were in full conformity with the traditions and instincts of his See. Scarcely, if ever, is a year of his pontificate unmarked by some private contribution on a large scale to one object of compassion or another. He elevated much the scale, and enlarged the basis, of the magnificent establishment, industrial and eleemosynary, of San Michele a Ripa, in which are collected under one roof every class of sufferers, male and female, from decrepit and helpless old age down to children; from the inmates of the reformatory to those of the nursery; and every sort of industry, from the painter, sculptor, and engraver, to the weaver, the shoemaker, and the carpenter. Under the liberal management of Cardinal Tosti, and the special patronage of Gregory, who annually visited the establishment to inspect its productions in art and in manufactures, and gave it large orders, this has become one of the happiest combinations of charity's well-organized functions. And the same is to be said of another equally important receptacle for poor children of a lower order, at the Termini—that is, Thermæ of Diocletian. This had fallen much into decay; but partly through the munificence, more still under the fostering care, of the pope, it received a new development, which it only wanted the perfecting hand of his successor to carry to its attainable completeness.

The prolonged reign of this pontiff, from 1831 to 1846, presented sufficient opportunities for exercising that charity which the right hand cannot conceal from the left. Thus from October 26th, 1831, to the beginning of 1832, successive shocks of earthquakes destroyed many houses and villages in Umbria, and shook almost to pieces cities with their sumptuous buildings. Cardinal Wiseman says: "I remember travelling through the pro-

vince not long after, and witnessing their frightful effects. Some villages through which the road passed—and many more among the hills—were utterly destroyed, though providentially the loss of life was not in proportion to material demolition. Foligno was so shattered, that, excepting the solid cathedral and a few other public buildings, there was not an edifice but what was shored up; and in fact the main street was traversed, through its whole length, by beams, which made the out-thrust and bulging walls on either side give mutual support. And now the traveller will see wall-plates all along, to which interior iron tie-rods are attached, binding every house within. But the most signal and afflicting overthrow was that of the noble sanctuary of Sta. Maria degli Angioli, the dome of which, towering in the plain or valley of Perugia, just below Assisi, was a beautiful object. This dome covered the celebrated Portiuncula, or Chapel of Saint Francis, the small rural oratory in which he began the work of his stupendous Institute. The entire nave fell in, leaving the cupola marvellously suspended over the little sanctuary, not a brick of which was displaced.*

“Subscriptions for the many sufferers by this calamity were immediately opened, with the pope at their head. As to the church, although he and many others contributed largely, the great merit of patient and persevering alms-gathering belongs to a simple Franciscan lay-brother of the house which served the church, Brother Luigi Ferri, of Bologna; who went from country to country begging contributions, in place of which he often received, and patiently endured, rebuffs and insults, and occasionally the impostor’s meed in prisons and police courts. He collected sixteen thousand dollars. The church was completely restored, and solemnly reopened in forty months.”

Again, when the cholera appeared in Ancona, a city which had shown itself particularly hostile to him, Gregory sent, from his own resources, considerable relief.

His more private charities are known to have been profuse: but there was one form, though a more spiritual one, which was peculiarly exhibited. On one occasion a Spanish lady, perplexed in conscience, desired to unburden its anxieties to him as chief pastor; and Gregory descended into the confessional for her, to discharge the functions of a simple priest. And a German lady of great information and ability, the Baroness K——, being still a Lutheran, but drawn singularly towards the Catholic Church,

* On being cleaned, one end of this chapel was found to have been painted in fresco by Pietro Perugino; and cut down, so as to mutilate the picture. Overbeck has executed a most lovely painting on the other end, representing a heavenly vision showering flowers on Saint Francis in prayer. It is well known by its engraving. He lived for some years in the convent attached, while he finished his work, like one of its members, refusing all other remuneration. He had begun his work in 1830.

asked for an opportunity of placing her difficulties for solution before the sovereign pontiff, as its highest authority : and it was instantly granted. He received her in his garden ; and, ordering his attendants to remain in one place, walked up and down with her in their presence till he had solved her doubts, and given her his blessing. She was afterwards one of the most zealous co-operators with the Princess Borghese, in supporting the cholera orphans.

Having been prefect of Propaganda for so many years, he had become minutely acquainted with every part of the British dominions, both at home and abroad, with its bishops, its wants, its actual condition and future prospects. Not only did he increase the number of apostolic vicariates in England, but spontaneously, without being led to it, he told the future Cardinal Wiseman that the hierarchy would have to be established there, upon the removal of one obstacle, which he specially described, and emphatically characterized, and which it was not in his own power to deal with. When that should occur, he distinctly remarked, this form of Church government must be introduced into England. In the course of a few years, but after his death, the event to which he had pointed took place, with consequent circumstances which ordinarily he could not have foreseen ; and his successor, unapprized of that forethought, almost at once executed what Gregory had intended under similar conditions.

The Irish College had special motives of gratitude to this pontiff. The late venerable bishop of Dromore, then the Rev. Dr. Michael Blake, parish priest in Dublin, came to restore this establishment, first suppressed under the French occupation, and then incorporated with the College of Propaganda. The old building on the Quirinal Hill was considered unsuitable, or probably was unavailable for the purpose, and Pope Leo XII. by his brief "*Plura inter collegia*," of February 14th, 1826, assigned for the new college a small house, formerly the Umbrian College, situated in the street *Delle botteghe oscure*, with a very small church annexed. Doctor Blake governed the college till he resigned it into the hands of the Rev. Doctor Boylan, who in his turn was succeeded by the present Archbishop Cullen.

In the year 1836 Gregory XVI. bestowed on the Irish College a much more spacious house, with a considerable garden. But what forms its chief prize is the church attached to it, being the old Basilica of Saint Agatha in Subburra, which Saint Gregory the Great himself tells us in his Dialogues, he cleansed from the taint of Arianism, amidst peculiar and portentous occurrences. It is the diaconal church of Cardinal Antonelli, who has been liberal in repairing and greatly embellishing it.

"As prefect of Propaganda I had frequently to see him on business," says Cardinal Wiseman, "and found him most simple in his habits and

kind in his intercourse. The clearness of his views, and quickness of his perception, made it both easy and agreeable to transact business with him. His confidence once gained upon such subjects as belonged more particularly to one's own sphere, was easily extended to other matters. I could give several instances of this facility; and it was extended to the time of his pontificate. Not only was an audience easily obtained on ordinary days, and at usual hours, but it was graciously granted almost at any time, when the ante-chamber was closed, and on days otherwise reserved for private occupation. Indeed it was not uncommon to receive a summons on such days, with an order to proceed at once to the palace in ordinary dress. Once I well remember how this familiar kindness served me in great stead. I was engaged in delivering a course of lectures, in the apartments of Cardinal Weld, in 1835. They were attended by very large and highly cultivated audiences. On one of the days of delivery I had been prevented from writing the lecture in time, and was laboring to make up for my delay, but in vain. Quarter after quarter of each hour flew rapidly on, and my advance bore no proportion to the matter before me. The fatal hour of twelve was fast approaching, and I knew not what excuse I could make, nor how to supply, except by a lame recital, the important portion yet unwritten of my task—for an index to the lectures had been printed and circulated. Just as the last moment arrived, a carriage from the palace drove to the door, with a message that I would step into it at once, as His Holiness wished to speak to me. This was indeed a '*Deus ex machina*'—the only and least thought of expedient that could have saved me from my embarrassment. A messenger was dispatched to inform the gathering audience of the unexpected cause of necessary adjournment of our sitting till the next day. The object of my summons was one of very trifling importance; and Gregory little knew what a service he had unintentionally rendered me."

The last years of Gregory were not marked by important events. The calm which precedes the tempest characterized his declining years. On the 27th of May, 1846, the Feast of the Ascension of our Lord, the sovereign pontiff, who had attained the age of eighty-one, gave his solemn benediction, *Urbi et Orbi*, from the high balcony of the Lateran palace, amidst the acclamations of an immense crowd. Almost immediately after he felt slightly indisposed, but, in one of his robust constitution, the symptoms excited no alarm.

However, on the 31st, the disease grew seriously worse, and in the night that followed, the physicians summoned to consider the case of the august patient, gave no hope whatever of his ultimate recovery. On the 1st of June he received extreme unction. The prayers for the dying and the usual absolutions were given by Cardinal Lambruschini. And while in all

the churches of Rome prayers were offered up by order of Cardinal Patrizi, vicar of Rome, Gregory XVI. expired.

That unaffected humility by which he was characterized through life, was strongly manifested in his dying moments. "I wish to die as a monk and not as a sovereign," was his expressed wish, his humble remark the evening before his death to those who pressed him to call around him all the ceremonial which generally surrounds the bed of a dying pontiff.

The prayer of his august humility was heard ; the pure and innocent soul of the pious Camaldulensian, after being gathered to God with no more pomp than became the cell of the recluse, escaped by prompt departure from the honors which it feared. Simple priests surrounded the bed whereon Father Mauro Cappellari died ; the court, warned too late, found but the dead body of Gregory XVI.

Endowed with rare talents, uniting prudence to energy, vast theological knowledge to varied profane learning, Gregory adhered especially to the preservation of the dogma of the Catholic Church from the assault of new theories, and to extend the knowledge and influence of the visible Church to the uttermost parts of the habitable globe. Hence his severe prescriptions against heresy, error, secret societies, the prohibition of the slave-trade, his protests in favor of the persecuted German bishops, the protection he bestowed on those who suffered for the faith, and especially for the foreign missions, the success of which seemed to him to depend on the presence of bishops ; hence, too, his numerous erection of new Sees.

He was an accomplished scholar, eminently versed in languages, literature, and science. While as a theologian he could scarcely be surpassed, he had particular fondness for mathematics and natural philosophy, and took an especial interest in conversing with those who were skilled in its various branches ; yet such was his modesty and retiring habits, that had it been left to himself, he would never have quitted the quiet of his monastery. Before his elevation to the papacy, he had already given to the world a learned and much esteemed work, entitled "The Triumph of the Holy See and of the Church," which has gone through several editions. His learning shone more brightly because accompanied by great humility. Even when elevated to the pontifical throne, he but changed the form of his dress, pursuing in private his usual mode of life, and retaining in his bed-chamber the pallet and furniture of the simple monk. The grandeur of his position, so far from inflaming his humble spirit with feelings of pride, served but to render his virtue more evident. To give was his greatest delight, and he lavished his resources upon needy missions, upon the poor, and upon churches in want. His goodness and charity were felt by all, even the lowest of his subjects. He was accessible to all, and received visitors almost at all hours, in the morning, in the evening, and at night.

Foreigners, without respect to their religious sentiments, were received with equal goodness and affability, so much so that all left his presence with lively emotions of respect and pleasure; Americans especially have universally avouched for the kindness with which they were received, and the interest manifested by His Holiness in their institutions. In winter he gave audience to as many as sixty foreigners a day without regard to creed. He rose at an early hour in the morning, and having said Mass and performed the other daily duties, he was ready at the first notice to treat on business, and to give receptions. He wished always to be thoroughly informed of all affairs, and transacted them with the maturest consideration. In all important and doubtful cases, he would require the prelates of the Church and the ministers of state to leave with him all the papers and documents regarding them, in order that he might look into them himself and weigh their import maturely. He was always self-possessed, and endowed with a happy memory, which enabled him easily to refer to business matters which had been before under his consideration.

The arts and sciences found in him, not only an ardent votary, but a warm and useful patron. He built a new wing to the museum of the Vatican, and was engaged in the construction of a new museum in the palace of the Lateran. A large double tunnel, constructed through the hill of Tivoli, to give a different direction to the river Anio, and thus free the city from threatened ruin, will be a perpetual monument of his munificence. He added to the beauty of Rome by the construction of various edifices and marble embellishments, and gave to the school of the fine arts, attached to the pontifical academy of Saint Luke, a new and magnificent site. He opened, in the neighborhood of the capital, one of the celebrated sea-ports of ancient Rome; he promoted the interests of agriculture, and particularly had determined that a part of the youths of the asylum of Sta. Maria degli Angeli should apply themselves to pasturage and agriculture.

His person was tall, his aspect venerable. His life was always innocent, spotless, and regular. He was pious, learned, and liberal—the Mæcenas of the arts and sciences—the firm defender of ecclesiastical rights. Full of faith, he governed the Church for fifteen years with the charity of an apostle and the heart of a father.





259. PIUS IX.—A. D. 1846.



THE Holy See has continued its unbroken line ; dynasties vanish, ideas change, empires follow republics, kingdoms sink into provinces, but the line of the sovereign pontiffs goes on amid all human vicissitudes from without, and amid the scandals that the apostle foretold as necessary even within the Church. Since the great apostasy from the faith, in the sixteenth century, the cry has been raised ever and anon, "The papacy has fallen."

Again and again have they exulted over the close of the venerable line of pontiffs ; but as our fathers beheld, so we behold the See of Peter filled by a successor whose word goes forth to the ends of the world, potent ruler of millions of devoted hearts. Few have surpassed in gentleness and winning grace the present pope, who has, nevertheless, in the dispensation of Providence, been thrown upon a sea of troubles that would seem to require the most stern and inflexible character.

John Mary Mastai Ferretti was born on the 13th of May, 1792, at Sinigaglia, in the ancient duchy of Urbino, now one of the delegations of the States of the Church. The Mastai family, which dates back to the thirteenth century, has always been distinguished for eminent services, and, in reward, received the title of count. By a union with the last scion of the noble family of Ferretti, the Counts Mastai blended that honored name with their own.

The father of Pius IX., Count Jerome Mastai Ferretti, was gonfalonier of Sinigaglia ; and his uncle, Andrew Mastai, bishop of Mantua, in the pontificate of Pius VII., won, by his heroic fidelity to that pope, the glory of a confessor of Christ, having suffered a close imprisonment in the citadel of Mantua. The future pontiff was, therefore, from his earliest years, no stranger to the tribulations of the Church ; and among the earliest prayers which he learned from the lips of his pious mother, the Countess Mastai, was one for the deliverance of Pope Pius VI.

At the age of twelve he was placed at the college of Volterra, in Tuscany, and speedily gained, by the amenity of his character and the graces of his mind, the good-will of his teachers and schoolmates. His progress was rapid, and the institution long remembered with pride a pupil whose ability struck even the French educational superintendents who visited the college.

On leaving it, John Mary embraced the career of arms, and when the pontifical army was reconstituted he entered the noble guard of Pius VII. It was his vocation to be, in a special manner, the defender of the Holy See, as soldier, as bishop, as cardinal, and as pope.

The young count was soon after seized with a malady which the physicians soon regarded as incurable, and, admitting their inability to counteract its fatal progress, announced its speedy termination in death. But his mother appealed, with all the fervor of devotion and tender confidence, to the Blessed Virgin, and the young count suddenly recovered, to preserve through life that love and devotion to Mary which made the formal definition of her Immaculate Conception the crowning glory of his pontificate.

The life thus restored, as by a miracle, Count Mastai Ferretti resolved to consecrate to the service of God. As soon as his strength permitted, he repaired to Rome to pursue his course of divinity. He was ordained priest, and spent his first years of priesthood in the Eternal City, obscurely enough—little known in the busy world, or amid the great and exalted, but blessed and honored by the poor, whom he visited daily at the hospice of *Tata Giovanni*, to which he had been attached even before he devoted himself to the service of the altar.

To give some idea of this institution, which was for many years the field of predilection of the future pope, we may briefly sketch its history. In the last century there lived at Rome a poor mason, named Giovanni Borgi, whose holiday recreation it was to visit the hospital of the Holy Ghost, serve the sick, make their beds, and do any other service in his power. Here he often found children left orphans by the death of their parents. Touched with the condition of these and other poor boys, he invited them to come to his house. With the help of alms, which he solicited, he took them in, dressed them, instructed them in their religious duties, and prepared them for a worthy frequentation of the sacraments, till such time as he could succeed in placing them as apprentices with worthy tradesfolk.

The poor man's labors soon found generous benefactors, aiding him with counsel and means. The illustrious Cardinal di Pietro hired a large room in the Via Giulia for Giovanni and his pupils, and gave him thirty dollars a month. This enabled him to take in forty orphans, who all styled him *papa*, so that he became known to all Rome as *Tata Giovanni*. Pius VII. purchased the house and bestowed it on the worthy man, who, thus established, although illiterate himself, had his orphans instructed in reading, writing, and arithmetic. At the present time, drawing, geometry, and ornamentation, important branches for young mechanics, are added.

The high-born priest did not disdain to become the successor of the mason. He lived among the poor children, the better to know their wants; he bestowed all his income on the hospice, in which he introduced salutary

reforms and an extended course of instruction. A little cell is still shown, which was for seven years the abode of the devoted priest.

But he was soon to be called to a different scene of labor. Monsignor Muri was appointed by the Holy See apostolic delegate to the republic of Chili, in order to restore to a canonical form the ecclesiastical affairs which had suffered during the revolutionary storm that swept over Spanish America, and, even to this day, has not spent its fury. Monsignor Muri asked that the Abbate Mastai Ferretti should accompany him, and the pope readily consented. Not so the orphans at Tata Giovanni: they clustered around their father; they clung to his cassock, and implored him not to forsake them, moving him to tears by their appeals.

His voyage was not without its difficulties and trials; but he at last reached Chili, and for two years labored earnestly on the American soil. One day, while sailing from Valparaiso to Lima in a schooner, he was overtaken by a violent storm. The unskilful pilot had nearly run the frail craft on the rocks, when a bark, belonging to a fisherman named Bako, put out to save him, and brought them safely into Arica. The Italian ecclesiastic richly rewarded his benefactor then, and did not deem the debt cancelled; for, on ascending the pontifical throne, he sent to Bako the same sum again, together with his portrait. But the first gift of Pius had laid the foundation of his fortune: he distributed the new gift in alms in the name of Pius IX., and placed the portrait in a chapel which he constructed in his house.

The following incident of this period is also related: "In one of Ferretti's apostolical journeys, a great way into the interior, and far from the settled country, he met with a forlorn hut, into which he entered, and there found a sick man, lying on a wretched pallet, almost at the point of death. His wife and several children were standing helplessly around him. Here indeed was suffering to be assuaged, and a soul to be saved. Ferretti immediately halted, and caused his tent to be pitched by the side of the cabin. There was but little time—the sick man was near his end, and the hours fly fast when death approaches; it appeared, too, that he and his family were miserably ignorant of the faith, and had never even been baptized. Ferretti, however, spoke such living words to him, shed over him such tears of Christian charity, making him look at the sign of our faith—Jesus nailed to the cross to redeem men—that the dying man's heart melted within him, and he was touched by divine grace, so that he asked and received holy baptism. The same hour his wife and children were also converted, and received that blessed sacrament. It must have been a beautiful and solemn sight to see those poor creatures bending under the hand of the holy priest, whom God had sent in their utmost need, to admit them to His Church. Some hours after, the man expired in Ferretti's arms, after

receiving the last consolations. Ferretti closed his eyes, tore up one of his own shirts to make a winding-sheet to bury him decently, and laid him in a grave, which he had dug with his own hands, at the foot of an oak. He did not leave the place till he had planted a rude wooden cross over the grave, and made the poor family promise that if it were blown away they would plant another instead of it—for it was the sign of salvation. Then, after having given them his blessing, with holy exhortations and alms, he went his way."

On returning to Rome, in 1825, the Abbate Mastai Ferretti was admitted into the prelacy, and appointed by Leo XII. president of the commission directing the hospice of St. Michael, a vast establishment on the right bank of the Tiber, facing Mount Aventine, founded by Innocent X. for foundlings, and enlarged by subsequent pontiffs, who added buildings for old men, the infirm, penitent women, and girls exposed to danger. Such a large establishment required able administration, and the remissness of former directors had plunged the institution into almost inextricable difficulties, although it had profited greatly by the labor of the inmates.

A few months developed in Mastai Ferretti rare administrative ability. Adopting a more liberal course towards the apprentices, he succeeded, nevertheless, in relieving the institution from its debts, and putting it in a career of usefulness and solidity.

The merit of one who had never sought to thrust himself forward began to be appreciated, and Leo XII. made him archbishop of Spoleto. This See he held during the reign of that pontiff and the brief rule of his successor, Pius VIII. Under Gregory XVI., he was, in 1832, transferred from the See of Spoleto to that of Imola, which had so recently seen one of its incumbents raised to the See of Peter. But he did not leave his first See without showing some of the characteristics which were to distinguish him in the papacy. During the insurrection of 1831, a number of the insurgents fled before the Austrians. The archbishop went out to arrest the pursuit, promising to disarm them himself. He did indeed disarm them by his charity; and when the chief of police, full of zeal, came with a list of accomplices in the city, the archbishop said: "My worthy sir, you do not understand your profession or mine. When the wolf would devour the sheep, he does not forewarn the shepherd." And the agent beheld his list disappear in the flames.

The policy of the benignant bishop hardly met the approval of the stern, upright Gregory; but he confided to him the more important See of Imola. Here his career was no less worthy of imitation; his administration won the highest encomium from all who were competent to judge. He called to his episcopal city the sisters of St. Vincent of Paul, confiding to them the hospice and charitable establishments; he opened a refuge for girls,

whose virtue was in danger in the world, and founded an asylum for women who had strayed from the path of duty, but longed to return by penance to the grace of God. He endowed the hospitals liberally, and made instruction accessible to poor children of both sexes.

Amid these good works he was surprised by being nominated, on the 23d of December, 1839, as cardinal *in petto*, and proclaimed in consistory, on the 14th of December, 1840. His elevation did not change his career of beneficence: his charity seemed inexhaustible. He often gave away all the money in his possession to the last farthing, but would not, even then, turn away empty the poor who applied to him. One day, when charity had reduced him to this state, he gave a poor woman some of the silver from the table to go and pawn, in order to obtain money for her wants.

Devoted to his clergy as he was to his people, the bishop of Imola received gratuitously into his seminary young ecclesiastics without means, and, at the same time, founded and endowed a house of retreat for aged and infirm priests. He founded a biblical academy, drew up statutes for it, and presided at the monthly meetings, which were held in his house.

Such was the life of Cardinal Mastai Ferretti, when the death of Gregory XVI. summoned him to the conclave. As he passed through Fossombrone the crowd gathered around the carriage to see the prince of the Church, when suddenly a white dove, undisturbed by their noise, and regardless of their attempts to drive it away, settled on the carriage. Taking it as an omen, the people cried out—“*Evviva! evviva!* behold the pope!”

After the funeral ceremonies of Gregory XVI., the cardinals assembled in conclave to the number of fifty-four. This was on the 14th of June, 1846. The sacred college, warned by the delays which succeeded the death of Pius VIII., when the rivalry between the French and Austrian parties prolonged the conclave to sixty-four days, resolved to proceed to an election without giving time to the so-called Catholic powers to exert any influence whatever, either by their usurped exclusions or by less open intrigues. Cardinal Prince Altieri first proposed Cardinal Mastai Ferretti, who, from the first scrutiny, had a plurality of votes. Every scrutiny showed an increase in his favor, and, on the 15th, it was evident that he would be elected the next day by *accesso*. He spent the night in prayer, fearful of the honor that menaced him.

The next day Cardinal Mastai, appointed to examine the ballots, found his name on almost every one that he opened. Before he got through, the result was certain. Overcome with a faintness and fear at the prospect before him, he cried out—“My brethren, pity me! pity my weakness! I am unworthy.” But he knows that Christ is amid the conclave—that He chooses the head whom for the time he gives His Church.

The scrutiny ended, the election was declared. Cardinal Mastai, having

received thirty-six votes, two more than a majority of the sacred college, was elected pope. He knelt in prayer and adored the God whose vicar he had been chosen. His humility bade him renounce the honor and the heavy burden; but to decline was to throw the affairs of the Church into a sea of troubles. That moment of silent prayer decided. When Cardinal Macchi, the subdean, advanced to ask whether he accepted the supreme pontificate, he replied that he submitted to the will of God, and that he would assume the name of Pius IX.

When the prefect of ceremonies, Monsignor de Ligne, acting as notary of the Apostolic See, had drawn up the authentic act of election and acceptance, Cardinals Riario Sforza and Bernetti accompanied Pius IX. to the sacristy, where he was attired in the robes of the sovereign pontiff. They then conducted him to the chapel of the Quirinal, where the newly-elected pope receives the first obedience of the cardinals and is presented with the Fisherman's Ring.

The next day, Wednesday, June 17, the artillery of the castle of Saint Angelo announced to the city the election, which was proclaimed in the usual form from the Quirinal.

The news caused great surprise, as people had heard cardinals Lambruschini and Gizzi mentioned, and no one dreamed of the election of the bishop of Imola, who, devoted to his See, was rarely seen in Rome. But, when he appeared on the balcony, the cry arose—"We have a pope! He loves us, he is our father!" Moved to tears, Pius raised his eyes to heaven, and then gave his first benediction.

Four days after, he was crowned in St. Peter's, on the 21st of June, 1846.

On his accession he distributed a dowry of fifty crowns to each of the parish churches of Rome and its vicinity, as well as six thousand crowns in alms. He also redeemed the pledges of all the poor in the Mont-de-piété, and paid the debts of the indigent confined for debt.

Gregory XVI. had struggled with the revolutionary element, and held it repressed with a firm hand. Raised suddenly to the throne, Pius, either acting from the spontaneous goodness of his gentle character, or enlightened from above that no human power could any longer successfully control it, sought to win the hearts of his people by kindness. On the 16th of July he issued an amnesty, liberating from civil penalties all convicted of political offences during the late reign, excepting only ecclesiastics and those who had held any civil or military office, amounting in all to thirty-nine.

"Pope Pius IX. to his most faithful subjects, health and apostolic benediction :

"In the days wherein our heart has been profoundly moved by the

public joy which our elevation to the sovereign pontificate has excited, we cannot divest ourselves of a deep feeling of sorrow at the thought that not a few families among our subjects have been prevented from participating in the common joy, because, in the privation of domestic comfort, they endured a great part of the punishment that some members of their families were deservedly suffering for having offended against the laws of social order and the sacred rights of their lawful prince. On the other hand, we have looked with compassion on many inexperienced young men, who, although led away by deceitful fallacies into the midst of political tumults, appear to us to have been rather seduced than seducers. For this reason we have had it in our mind to stretch out our hand and offer peace of heart to those of our erring children who are willing to show themselves sincerely penitent. And now the affection which our good people have shown towards us, and those proofs of constant veneration which the Holy See has in our own person received from them, have persuaded us that we may pardon without public peril. We do, therefore, ordain and decree that the early days of our pontificate be solemnized with the following acts of sovereign grace:

“I. To all our subjects who are at the present moment in any place of punishment for political offences, we condone the remnant of their sentence, provided that they make a solemn declaration in writing, and on their honor, not only that they will not in any manner, or at any time, abuse this favor, but also that they will henceforth faithfully fulfil all the duties of good subjects.

“II. Upon the same condition shall be admitted anew within our States all those of our subjects who have been exiled for political reasons, who shall, within one year after the publication of the present decree, manifest in a becoming manner, through the mediation of the nuncios apostolic, or other representatives of the Holy See, a desire to profit by this act of clemency.

“III. We equally absolve all those who, for having taken part in any plot against the State, now lie under the surveillance of the police, or are declared incapable of holding any municipal office.

“IV. We will that all criminal proceedings for offences purely political be curtailed or suppressed where a formal judgment has not already been delivered, and that the accused shall be freely discharged, unless, indeed, any of them should themselves demand the continuation of the trial in order that he may set forth clearly his own innocence, and recover his rights.

“V. We do not intend, however, that in the disposition of the preceding articles should be comprehended those very few ecclesiastics, military officers, and *employées* of the government who have been already con-

demned, or have fled, or are still under trial for political crimes, and concerning whom we reserve it to ourselves to take other resolutions according as the knowledge of their respective cases may enable us to do.

“ VI. Neither do we intend that this grace shall comprehend any ordinary offences which may have been committed by persons condemned, imprisoned, or exiled for political crimes. For such offences we desire that the common law should be fully executed.

“ We desire to believe that those who may avail themselves of our mercy will be careful in all coming time to respect our rights and their own honor. We also hope that spirits, soothed by our pardon, will endeavor to set aside the civil hatred which is always the cause or the effect of political passions; that thus may be truly united that chain of peace by which God wills that all the children of one father should be straitly bound together. If, however, we should be deceived in any of these our hopes, in spite of the bitter grief which our heart would experience, we should always remember that if mercy be the sweetest attribute of sovereignty, justice is its first duty.

“ Given at Rome, at St. Maria Major, on the 16th day of July, 1846, the first year of our pontificate.

“ Pius PP. IX.”

This step proved disastrous; for, notwithstanding the conditions annexed, the pardoned, faithful only to their secret societies, again plunged into conspiracies to overthrow the power of the popes.

Pius IX., however, followed up this step by other acts. He restored the civic guard established by Gregory XVI., but only when the other Italian princes had set the example.

On the 15th of March, 1847, a decree of Cardinal Gizzi gave the press greater liberty in the production of political treatises. By his *motu proprio* of the 1st of October, he extended to Rome and the Agro Romano the municipal system established in all the rest of the States of the Church. This was not an innovation, but a restoration of the ancient municipal *régime* of Rome, which had been in operation down to the time when the French revolution forced new modes upon them.

A circular of the 19th of April, 1847, announced his intention to call to Rome one person from each province, to form a Council of State. This was carried out by a *motu proprio*, on the 14th of October. He thus expressed his views :

“ When by the circular of April 19th, of this year, we made known our sovereign will to select and summon to Rome, from all the provinces of the pontifical States some of our subjects, distinguished and commendable in every respect, our intention was to form a Council of State, and thus en-

dow the pontifical government with an institution, which, if now in favor with the other governments and states of Europe, was formerly a glory of the domains of the Holy See, and a glory due to the genius of the Roman pontiffs."

This council was composed of a cardinal president, a prelate vice-president, and twenty-four state consulters; four for Rome and the Comarca, two for the province of Bologna, and one for each of the other provinces. These consulters were selected by the sovereign pontiff, from lists of three candidates sent to him by the provincial councils. They were required to be subjects of the pontifical States, at least thirty years of age, commendable for their life, and in full enjoyment of all civic rights. The appointments were so made that the whole council was renewed every five years.

The new council began its operations on the 15th of November. On that day the twenty-four members proceeded to the Quirinal. Admitted to the throne-room, they paid homage to the Holy Father, who thus replied to the address of Cardinal Antonelli, the president:

"I thank you for your good intentions, and in view of the public good, esteem it highly. In the same view, I have, from the first moment of my elevation to the pontifical throne, done, according to counsels inspired by God, all that I have been able to do, and I am still ready, with the Divine assistance, to do all in future, without, however, retrenching any thing from the sovereignty of the pontificate. As I have received it full and entire from my predecessors, so I mean to transmit this sacred deposit to my successors. I have as witnesses three millions of my subjects. I have all Europe as witness of what I have hitherto done to meet my subjects, to unite them to me, to know intimately their wants, and provide for them. It is especially the better to know their wants and provide for the exigencies of the commonwealth, that I have assembled you in a permanent council; it is, in case of necessity, to hear your advice, to aid me in my sovereign resolutions, on which I will consult my conscience, and to confer with my ministers and the sacred college. Whoever would see aught else in the functions you are about to fulfil, will greatly deceive himself: he, too, will deceive himself greatly, who sees in the Council of State, which I have just created, the realization of their own utopias, and the germ of an institution incompatible with the pontifical sovereignty."

These words were explicit enough to disabuse all the advocates of what he so well styled their utopian schemes. But the changes introduced by Pope Pius had endeared him to his people. His personal popularity was great—almost to enthusiasm. The carbonari and the whole revolutionary party were disconcerted. Gregory XVI. was met by a revolt, as he was mounting the steps to the throne. To have attempted a revolt against Pius IX., in the early days of his reign, would have been madness. The revolu-

tionary party changed their tactics; they became the ardent admirers of the pope. They filled Italy and the world with praises of his liberality, his reforms. They sought to control the popular enthusiasm, and to lead a movement which they had not anticipated, but might hope to guide. Even Mazzini, the head of Italian revolutionism, avowed enemy of the Church and the papacy, recognized the immense power of the pope, and hastened to support his cause, by a public expression of his admiration for Pius IX.

Under the influence of these ideas, public meetings were held even in England and America, to express the admiration felt for the character and policy of Pius; and resolutions, full of enthusiasm, attested the extent of the sentiment.

An imposing meeting, held in New York, in the month of November, 1847, presided over by the Mayor of the city, and many of the most distinguished citizens, adopted the following address:

“To His Holiness Pope Pius IX.

“Venerable Father:

“The people of these United States have observed with profound interest the circumstances which attended, and the events which have followed your elevation to the pontificate—an interest which has ripened into sympathy and unmeasured admiration. On behalf of a portion of the people we tender you an expression of those sentiments of regard and emphatic approbation which are cherished by all.

“We address you not as sovereign pontiff, but as the wise and humane ruler of a once oppressed and discontented, now well-governed and gratefully happy people. We unite in this tribute, not as Catholics, which some of us are, while the greater number are not, but as republicans and lovers of constitutional freedom. Recent as is our national origin, wide as is the ocean which separates our beloved land from your sunny clime, we know well what Italy was in the proud days of her unity, freedom, and glory—what she has since been while degraded by foreign rule and internal dissension—and we have faith that a lofty and benignant destiny awaits her when her people shall again be united, independent, and free. In the great work of her regeneration, we hail you as a heaven-appointed instrument; and we ardently pray that your days may be prolonged until you shall witness the consummation of the wise and beneficent policy which is destined to render your name immortal.

“But, venerable father, we know well that the path you have chosen is one of extreme difficulty and peril. Our own immediate ancestors struggled through an age of dangers and privations to achieve and consolidate the blessings we now so eminently enjoy, though favored with a leader such as has rarely been vouchsafed to a people striving to be free. In the world

we now inhabit, it is divinely appointed that virtue shall be tried by adversity, and that enduring glory, like freedom, shall be accorded only to such as by unshaken fortitude no less than courageous effort prove themselves worthy of the precious boon. We, therefore, the countrymen of Washington and Franklin, of Adams and Jefferson, are well aware that you did not enter upon the course you have chosen without a deliberate renunciation of ease, of security, and of aristocratic favor. We know that you must have already resigned yourself to encounter the machinations of the crafty, the hatred of the powerful, and—most painful of all—the misconceptions of the well-meaning but deluded. We know that you must have calmly resolved to encounter the untiring hostility and dread of all the unjust or tyrannical rulers who assume to lord it over any portion of the fair Italian peninsula—all who fancy that social order consists in the maintenance for themselves of those conditions of luxury and sloth in which they have hitherto uselessly existed—all who fear, or selfishly affect to fear, that religion must perish if not upheld by the fleeting breath of emperors and kings. And, more formidable than all these, you must have girded yourself to encounter, and by God's help to overcome, that fickleness and ingratitude of multitudes just released from benumbing bondage which could clamor in the wilderness to be led back to the flesh-pots of Egypt—which among the contemporaries and even the followers of our Saviour could leave him to bear in solitude the agony of his cross—and which in your case, we apprehend, will yet manifest itself in unreasonable expectations, extravagant hopes, impetuous requirements, and in murmurings that nothing has been earnestly intended because everything has not already been accomplished. That you will be guided and shielded from on high in discharging the transcendent responsibilities of your position, we will unwaveringly trust.

“And, venerable father, dark as the clouds which envelop the present may be, we do know that the sunshine of the future will overpower and dispel them. To say nothing here of the clear assurance, fast anchored by the eternal throne, that no generous deed or endeavor can ever be really defeated or fail of its ultimate reward, we assure you, from joyful experience, that the blessings of constitutional freedom far outweigh all the perils and sufferings through which nations advance to their achievement. Short as our national life has yet been, it has already demonstrated to every thoughtful observer the immense superiority of liberty to despotism as an element of national growth and social well-being; it has shown that the rights of persons and property may be better secured under a government which guarantees rights and powers to all, than under any other; that the agitations and acts of violence which are incident to human frailty or injustice under any form of government are far less frequent under ours than any other; and that whatever dangers may assail or threaten us have

their origin not in an excess of liberty, but the contrary. So much, at least, we feel that we are amply justified in saying, in view of your position, the perils it braves and the anticipations it justifies.

“In defiance of superficial appearances, we do not apprehend that the mailed cohorts of despotism are about to be set in motion against you. The age in which we live is one of moral rather than physical warfare—in which the artillery of the press commands and silences that of the camp—in which opinion is more potent than bayonets. We trust, therefore, that against any direct and open resort to force and bloodshed, you are shielded by the panoply of good men’s approbation and sympathies throughout the length and breadth of Christendom. But should these expectations be disappointed, let the rash aggressor beware! The first shot fired in such a contest will reverberate from every mountain, summoning the brave and noble from every clime to stand forth against injustice and oppression—to battle for freedom and mankind. In such a contest, no one familiar with the history or character of the American people can doubt that their sympathies will be active and not wholly fruitless. That Italy will be spared the devastation, and Christendom the guilt and scandal of such a contest, we will not harbor a doubt; but in any case, we will hope that this testimonial of the interest and admiration with which you are regarded by twenty millions of people will not have been wholly in vain.

“We are, venerable father, yours most truly.”

After the address had been read, the following resolutions were unanimously carried, after having been supported by eloquent addresses:

“1. Resolved, That we regard with the highest interest the progress of free institutions in all countries; and especially in one to which we are so much indebted as to Italy, whose laws and whose military and civil policy have penetrated the institutions of half the modern world.

“2. Resolved, That the past history and the present conditions of the Italians have made them the objects of peculiar interest with all Christendom. The renown of ancient Rome—the glory of the republics of the middle ages—the arts of modern Italy—the mournful history of her struggles and her sufferings—have made her fate an object of especial solicitude with all scholars, all lovers of the beautiful, all admirers of heroic deeds, and all republicans.

“3. Resolved, That no freeman can look coldly on the present struggle of the Italians for national independence and constitutional liberty; that our hearts have been with them since the first moment when the cry of freedom was uttered; and will beat for them until all Italy is free, from Calabria to the Alps.

“4. Resolved, That we present our most hearty and respectful salutations to the sovereign pontiff for the noble part he has taken in behalf of his

people, that, knowing the difficulties with which he is surrounded at home, and the attacks with which he is menaced from abroad, we honor him the more for the mild firmness with which he has overcome the one, and the true spirit with which he has repelled the other.

"5. Resolved, That the cry of freedom again in Italy is a sound which will summon the brave and the free of all nations to encourage with their voices, and to assist with their strength, if need be, the Italian people in their struggle for liberty and independence.

"6. Resolved, That 'peace hath her victories no less renowned than war;' and that the noble attitude of Pius IX., throwing the vast influence of the pontificate into the scale of well-tempered freedom, standing as the advocate of peaceful progress, the promoter at once of social amelioration, industrial development, and political reform, unmoved by the parade of hostile armies hovering on his borders, hopeful for man and trusting in God, is the grandest spectacle of our day, full of encouragement and promise to Europe, more grateful to us and more glorious to himself than triumphs on a hundred fields of battle."

The formation of his cabinet was a coalition. He made secretary of state Cardinal Gizzi, the most popular member of the sacred college, and deemed most earnest in reforms. The portfolio of commerce and industry he confided to Cardinal Riario Sforza, that of public works to Cardinal Massimo, and that of military affairs to Monsignor Lavinio Spada, all three conservatives and imbued with the policy of the late pope. He confided the finances to Cardinal Antonelli, and continued Monsignor Grassellini as governor of Rome. He thus avoided both excesses into which rulers fall, a blind contempt for the public will or caprice, and a blind indulgence of its unstatesmanlike whims.

But much as the affairs of the pontifical States required the attention of Pius IX., he did not forget that he was the head of the Church. Among the early acts of his reign was an encyclical letter issued on the 9th of November, 1846.

"Encyclical letter of Pope Pius IX. to the Catholic hierarchy throughout the world.

"Venerable brethren, health and apostolic benediction :

"We who, during many years past, were striving together with you, venerable brethren, to fulfil to the best of our power the episcopal charge—that charge so full of labor, so full of solicitude—and to feed that part of the Lord's flock committed to our care in the mountains of Israel, amid the streams and fruitful pastures, have been, in consequence of the death of our illustrious predecessor, Gregory XVI., whose memory, and whose

illustrious and glorious deeds, written in letters of gold on the records of the Church, posterity will always admire, quite contrary to all our thoughts and expectations, and with considerable alarm and trepidation, by the hidden designs of divine Providence, raised to the chief pontificate. For indeed if the charge of the apostolic ministry is justly esteemed and ever to be esteemed one of danger and importance, more particularly is it a matter of dread in these most difficult times for the Christian republic.

"Hence, fully conscious of our own weakness, and contemplating the most weighty duties of the supreme apostleship, particularly in the present critical state of affairs, we should have wholly given up ourselves to sad sorrowing and tears, had we not placed our hope in God our salvation, who never deserts those hoping in him, and who, in order to display the strength of his power, chooses even the weakest for the government of his Church, that all may more and more learn that it is God himself who rules and defends his Church by his admirable providence.

"Our consolation is that we have, as companions and helpers, you, venerable brethren, who, called to share our solicitude, endeavor with every care and earnestness to fulfil your ministry and to fight the good fight.

"Hence, when first, though undeservedly, placed in this sublime seat of the prince of the apostles, we received that important charge bestowed in the person of blessed Peter, by the eternal Prince of pastors, of feeding and ruling not only the lambs, namely, the universal Christian people, but also the sheep, that is, the bishops, nothing was more sought for or desired by us than that we might address you all with the deepest feeling of affectionate charity.

"Wherefore, scarcely have we, according to the usage and custom of our predecessors, taken possession of the supreme pontificate in our Basilica of Saint John Lateran, than we address unto you without delay this epistle, in order to inflame your profound piety, so that with even greater alacrity, vigilance, and earnestness, keeping the watches of the night over the flock committed to your care, and with the strength and constancy of bishops fighting against the most hideous enemy of the human race, strenuously, like good soldiers of Jesus Christ, you may 'set up a wall for the house of Israel.'

"None of you, venerable brethren, but must be aware that in this our deplorable age; a fierce and formidable war is waged against every portion of Catholicity by those men who, linked in nefarious companionship, not enduring sound doctrine, and turning their ears from the truth, dig out from darkness every monstrous shape of opinion, and endeavor with all their might to exaggerate and disseminate them amongst the people.

"We shudder indeed with horror, and are bitterly affected with sorrow, when we reflect on all the monstrosities of error, and the various and multi-

form arts, snares, and machinations of mischief, by which these haters of the truth and of the light, and most skilful artificers of fraud, labor to quench in the minds of all men every aspiration after piety, justice, and honesty; to corrupt morals, to confound all rights human and divine; and to rend asunder, to undermine, nay, if such a thing were ever possible, to overturn from their foundations both the Catholic religion and civil society.

“For you know, venerable brethren, that these deadly enemies of the Christian name, miserably hurried on by the blind force of a frantic impiety, rush forward with such a rash daring of thought, that with almost unheard-of audacity, ‘*opening their mouths in blasphemies against God,*’* they blush not openly and publicly to teach that the solemn, sacred mysteries of our religion are fables and mere inventions of men; that the doctrine of the Catholic Church is opposed to the good and advantage of human society: they even tremble not to deny even Christ himself and God. And the more easily to delude the people, and particularly to deceive the unwary and hurry the inexperienced along with them into error, they assert that to themselves alone are known the ways of prosperity, and arrogate without hesitation to themselves the title of philosophers; as though philosophy, whose whole scope is the investigation of nature’s truth, should reject that which God, the merciful Author of all nature, had with singular beneficence and mercy deigned to manifest to men in order that they might attain true safety and happiness.

“Hence, with a preposterous and most fallacious species of arguing, they cease not to appeal to human reason, and to extol it at the expense of Christ’s most holy faith, audaciously setting forth that it is opposed to human reason: than which conduct nothing certainly more insane, nothing more impious, nothing in fine more repugnant to reason itself, can be fashioned or thought of. For although faith is above reason, no real disagreement however, no hostility between them can ever be discovered, since they both flow from one and the same fountain of immutable and eternal truth,—the Most Excellent and Mighty God,—and so render assistance to each other, that right reason demonstrates, protects, and defends the truth of faith; while faith frees reason from all errors, and wonderfully enlightens, confirms, and perfects it by the knowledge of divine things.

“Nor is the fallacy, venerable brethren, less of those enemies of divine revelation, who, extolling with loud-sounding praises the progress or march of human things, would with clearly rash and sacrilegious daring thrust it into the Catholic religion, as if that religion were not the work of God but of man, or some philosophical discovery that could be perfected by human

* Apocalyp. xiii. 6.

means. On men thus miserably mad the reproach of Tertullian to the philosophers of his day falls with peculiar fittingness: '*that they* (the philosophers) *had published a Stoic, a Plutonic, and a Dialectic Christianity.*'* And certainly, since our most holy religion was not invented by man, but most mercifully revealed by God to man, every one must without difficulty see that religion, in fact, must derive all its force from the authority of the same God speaking, and cannot be derived from or ever perfected by human reason. It behooves human reason, indeed, diligently to inquire into the fact of divine revelation, that it may be clear that God has spoken, and that to *Him*, according to the very wise teaching of the apostle, he may render '*a reasonable obedience.*'†

"For who is ignorant, who can be ignorant, that implicit faith is to be given to God when he speaks, and that nothing can be more consistent with right reason than a firm consent and adhesion to those things which shall be proved to have been revealed by a God who can neither deceive nor be deceived!

"But how numerous, how wonderful, how splendid are the arguments by which human reason should most lucidly be convinced that the religion of Christ is divine, and '*that every principle of our dogmas has taken its root from the Lord of the heavens on high;*'‡ and, moreover, that nothing more certain, more secure, more holy, or which is founded on firmer principles—exists: to wit, this faith, the instructress of life, the expeller of all vices, the fruitful parent and nurse of all virtues—confirmed by the birth, life, death, resurrection, wisdom, wonders, and prophecies of Christ Jesus, her author and finisher—radiant on every side with the light of heavenly doctrine, and laden with the treasures of heavenly riches—illustrious and distinctively marked by the predictions of so many prophets, the splendor of so many miracles, the constancy of so many martyrs, the glory of so many saints—proclaiming the saving laws of Christ, gaining day by day more strength from the most cruel persecution themselves; hath, the cross her only banner, journeyed by land and sea the whole earth; having beaten down the falsehood of idolatry, scattered the darkness of error, triumphed over enemies of every kind, she has enlightened all people, all nations, however savagely barbarous, however diversified by disposition, manners, laws, and institutions, with the light of divine knowledge, and—announcing peace and good tidings—has brought them under the most sweet yoke of Christ: all which shine forth on every side with such a splendor of wisdom and power that every mind and thought may easily understand that the Christian faith is the work of God. Therefore human reason, from these most splendid and equally solid arguments, clearly and distinctly

* Tertuli. de Præscript. cap. viii. † Ad Rom. xiii., 1. ‡ S. Joan. Chrysost. Homil. I., in Isai.

recognizing that God is the author of this same faith, can go no further, but throwing utterly aside every doubt and difficulty, is bound to yield every obedience to faith, knowing with certainty that whatever faith proposes to men to be believed and done, was delivered by God himself.

“Hence, too, plainly appears in what error they continue, who, abusing their reasoning powers, and esteeming the words of God as a human production, dare rashly to interpret it, when God himself has appointed a living authority to teach the true and legitimate sense of his heavenly revelation, to establish it, to settle all controversies on matters of faith and morals with an infallible decision, so that the faithful may not be carried about by every wind of the wickedness of men, to the circumventing of error. Which living and *infallible* authority exists only in that Church which, built by Christ our Lord on Peter, the head, the chief and pastor of the whole Church, whose faith he promised should never fail—has ever her legitimate pontiffs deducing their origin without intermission from Peter himself, placed in his chair—heirs and possessors of the same doctrine, dignity, honor, and power. And since ‘*where Peter is, there is the Church*,’* and Peter speaks by the Roman pontiff,† and ever lives and exercises judgment in his successors,‡ and gives forth the truth of faith to those seeking it, therefore§ the Divine words are clearly to be received in that sense which this Roman chair of blessed Peter, the mother and mistress of all Churches,|| hath always preserved whole and inviolate, and has ever taught to the faithful, showing to all the path of safety and the doctrine of uncorrupted truth. For this is the chief of Churches, from which the unity of the priesthood hath arisen.¶ This is the centre and metropolis of piety, wherein is the entire and perfect solidity of the Christian religion;** in which the primacy of the apostolic chair hath ever flourished;†† to which, on account of its pre-eminent dignity, it is necessary that all Churches—that is to say, the faithful—wheresoever found, should repair;‡‡ with which whosoever gathereth not, scattereth.§§ We, therefore, who, by the inscrutable judgment of God, have been seated in this chair of truth, appeal with earnestness in the Lord to your eminent piety, venerable brethren, that with all solicitude and zeal you may assiduously exert yourselves to admonish and exhort the faithful committed to your care, to the end that firmly adhering to these principles they may never suffer themselves to be deceived or led away into error by those men who, having become abomin-

* S. Ambros. in Psal. 40.

† Concil. Chalced. Act. 2.

‡ Synod. Ephes. Act. 3.

§ S. Petr. Chrysol. Epist. ad Eutich.

|| Concil. Trid. Sess. VII., de Baptist.

¶ S. Cyprian. Epist. 55, ad Cornel. Pontif.

** Litter. Synod. Joann. Constantinop. ad Hormisd. Pontif. et Sozom. Histor. Lib. 3, cap. 8.

†† S. August. Epist. 162.

‡‡ S. Irenæus, Lib. 3, contra hæreses, cap. 3.

§§ S. Hieronym. Epist. ad Damas. Pontif.

able by their pursuits, under the pretence of human 'progress,' labor to undermine faith, impiously to subject faith to reason, and to overthrow the revealed word of God; who hesitate not to offer the highest insult and outrage to God himself, who hath deigned his holy religion most graciously to provide for the good of men here and their salvation hereafter.

"You are already well acquainted, venerable brethren, with other monsters of error, and the frauds with which the children of the present age strive bitterly to beset the Catholic religion and the divine authority of the Church; to oppose its laws, and to trample on the rights of the sacred as well as of the civil power. To this point tend those guilty conspiracies against this Roman chair of the blessed Peter, on which Christ laid the irremovable foundations of his Church. To this point tend the operations of those secret societies, emerging from their native darkness for the ruin and devastation of the common weal, as well sacred as social, who have been again and again condemned with anathema by the Roman pontiffs our predecessors, in their apostolic letters,* which we, in the plenitude of our apostolic power, confirm, and command to be most strictly observed. This, also, is the tendency and design of those insidious Bible societies, which, renewing the crafts of the ancient heretics, cease not to obtrude upon all kinds of men, even the least instructed, gratuitously and at immense expense, copies in vast numbers of the books of the Sacred Scriptures translated against the holiest rules of the Church into various vulgar tongues, and very often with the most perverse and erroneous interpretations, to the end that divine tradition, the doctrine of the fathers, and the authority of the Catholic Church being rejected, every man may interpret the revelations of the Almighty according to his own private judgment, and perverting their sense, fall into the most dangerous errors. Which societies, emulous of his predecessor, Gregory XVI., of blessed memory, to whose place we have been permitted to succeed without his merits, reproved by his apostolic letter,† and we desire equally to condemn. Still, to the same point tends that horrible system, extremely repugnant even to the light of natural reason, of indifference to every kind of religion, by which these impostors, abolishing all distinction between truth and falsehood, between honesty and baseness, pretend to secure eternal salvation to men of any form of worship whatsoever, as if it were possible that there should be any participation of justice with iniquity, any association of light with darkness, any agreement between Christ and Belial. To this point tends that infamous conspiracy against the sacred celibacy of the clergy, which,

* Clemens. XII., Const. In eminenti, Bened. XIV., Constit. Providas, Pius VII., Ecclesiam a Jesu Christo, Leo XII., Const. Quo graviora.

† Gregor. XVI. In Litteris Encyclicis ad omnes Episcopos, quarum initium, Inter præcipuas machinationes.

Oh! shame, has been encouraged even by some ecclesiastics, who, miserably forgetful of their proper dignity, have suffered themselves to be overcome and drawn aside by the seductions and the blandishments of illicit pleasure. To this point tends that perverse theory of education, especially in philosophy, which in a most pitiable manner deceives and corrupts ingenuous youth, and commends to it the gall of the dragon in the chalice of Babylon. To this point tends the shameful doctrine, so especially adverse to natural right, of what is called *Communism*; a doctrine which if once admitted, the rights of all men, their property, their privileges, nay, the social system itself, even from its foundation, would be overthrown. Again, to this same point tend the darkly hidden snares of those who with the outside of the sheep, but ravening wolves within, under the false and fraudulent pretence of a purer piety, of severer virtue, and with an appearance of humility, enter in, mildly take, softly bind, secretly slay and deter men from the observance of any religious worship, and kill and tear to pieces the sheep of the Lord.

“Lastly, to this point tends, omitting other things which are well observed by and fully known to you, that most foul plague of books and pamphlets, flying everywhere, and inculcating sin; which books, being ably written and full of fallacies and artfulness, are spread abroad throughout all parts, among Christian people, at enormous expense, and everywhere disseminate pestiferous doctrines, depraving the minds and souls, especially of the incautious, and working the greatest possible injuries to religion.

“From this overflow of errors and the unbridled license of thinking, speaking, and writing, public morals are deteriorated, the most holy religion of Christ despised, the majesty of the divine worship scorned, the power of this Apostolic See is thwarted, the authority of the Church opposed and reduced to a vile servitude, the rights of bishops trampled under foot, the sanctity of marriage violated, the influence of all power melted away, and with so many other evils to the Christian commonwealth, as well as to the civil state, that we are compelled, venerable brethren, to weep over them, and mingle our tears with yours.

“Therefore, in such vicissitudes of religious affairs, and in such critical periods, we being earnestly solicitous for the safety of the whole flock of the Lord divinely committed to our care, shall certainly not leave untried or unattempted any duty of our apostolic ministry, by which, with all our strength, we may seek counsel for the good of the whole Christian family. But at the same time we, earnestly in the Lord, appeal to your eminent piety and prudence, venerable brethren, that with help from heaven you may with us boldly defend the cause of God and of his holy Church as becomes the place you hold and the dignity with which you are invested.

“That it becomes you to fight valiantly, you will understand, as you are not ignorant with how many and how great wounds the stainless spouse of Christ is pierced, and with how fierce an assault of bitter enemies she is beset. You know especially to defend and preserve the Catholic faith with episcopal strength and firmness, and to watch with unceasing care that the flock committed to you may be retained in that faith firmly and immovably, which unless one preserves whole and uncorrupted, without doubt he shall perish eternally. In order, therefore, to preserve and protect this faith by the discharge of your pastoral duties, apply yourselves diligently and without ceasing to instruct in it all men, to confirm those who waver, to convince those who gainsay it, to strengthen the weak in faith, never overlooking or enduring any thing which may appear even in the slightest degree to violate the purity of the faith. With no less energy of mind should you encourage in all things union with this Catholic Church, beyond which there is no salvation ; and obedience towards this chair of Saint Peter, whereon the whole superstructure of our holy religion rests, as on a secure foundation.

“And with equal constancy watch over the keeping of the most holy laws of the Church, by which indeed virtue, religion, and piety do best increase and flourish.

“And ‘as it is great piety to lay bare the lurking places of the wicked, and in them to overcome the devil himself, whom they serve,’* we entreat and admonish you that with diligence and labor you expose to the faithful the multiform snares, deceptions, errors, frauds, and machinations of evil men, and that you diligently turn them away from pestiferous books, and strenuously exhort them that flying away as from the face of a serpent, from the sects and the associations of the impious, they may most carefully avoid all things that are hurtful to the integrity of faith, religion, and morals. For this purpose let it never happen that you desist from preaching the Gospel, for by that means the Christian people becoming daily more instructed in the precepts of the most holy Christian law, may increase in the knowledge of God, avoid evil and do good, and walk in the way of the Lord.

“And as you know that your ministry is the ministry of Christ, who declared himself meek and humble of heart, and who came to call not the just, but sinners, leaving to us an example that we might follow in his footsteps, do not fail in the spirit of lenity and meekness, with fatherly admonition and advice, to correct, reprove, entreat, or rebuke in all gentleness with patience and doctrine those whom you find breaking the commandments of the Lord, and straying from the paths of truth and justice ; as

* S. Leo Serm. VIII., cap. 4.

benevolence is often more efficacious in correction than authority, entreaty more than menace, and charity more than power.*

“This also, venerable brothers, strive with all your energies to accomplish, that the faithful may cultivate charity, seek peace, zealously perform the duties of charity and peace, so that all dissensions, enmities, strife, and envyings being destroyed, all may delight in mutual charity, and being perfectly of one mind and one feeling, they may feel and speak, and know the same things in Christ Jesus our Lord.

“Apply yourselves to inculcate on the Christian people the due obedience and subjection towards princes and powers, teaching according to the admonition of the apostle,† that there is no power except it be of God, and that to resist power of God’s ordination is to draw down condemnation on themselves, and therefore the precept to obey the powers that be can never now, by any individual, be violated without crime, unless, indeed, the thing commanded be opposed to the laws of God and the Church.

“Now, as there is nothing which more incites others to piety and constantly disposes to the worship of God than the life and example of those who dedicate themselves to the divine ministry,‡ and as the priests are, so does it often happen the people are also—you will, in your singular wisdom, perceive, venerable brothers, that it will behoove you to use great care and zeal, that in the clergy a gravity of manners, integrity of life, holiness and learning may shine out, and ecclesiastical discipline be strictly preserved, as prescribed by the canons of the Church, and where it has lapsed may be restored to its pristine splendor.

“Therefore, as you very well know, it becomes you to be wary, that, according to the precept of the apostle, you may not hastily or lightly impose hands on any one, and that you initiate into holy orders, or admit to the administration of the sacred mysteries those only who, strictly and carefully examined and proved, appear adorned with all virtues, and, regarded with approval by the wise, may become to your dioceses both of use and ornament, and who, declining all things which are forbidden to the clergy, and lending themselves to reading, exhortation, and teaching, may be an example to the faithful in word, deed, in charity, faith, and chastity;§ may win reverence from all men, and help to form the people’s minds, and inflame and excite to the love of the Christian religion. For ‘it is better,’ as Benedict XIV., our predecessor of blessed memory, said, ‘to have fewer ministers, but those honest, suitable, and useful, than a larger number of men who, for the edification of the body of Christ, which is the Church, might be of no avail.’

* Concil. Triden. Sess. XIII., Cap. I, de Reformat.

† Concil. Trid. Sess. XXII., Cap. 4, de Reform.

‡ Ad Roman. xiii., 1, 2.

§ Ad Timoth. 4, 12.

"You are not ignorant that you ought, with even greater care, to inquire concerning the morals and the science of those to whom is committed the direction of souls, that they, as faithful dispensers of the treasures of God's grace, may continually apply themselves to support and assist the people confided to them, by the administration of the sacraments, the preaching of the divine word, and the example of good works, instilling into them the precepts of the Gospel, and leading them into the paths of salvation.*

"You know that the clergy being ignorant or negligent of their duties, the morals of the people also instantly fall away, Christian discipline is relaxed, the practice of religion abused, and all the vices easily glide into the Church. Lest the word of God which, 'full of life and power, and sharper than a two-edged sword,'† was established for the salvation of souls, should become unfruitful through the ministers, cease not, venerable brothers, to demand of the preachers of the divine word, that being themselves deeply penetrated with that same divine word, that well considering in their own souls the gravity of their office, they may exercise their evangelic ministry, not in the persuasive words of human wisdom, not with the parade and vanity of ambitious eloquence, but with the assistance of the spirit and virtue from on high. That rightly treating the word of truth, and preaching not their own selves, but Christ crucified, they may announce to the people in clear and intelligent language, yet in a style full of dignity, the dogmas and precepts of our holy religion, according to the Catholic Church and the fathers, so that by detailed explanations of individual duties all may be turned from crime and won to piety, and thus the faithful, fed and nourished by the word of God, may abstain from all vices, practise all virtues, escape eternal punishment, and attain to heavenly glory.

"In your episcopal solicitude assiduously warn all ecclesiastics, and exhort them to consider seriously the ministry which they have received from God, so that they exactly fulfil its obligations, that they may have at heart supremely the glories of God's house, that they give themselves up unceasingly to prayer, and the recitation of the canonical hours conformably to the precept of the Church, with a view to obtain divine assistance for the accomplishment of their important duties of appeasing God and rendering him propitious to the Christian people.

"As you are not ignorant, venerable brothers, that the education of clerks is the only means of procuring good ministers for the Church, and that it exercises great influence throughout the whole course of life, continue to use all your efforts that young clerks may be formed, even from their tender years, to piety and solid virtue, to a knowledge of letters, to

* Bened. XIV., in Epist. Encycl. ad omnes Episcopos, cujus initium, Ubi primum.

† Ad Hebr. 4, v. 12.

the study of the sciences, and, above all, of sacred science. Having nothing so much at heart as to establish seminaries for clerks according to the precepts of the fathers of Trent,* where they do not exist; to increase and enlarge, if need be, those that are; to give them excellent superiors and masters, and to watch over them incessantly till young clerks be educated in the fear of the Lord, in the love of ecclesiastical discipline, may be therein formed to the knowledge of the sacred sciences, according to the Catholic doctrine, and without any fear of error, taught the traditions of the Church, and the writings of the holy fathers; instructed in ceremonies and sacred rites, you may add to them kind, skilful, and courageous workmen, who, animated with the ecclesiastical spirit, and formed by fitting studies, may, in time, cultivate the field of the Lord, and diligently fight his battles.

“Moreover, understanding as you do that nothing tends more to support and preserve the dignity and holiness of the priesthood than the pious institution of spiritual exercises, encourage with all your influence this salutary work; cease not to exhort all those who have been called to the heritage of the Lord to withdraw themselves into some place proper for these exercises, so that being freed from the distraction of external affairs, and exclusively devoted to meditation on internal and divine truths, they may purify themselves from the stains contracted amid the dust of the world, steep themselves in the ecclesiastical spirit, lay aside the old man and his works, and clothe themselves with the new man, created in holiness and justice. If we have spoken at length on the subject of the education and discipline of the clergy, regret it not, for you know that there is a multitude of men, who, disgusted with the variety, inconstancy, and multiplicity of errors, feel the necessity of embracing our holy religion, and, with the blessing of God, they will decide the more easily on embracing the precepts and practices of this religion when they see that its clergy are distinguished from other men by the piety and purity of their life, the repute of their wisdom, and the example set by them of all the virtues.

“Finally, most dear brethren, we have the consoling conviction that, inflamed as you are with an ardent charity towards God and man, and with great love of the Church, enriched with all but angelic virtues, gifted with episcopal courage and prudence, all animated with one holy desire, walking in the footsteps of, and imitating, as becomes bishops, him whose ambassadors you are, Jesus Christ, the model of all pastors, become, through your union, the form and rule of the flock, enlightening with the rays of your holiness the clergy and the faithful, having bowels of mercy, compassionating the lot of those who wander in the darkness of ignorance and

* Concil. Trid. Sess. XXIII., Cap. 18, de Reform.

error; we have, we say, the consoling conviction that you are disposed, after the example of the shepherd in the Gospel, to go eagerly in search of the sheep which is lost, to bear it with fatherly tenderness upon your shoulders, to bring it back to the flock; and that you will spare neither care, nor counsel, nor labor, to fulfil religiously the duties of the pastoral charge, to put in safety from the rage, the attacks, and ambuscades of ravishing wolves the sheep that were bought with the blood of Jesus Christ, confided to your care, and who are all very dear to us; to turn them from the poisons of error, to lead them into rich pastures, and bring them by your care, your exertions and example, to the gates of eternal salvation.

“Advance with all your power, venerable brothers, the glory of God and of the Church, and by your activity, zeal, vigilance, and harmony, endeavor that all errors being dissipated, and vices rooted out, faith, religion, piety, and virtue may increase from day to day in all places, and that all the faithful, renouncing the works of darkness, conduct themselves in a manner worthy of children of light, seeking in all things the good pleasure of God, and laboring to do all kinds of good works. In the midst of so many grave embarrassments, difficulties, and inseparable dangers, above all, at this present time of your episcopal charge, be not beaten down with fear, but seek strength in the Lord, and confiding in the power of his grace, think that from the height of heaven he has fixed his eyes on those that struggle for the glory of his name, that he applauds those who venture nobly, that he aids those who fight, and crowns those who conquer.*

“As we love you all very dearly in the bowels of Jesus Christ, and desire nothing so much as to help you with our love, our counsels, and our power, and to labor with you for the glory of God, the defence and propagation of the Catholic faith, and the salvation of those souls for whom we are ready to sacrifice, if necessary, our own life, come then, we conjure you, venerable brethren, come with open hearts and entire confidence to this See of the blessed prince of the apostles, the centre of Catholic unity and fount of episcopacy, whence the episcopate itself and all authority of that name was drawn, come to us whenever you think that you have need of the help or protection of our authority, and that of this Holy See.

“We confidently hope that our dear sons in Jesus Christ, the princes, recollecting in their wisdom and piety that the regal power was given them not only for the government of the world, but especially for the defence of the Church,† and that we maintain at one and the same time the cause of the Church, that of their kingdoms and of their salvation, by

* S. Cyprian. Epist. 77, ad Nemesianum et ceteros martyres.

† S. Leo Epist. 136 al. 125, ad Leonem Augustum.

which they enjoy in peace their authority over their provinces,* that they will favor by their support and authority the vows and desires that we form in common, and that they will defend the liberty and prosperity of the Church, in order that the right hand of Christ may defend their empires.

“To obtain the happy accomplishment of these wishes, let us go with confidence, venerable brothers, to the throne of grace, and all penetrated with a deep feeling of humility, address unceasingly to the Father of Mercies and God of all consolation the most urgent prayers, that by the merits of his only Son he may deign to spread over our weakness the abundance of his heavenly gifts, that he will overthrow our enemies by his powerful virtue, that he will make the faith flourish everywhere with truth and piety, devotion and peace, and that, dissipating all errors and all oppositions, the Church may enjoy her much-desired liberty, and that there will be but one flock and one Shepherd.

“And that the most merciful God may more readily hear our prayers and grant our desires, let us have recourse to the intercession of the most holy Mother of God, the Immaculate Virgin Mary, our most sweet mother, our mediatrix, our advocate, our firmest hope, the source of our confidence, and whose protection is most powerful and most efficacious with God. Let us invoke also the prince of the apostles to whom Christ gave the keys of the kingdom of heaven, whom he chose for the foundation-stone of his Church, against which the gates of hell shall never prevail, and his co-apostle Paul, and all the saints of heaven, who, already crowned, possess the palm, that they may obtain for all Christian people the treasures of divine mercy.

“Finally, as the presage of these heavenly gifts, and in testimony of our great love towards you, receive the apostolic benediction, which we give from the bottom of our heart, to you our venerable brothers, to all the ecclesiastics, and all the faithful laity confided to your charge.

“Given at Rome, at the church of Saint Mary the Greater, on the 9th day of November, in the year 1846, in the first year of our pontificate.”

The temporal miseries of the faithful people of Ireland touched the heart of Pius, who, on the 25th of March, 1847, issued this encyclical letter :

“Encyclical letter of our Most Holy Father, Pius IX., by Divine Providence Pope, to all Patriarchs, Primates, Archbishops, and Bishops, to implore the divine assistance for the kingdom of Ireland.

“Venerable brethren, grace and apostolic benediction :

“It is well known to you, venerable brethren, to whom the history of the

* S. Leo, Epist. 43, al. 36, ad Theodosium Augustum.

Church is familiar, and by whom it has been examined, that our predecessors, the Roman pontiffs, always displayed a diligent and anxious care to assist all Christian nations in whatever manner they could. Neither are you ignorant that that salutary and most pleasing zeal did not embrace merely spiritual blessings conferred upon the Christian world, but that it was employed in alleviating those public calamities by which each Christian nation was at any time afflicted. The records of ancient* and modern times, and our own recollection, and that of our fathers confirm this; and indeed to whom could it, or ought it to have been more appropriate to have constantly before them this paternal solicitude to raise up all Christians, than those whom the Catholic faith points out as the "fathers and teachers of all Christians?"† To whom was it more natural that nations suffering from calamity should fly, than to those who, being placed in the highest positions in the Church, have proved by the lengthened experience of time and of acts, that they are '*urged on by the charity of Christ?*'

"Being moved by this example of our predecessors, and, at the same time, by the inclination of our own will, when first we learned that the kingdom of Ireland was involved in a great dearth of corn, and a scarcity of other provisions, and that that nation was suffering from a most dreadful complication of diseases brought on by want of food, we instantly applied every means, as far as in us lay, to succor that afflicted people. Therefore, we proclaimed that, in this our city, prayers should be poured forth, and we encouraged the clergy, the Roman people, and those who were sojourning in this city, to send assistance to Ireland. By which means it was arranged that, partly by money cheerfully sent by ourselves, and partly that which was collected in Rome, assistance, as far as the necessities of the time permitted, could be forwarded to our venerable brethren, the archbishops of Ireland, which they might distribute according to the conditions of the respective localities, and of their suffering people. But letters are still brought to us from Ireland, and accounts are daily related to us respecting the calamities mentioned above still continuing in that island—nay, even increasing—which afflict our mind with in-

* See Eusebius' Ecclesiastical History, book iv., chapter 23 (Cambridge edition), where he speaks of a letter of Dionysius, the bishop of the Corinthians, to Soter, the Roman pontiff, in which he says that from the earliest days of religion the Church at Rome was accustomed to transmit the necessary support of life to Christians, and that this custom was advanced by the holy Bishop Soter. See also the same author, book vii., chapter 5, in which place he makes mention of the letter of Dionysius, the bishop of Alexandria, to Pope Stephen I., who had sent necessary aid to the provinces of Syria and Arabia. There is also a letter of Saint Basil to Saint Damasus, pope, in which he speaks of the aid sent by Saint Dionysius, pope, to the church of Cæsars.—*Works of Saint Basil*, vol. iii., edition Maurin, letter 70.

† Council of Florence in the definition of faith.

credible grief, and urgently impel us again to afford assistance to the Irish nation. And what effort ought we not to make to raise up that nation, now suffering under such a disaster, when we know how great the fidelity of the clergy of the people of Ireland is, and always has been, towards the Apostolic See—how, in the most dangerous times, their firmness in the profession of the Catholic religion has been conspicuous—by what labor the clergy of Ireland have toiled for the propagation of the Catholic religion in the remotest regions of the world; and finally, with what zeal for piety and religion the divine Peter, whose dignity (to use the words of Leo the Great) is not the less in an unworthy heir,* is among the Irish nation honored and distinguished in our humble person.

“Therefore, so important an affair being well weighed, and the opinions of some of our venerable brethren—their eminences the cardinals—being taken on the subject, we have resolved, venerable brethren, that this letter should be written to you, that, together with you, we might have regard for the necessities of the Irish nation.

“We therefore authorize you all, that, in your dioceses, or in those districts subject to your jurisdiction, as has been done in Rome, you will appoint public prayers to be offered up for three days in the churches and other places, by which God, the Father of mercies, being moved, may free the Irish nation from so great a calamity, and avert such a disaster from the other kingdoms and regions of Europe. And that these things may be done with the greater alacrity and utility, we grant an indulgence of seven years to those who shall be present on any one occasion at these prayers; but to those who shall be present at the offering up of these prayers during the entire triduum, and who, within a week of the triduum, being purified in the sacrament of penance, shall receive the most holy sacrament of the eucharist, we, by our apostolic authority, hereby grant a plenary indulgence.

“That, however, venerable brethren, which we for the most part leave to your own charity, is, that by your exhortations you excite the people who are subject to your jurisdiction to assist the people of Ireland with the gifts of charity. We know, indeed, that you do not require that we should point out to you the excellence of charity, and the plenteous fruits which, springing from it, tend to obtain the mercy of the great and good God. You have the praises of alms-deeds discussed with learning and wisdom in the works of the holy fathers of the church, and especially St. Leo the Great in his numerous discourses.† You have also at hand the most excellent epistle, written by St. Cyprian the Martyr, bishop of Carthage, to the

* Second sermon on the anniversary of his elevation to the papal chair.

† Letter on the first of the tenth month, and also upon alms.

bishops of Numidia,* which contains clear evidence of the extraordinary zeal with which the people committed to his pastoral care succored with large gifts the Christians who stood in need of help. You may also remember the observations of St. Ambrose, the bishop of Milan,† that “the beauty of riches is not in the purses of the opulent, but in the nourishment of the poor; that wealth shines best when diffused amongst the infirm and the starving; and that Christians ought to learn that Christ demands of them to seek with their money, not the mere performance of their own will, but that of Christ.” Therefore, confidently recollecting these and similar passages in the spirit of charity, we hope that you will be enabled to be of very great service to those poor sufferers of whom we now write.

“Here we might make an end of writing; but when, in obedience to our wishes, you are proclaiming public prayers, we do not wish you to omit that “*our daily urgency and the anxiety of all the churches*”‡ admonishes us night and day. It is still before our eyes what a fierce and dreadful tempest has been raised against all the Church; it pains the mind to recollect “*what things the enemy hath done wickedly in the sanctuary*,”§ and how dangerous are the present “*designs against the Lord*”|| and his Christ; therefore this we especially commend to you, that the occasion of public prayers for Ireland being used, you may lead the people trusted to your care to pray at the same time to God for the entire Church.

“In the mean time, venerable brethren, we affectionately impart to you the apostolical benediction.

“Given at Rome, at St. Mary Major’s, on the 25th day of March, 1847, in the first year of our pontificate.”

On the 17th of June, 1847, he issued another encyclical addressed to the heads of all religious orders, calling for a restoration of discipline.

But Pius was not satisfied with merely instituting a special congregation on the condition of Regular Orders. He watched personally over the enforcement of his wise recommendations, determined that they should not be a dead letter in Rome. One evening, at a late hour, he presented himself, attended by a single chamberlain, at the gate of a convent, and asked for the prior. The porter, not seeing the pope’s white soutaine through the wicket, replied: “Is this a time to come knocking at a convent door? The prior is in bed, and the community asleep. Come back to-morrow.” But

* Edit. Bal., letter 60, in which Saint Cyprian, speaking of money collected at Carthage, and sent to the bishops of Numidia for the ransom of Christians, says: “We have sent a hundred thousand sestertia, which have been collected here in the church over which, by the permission of the Lord, we preside, by the subscriptions of the clergy and people amongst us, which you will distribute according to your judgment.

† Epistle ii. to Bishop Constantine, in the second volume of the Paris edition, 1690.

‡ Cor. ii., 2, 28.

§ Ps. 73, 3.

|| Ps. 3, 2.

the visitor insisted: "Go tell your prior that brother Mastai wishes to speak to him instantly." The porter opened his eyes, recognized the pope, and, all confusion, admitted him. Pius IX. inspected the convent and wished the roll called. Two religious failed to answer. An excuse was made that the heat had forced them to seek cooler lodgings without. Pius IX. justly reproached the prior, and showed him, by his own example, how to restore the discipline which had grown so lax. The next day he ordered the two religious to expiate their fault in a house of ecclesiastical correction.

The pope thus found time to fulfil in person some of the duties of bishop of Rome. About six months after his exaltation, on the last day of the octave of the Epiphany, in 1847, Rome beheld a spectacle which it had not witnessed since the days of Saint Gregory VII. Some days before, Pius, afflicted at the habitual profanation of the name of God among workmen, and their neglect of the laws of fasting and abstinence, opened his heart to Father Ventura, and reproached him with not denouncing these culpable practices from the pulpit. "I have often done it," replied Father Ventura, "but without success." "I would gladly try in my turn," said Pius IX., "but it is so long since a pope has appeared in the pulpit, and I am so destitute of eloquence, that I fear I will succeed no better." "Your Holiness is mistaken; the love of the people for your person is at least a sure pledge of the attention which they will pay to your words." "Well, you decide it for me. You are to preach on the 13th of January, at Saint Andrea della Valle. Resign your place to me, but keep my secret."

On that day, at half-past three, the congregation who expected to see Father Ventura, beheld the pope advance towards the strada, which, in Italian churches, serves as a pulpit. The emotion produced by so new a spectacle found vent in exclamations and cries, which even the sanctity of the place could not prevent. Profound silence followed, and naught was heard but the voice of the Pastor of Pastors.

"I cannot, without lively emotion, my beloved children, recall the tokens of love which you came to offer me on the first day of the year. My heart thanked you for your wishes, and referring, as I should, to the honor of God what you do for me, his unworthy vicar. I invited you to bless the name of our Lord by these words: 'Sit nomen Domini benedictum'—'Blessed be the name of the Lord.' You all replied with an accent of faith: 'Ex hoc nunc et usque in sæculum,'—'Now and forever.' I remind you of this solemn engagement, for there are in this city, the centre of Catholicity, men, few indeed in number, who profane the holy name of God by blasphemy. Do you all, who are here present, receive this mission from me: Proclaim everywhere that I expect nothing from these men. They hurl against heaven the stone which will crush them in its fall. It is heaping up the measure of ingratitude to blaspheme the name of the common Father

who gives us life, and with life all the blessings we enjoy. Tell those of my children who offend him by such outrages, no longer to give such scandal in the holy city.

"I wish also to speak to you of the precept of fasting. A great many parents have told me of the sufferings they experience in beholding the demon of impurity exercise his ravages among the young men. Our Lord himself tells us in the Gospel, that by prayer and fasting is this devastating demon chained, who goes ravaging the earth, and who not only poisons the sources of the life of individuals, families, and all society, but who especially consummates the ruin of immortal souls.

"After these two counsels, it remains for me to pray God to bless you all: Lord, look down from heaven; turn towards us thy quickening glance. Visit this vineyard which thy right hand hath planted. It is thine, O Lord; thou hast watered it with thy blood; thou hast preserved it. Visit it, not to punish the wicked, but to make them feel the sweet effects of thy mercy. Visit it to heal the wound of incredulity which devours the world. Visit it, and visiting it remove that iron hand which weighs so heavily on it. Pour into the heart of the rising generation those two dearest attributes of youth, modesty and docility. Extinguish those fatal animosities which divide citizens and array them against each other. Visit it, O Lord, and visiting it warn the sentinels of Israel to give good example and arm themselves with divine strength and prudence to watch over the interests of the people committed to their care!

"Vouchsafe, O my God, to hear my prayer, and pour forth on this people, on this city, and on the whole world, thy sweetest benedictions!"

God was not invoked in vain by the Holy Father or his children. Divine grace was visible in the tears which flowed from all eyes. It was manifest in the repentance which touched all hearts, and in the resolutions formed on the spot.

The whole city was affected almost as much as the auditory at Saint Andrew's had been, and the labors of apostolic men received new animation, and new blessings from the impulse given.

In every way Pius showed himself a father to his people. The poorest and the humblest had access to him. One day as the pope was about entering his carriage, at the door of the Quirinal, he saw a poor boy sobbing bitterly. The guards were driving the lad away, but the pope called him and asked his trouble. "They have just put my father in prison, for a debt of twelve dollars." The Holy Father turned to his attendants, and asked them to lend him the money. None of them having money about them, Pius himself went back to his room and got the money, with which he sent off the delighted boy.

Another boy wrote directly to the pope: "Holy Father, my mother is a

widow, sick and infirm ; she is in the most frightful want. I am left alone to support and nurse her. But I cannot buy things she needs absolutely, not even medicine." He closed by asking the Holy Father for thirty-three paolis,* saying that he would go to the Quirinal the next day for it. When he made his appearance, Pius ordered him to be brought in. After questioning him, the pope gave him two gold pieces. "You give me too much," said the boy, "and I have no change." The pope told him to keep it all, and dismissed him. He sent, however, to examine into the truth of the boy's story, and finding it correct, sent for the boy, and told him that he would see to his education and future prospects. "Ah!" said the boy, "that cannot be ; mother has no one but me, and I cannot leave her." "Well," said the Holy Father, "as your mother is so poor, and you are so devoted to her, I will take charge of both of you."

A young girl, driven by want, sold the gold cross which Roman maidens always wear around their necks, and part with as reluctantly almost as with life. She then bought a supply of bread for her poor old mother. "Here," she said, "is bread for some days, and they say that work is going to be plenty. Pius IX. has given orders. We shall not starve again. Cheer up, God will not forsake us, and the Holy Father is watching over us." He was watching, though by what secret means his charity discovered their situation is not known ; but that very evening the poor girl received a letter from the Quirinal, and opening it found five pieces of gold and her beloved cross. "My dear child," said the letter, "you have reason to hope in God ; he will never abandon filial piety. You are right, too, in putting your hope in Pius IX. ; he watches over you and your mother, and you shall not starve."

The elevation to the highest position on earth had not changed the heart of the director of the *Tata Giovanni*. He was everywhere endearing himself to all. Addressing children about to make their first communion, visiting hospital, hospices, wherever his presence would alleviate suffering or throw a gleam of joy. One day, when visiting the hospital of the Holy Ghost, he saw in the paralytic ward an old woman who had been admitted on his recommendation. She was straining every nerve to rise and pay homage to her sovereign and pontiff. Pius went up to her, blessed her, and gave her his hand to kiss, saying : "Do not trouble yourself, good mother." The sick woman, emboldened by his goodness, seized the hand that binds and looses, rose up and walked as in the days of her youth and strength.

The following is another instance of his equity and charity :

A certain old gentleman of Rome had two sons. And it seems that he was getting very infirm, and had some thoughts of making his will. Now one of his sons he loved more than the other, and he told his favorite that

* The paoli is worth about as much as an American dime.

he should have the greater part of his money, while the other brother was to inherit but a small share. Soon after this conversation, it chanced that the same son did something that displeased his father, and caused the old man to change his mind about the distribution of his money; and now he told his other son exactly what he had already told his favorite: that the money should be his, and that the other should go penniless. When the brothers came to compare notes on the subject, they found the old man's temper to be so variable, that they thought it not at all improbable he might finally do something very extraordinary with his money; so they made the following agreement with each other. No matter which of them should inherit the wealth, they would divide it equally between them. Alas for their scheme! The old father found it all out, and to punish them, came to the following strange determination. He bequeathed them a few crowns each; but the main bulk of his wealth he left to a certain church, which he named, and whatever priest said the first mass in that church on the day after the old man's death, was to inherit the whole. After this disposition of his effects he had no more time to change his mind, for he died almost immediately. His lawyer opened his will at once, and could not believe his eyes nor his senses when he read the strange document. But there it was in black and white; the two sons were beggars. But it was a sad pity; and the lawyer determined to lay the whole matter before the pope, and see if he could do nothing in behalf of the two poor youths. He accordingly went to the Quirinal palace; and after a little difficulty obtained an audience of His Holiness. On being ushered into the presence-chamber, he approached him with the usual genuflections, and having kissed the cross on the pope's sandal, he briefly stated what was his business, and put the will before His Holiness for his perusal. He ran his eye over it, and as soon as he comprehended the matter, he desired the advocate to leave the will with him, promising at the same time that he would look to the affair at once. Satisfied with his success, the lawyer returned and communicated the issue of his mission to the disconsolate brothers, who were impatiently awaiting his coming.

Turn we now to the church where the important mass is to be said. It is early dawn of the following day; the sacristans are at their work, preparing for the masses that are continually said from day-break to mid-day. They are ignorant of the important results that are to attend the first mass said in their church that day; but are laboring assiduously in arranging the vestments, and the chalices, and the lights, and the rest of the church furniture, when they are aware of a most unseasonable rolling and rumbling of carriage-wheels about their church door. Anon, in march the Swiss guard, armed with sword and halbert, and station themselves in goodly array up the centre of the nave; and now appear the prelates of the pope's

household, clad in their rich purple robes; then is seen the silver cross gleaming aloft, and last appears Pope Pius with his benignant smile, and his graceful step. He has come to say mass in the church, and he says it—the first: and he claims the legacy for his own. And then he summoned the two brothers to his presence, and he told them what he had done, and concluded by presenting the whole and entire inheritance to them, to be equally divided between them. He begged they would allow him to appropriate one hundred crowns to a certain charity in Rome, for the support of aged widows; and very little demur made they. Then he gave them his blessing, and bade them go in peace, and not to forget to be mindful of the poor and needy.

Meanwhile, Cardinal Gizzi, from failing health, was compelled to retire from the ministry, and Pius called to the position of secretary of state Cardinal Feretti, a native of Ancona, and bishop of Rieti under Leo XII., a man of piety, ability, firmness, and energy.

He assumed his duties as secretary on the 26th of July, 1847. Austria, alarmed at the evident spread of revolutionary doctrines in Italy, and foreseeing that a war for a confederated and united Italy would soon endeavor to sweep away its influence in the peninsula, marched troops into Ferrara and took possession of the city and district. Foe of revolution, it made a revolutionary step, and opened a long series of events which finally reduced her to a comparatively secondary position in Europe.

On the 6th and 13th of August Cardinal Ciacchi, legate at Ferrara, protested against the invasion, and the pontifical government inserted a manifesto in the *Diario di Roma*, and addressed an energetic protest to the cabinet of Vienna. The revolutionary party eagerly caught up the opportunity, and all was preparation for war against Austria. Pius saw the terrible elements at work when the revolutionists paraded the streets, exulting over the overthrow of the Catholic party in Switzerland, and shouting: "Hurrah for Pius IX.! The Diet forever! Hurrah for the Confederation, Gioberti and Switzerland! Down with the Jesuits!"

In an allocution to the cardinals, at a secret consistory, held on the 17th December, 1847, Pius IX. expressed his gratification in having appointed bishops to various Sees in Spain; after which he alludes to the negotiation with Russia, which he hopes will be favorably terminated, and to his rejection of certain traditions derogatory to the rights of the Holy See, and of which he had been accused of admitting. He then proceeded:

"But there is yet another thing, which afflicts and troubles our mind exceedingly. It is assuredly not unknown to you, venerable brethren, that in our times, many of the enemies of the Catholic faith especially direct their efforts towards placing every monstrous opinion on the same level with the doctrine of Christ, or confounding it therewith, and so they try

more and more to propagate that impious system of the *indifference* of religions. But, quite of late, we shudder to say it, certain men have appeared, who have thrown such reproaches upon our name and apostolical dignity, that they do not hesitate to slander us, as if we shared in their folly, and favored the aforesaid most wicked system. From the measures, by no means alien to the sanctity of the Catholic religion, which, in certain affairs relating to the civil government of the pontifical States, we thought fit benignly to adopt, as tending to the public advantage and prosperity; and from the amnesty, graciously bestowed upon some of the subjects of the same States at the beginning of our pontificate, it appears that these men have desired to infer that we think so benevolently concerning every class of mankind as to suppose, that not only the sons of the Church, but that the rest also, however alienated from Catholic unity they may remain, are alike in the way of salvation, and may arrive at everlasting life. We are at a loss from horror to find words to express our detestation of this new and atrocious injustice that is done us. We do indeed love all mankind with the inmost affection of our heart, yet not otherwise than in the love of God, and of our Lord Jesus Christ, who came to seek and to save that which had perished, who died for all, who wills all men to be saved, and to come to the knowledge of the truth; who, therefore, sent his disciples into the whole world, to preach the Gospel to every creature, proclaiming that they who should believe and be baptized should be saved, but they who should believe not should be condemned: who therefore will be saved, let them come to the pillar and the ground of the faith, which is the Church, let them come to the true Church of Christ, which, in its bishops, and in the Roman pontiff, the chief head of all, has the succession of apostolical authority, never at any time interrupted, which has never counted aught of greater moment than to preach, and by all means to keep and defend the doctrine proclaimed by the apostles by Christ's command; which, from the apostles' time downward, has increased in the midst of difficulties of every kind; and being illustrious throughout the whole globe by the splendor of miracles, multiplied by the blood of martyrs, exalted by the virtues of confessors and virgins, strengthened by the most wise testimonies and writings of fathers, hath flourished and doth flourish in all the regions of the earth, and shines refulgent in the perfect unity of the faith, of sacraments, and of holy discipline. We, who, though unworthy, preside in this supreme seat of the apostle Peter, wherein Christ has laid the foundation of the same his Church, shall never at any time abstain from any cares or labors, that, by the grace of Christ himself, we may bring those who are ignorant, and who are going astray, to this only road of truth and salvation. But let whoever oppose themselves, remember that heaven and earth shall indeed pass away, but that nothing can ever pass away of the words of Christ, nor

change be made in the doctrine, which the Catholic Church has received from Christ, to be kept, defended, and preached.

“We are unable to refrain, venerable brethren, from next speaking to you concerning the bitter grief which has consumed us, from the circumstance that a few days ago, in this our city, the citadel and centre of the Catholic religion, some half-delirious persons could be found (few, certainly, in number), who, casting away even the feeling of humanity itself, did not shrink, amidst the greatest murmurs and indignation of other inhabitants of the city, from publicly and openly triumphing on the most mournful intestine war which lately broke out in Switzerland. Over that fatal war we do indeed grieve from our inmost heart, both because of the blood of that nation which has been shed, and the mutual slaughter of brethren, and the fierce, lasting, and lamentable discords, hatreds, and enmities which are wont, from civil wars especially, to redound upon men; and also because of the detriment to the interest of Catholicity, which we understand has arisen from thence, and we fear will still arise; and, lastly, because of the deplorable sacrilege committed in the first struggle, whereof our mind shuns the reflection.”

To make his position clear beyond all dispute, Pius IX., on the 10th of February, 1848, issued this address:

“Romans!

“The pontiff, who, for two years, has received from you so many proofs of love and fidelity, is deaf neither to your desires nor your fears. We incessantly consider how those civil institutions which we have created without being thereto constrained by any power, but guided simply by the need of the happiness of our people, and esteem for their noble qualities, may be developed and perfected without infringing on what we owe the Church.

“Before the public voice sought it, we had already given our attention to reorganizing the militia, and arranged to procure foreign officers to aid those who already serve the pontifical government with so much honor. In order to enlarge the sphere of action for all who, by their ability and experience, can contribute to the ameliorations of the State, we have also increased the number of laymen in our council of state. If the agreement of the sovereigns, to whom Italy owes the new reforms, is the guarantee of the preservation of those goods, welcomed with so much approbation and gratitude, we have cultivated this harmony by preserving and strengthening the most friendly relations with them. Nothing, in fine, that can contribute to the tranquillity and dignity of the State shall be neglected, Romans and pontifical subjects, by your father and sovereign, who has given you the most unmistakable proofs of his solicitude, and who stands

ready to give you still more, if only God vouchsafes to grant to his prayers the grace to behold your hearts, and those of all Italians, inspired by the pacific spirit of his wisdom. But on the other hand, he is ready to resist, resting on the very strength of the institutions already granted, all disorderly movements, in like manner as he would resist demands repugnant to his duty and your happiness.

“Hearken, then, to the paternal voice which seeks to reassure you; be not disturbed at the rumors spread by unknown mouths to agitate the nations of Italy by the bugbear of a foreign war, prepared and fomented by internal conspiracies, or by the ill-disposed inertia of those in power. It is naught but a snare. They wish to force you by terror to seek public safety in disorder; they wish to trouble you by the counsels of those who govern you by tumult and by confusion, to create pretexts for a war which they know they make upon us under no other pretext.

“What danger, in fact, can menace Italy, so long as a close bond of confidence and gratitude, undisturbed by any violence, shall unite the power of nations with the wisdom of princes and the sanctity of right! But we especially, we, head and supreme pontiff of the most holy Catholic religion, would we not have for our defence, if unjustly attacked, numerous children who would support, as being their father’s house, the centre of Catholic unity? It is a great gift of heaven, amid all the gifts which it has lavished on Italy, that our three millions of subjects have two hundred millions of brethren of every tongue and nation. This is what, in other times, and amid the confusion of the whole Roman world, saved Rome; this prevented the accomplishment of the utter ruin of Italy. This will always be its protection, as long as the Apostolic See stands in the centre of the Peninsula.

“Bless Italy, then, O great God! and ever preserve to it, the most precious of all thy gifts, faith! Bless it with the benediction which thy vicar humbly begs of thee, his forehead prone in the dust. Bless it with the benediction which is implored for it by the saints to whom it has given birth, by the queen of saints, who protects it, by the apostles, whose glorious relics it guards, and by thy Son, made Man, who has chosen this Rome for the residence of his representative on earth.

“Given at Rome, at Saint Mary Major’s, the 10th day of February, 1848.

“PIUS POPE IX.”

The next day Pius IX. convoked, at the Quirinal, the fourteen commanders of the battalions of the civic guard: “I have summoned you to me, gentlemen,” said he, “to ask whether I can rely on your fidelity and co-operation?” “Rely on us, most Holy Father.” “Can I also rely on the co-operation and fidelity of the civic guard?” The commanders hung down their heads as their only reply. “I foresaw it,” said the Holy Father.

And after recollecting himself a moment, and doubtless making his sacrifice to God, he said, with eyes bedewed with tears, yet in a voice full of firmness: "Gentlemen, the circumstances are so grave, and the state of affairs so pressing, that I must appeal to the loyalty of my civic guard. To that corps I confide my person, my property, the sacred college, the life and property of all the citizens, the maintenance of order, and the public peace. I think I cannot better place my trust than in that body which has given me, in so short a time, such manifold proofs of attachment. I have appointed a commission to collect all the measures which I have adopted, and to see what greater extent can be given to reforms, to place them more in harmony with actual needs and desires. I will increase the number of members in the council of state, and extend the sphere of their influence. A still greater good would have been done had not those whose concurrence I implored, attempted to impose conditions. These conditions I will never accept,—never! Mark it well. It shall never be said that the pope has consented to aught contrary to the Church and the principles of religion. If men seek to force me to it, if I behold myself forsaken by men whom I have so truly loved, and for whom I have done so much, I will not yield, I will cast myself into the arms of Providence, which will not forsake me. Let good citizens then be on their guard against the evil-disposed, who, under vain pretexts, only seek the overthrow of public order, so as more easily to lay hands on the property of others. The Constitution is not a new name for our country. The States which now possess it have copied it from us. We had a Chamber of Deputies in the College of Consistorial Advocates, and a Chamber of Peers in the Sacred College of Cardinals, even in the time of Sixtus V. And now, gentlemen, you may depart. Heaven bless you."

That very evening, while giving the benediction from the Quirinal, the pope heard the cry: "No more priests in office!"

On the 20th of February, Pius IX. reviewed the civic guard. All was, however, in a ferment. Every day brought exciting news. On the 29th of January a constitution was granted at Naples; on the 4th of February, at Turin; on the 17th of the same month, at Florence. Then came the tidings that a republic was proclaimed at Paris. Under the impulse of these political movements the senator Prince Corsini, accompanied by the members of the municipality, presented himself before Pope Pius to demand the establishment of a representative government. Pius replied: "The events which not only follow, but come headlong, sufficiently explain the demand which you, senator, make in the name of the council and magistracy of Rome. All know that I am constantly occupied with the affair of giving the government a form most in accordance with actual wants. All know the difficulties which beset him who unites in his person two great dignities. What in a purely secular government can be done in a night, can-

not be accomplished in the pontifical government till after mature examination. Yet I hope, within a few days, to complete the preliminary labors, and lay before you the result, which will meet the desires of all reasonable men. May God bless my thoughts and my labors. If religion is to gain thereby, I will cast myself at the foot of the crucifix, to thank heaven for all the events which he has permitted to come to pass ; and I shall be even more satisfied as head of the Universal Church than as prince, if but they redound to the greater glory of God."

The mob of fanatics already showed their hostility to the Jesuits ; but the Trasteverini rallied so earnestly that the mere sight of their determination appalled the cowards—for here, as elsewhere, the power of the revolutionists was mainly in the weakness and irresolution of the decent citizens.

The pope himself issued a proclamation, on the 14th of March, to implore his people to avoid such attacks on any body of religious, offering to do full justice in case of any real complaint against them ; but such appeals were in vain. On the 30th of March, Pius IX. was compelled to yield ; and the general of the Jesuits, after consulting with the higher officers of the order, thought better to leave Rome, unwilling that their presence should be a pretext for any serious disorder, and especially for bloodshed.

The next great step was the promulgation of the Fundamental Statute for the temporal government of the States of the Church. The sovereign pontiff began by stating that the example of other sovereigns and a series of events no longer left him free. He recalled, with Christian grief and pride, the ancient institutions to which he had always clung, till the revolutionary whirlwind swept him away from them. But, while yielding to the violence of the storm, he maintained all his rights as supreme pastor of souls :

"In the institutions wherewith we have till this day endowed our subjects, it has been our intention to reproduce ancient institutions which were long the mirror of the wisdom of our august predecessors, and which, in the lapse of time, need adaptation to new changes, in order to reproduce the majestic structure which they once formed.

"Proceeding in this way, we had established a consultative representation of all the provinces, which was to aid our government in the legislative labors and the administration of the country ; and we expected beneficial results to justify the experiment which we were the first to make in Italy. But, since neighboring princes have deemed their subjects ripe to receive the benefits of representation, we would not hold our people in less esteem, or count less on their gratitude, not to our humble person, for which we ask nothing, but to the Church and this Apostolic See, whereof the Almighty has confided to us the supreme and inviolable rights, and whereof the

presence has been, and ever will be, a source of countless blessings to them.

"And as, in our sacred sovereignty, it is impossible to separate the temporal interest of internal prosperity and the graver interest of the political independence of the head of the Church, by which the independence of this part of Italy is maintained, we not only reserve to ourselves and our successors the supreme sanction and promulgation of all laws deliberated by said council, and the full exercise of sovereign authority on the points in regard to which no disposition is made by the present act, but we also intend to maintain our authority entire in things naturally connected with religion and Catholic morals. We owe it to the security of all Christendom, in order that, in the States of the Church, constituted under this new form, the liberty and rights of that same Church, and of the Holy See, suffer no diminution, and that no example ever violate the sanctity of that religion which we have the obligation and command to preach to all the world, as the only symbol of alliance of God with men, as the only pledge of that heavenly benediction by which States live and nations flourish."

By yielding after other sovereigns, and when resistance had become utterly impossible, Pius IX. yielded less than any of them. Art. I. of the Fundamental Statute made the sacred college of cardinals, electors of the sovereign pontiff, the inseparable senate of the latter.

The high council and the council of deputies, instituted for the discussion and voting of laws, were convoked and prorogued by the sovereign pontiff, who also reserved the power of dissolving the council of deputies.

He reserved to himself the sanction of the laws, which he was to examine in secret consistory.

He withheld from the councils the introduction of any law concerning ecclesiastical or mixed affairs, or contrary to the canons or discipline of the Church, or tending to change or modify the Fundamental Statute.

He reserved from them all discussion on the diplomatico-religious relations of the Holy See with foreign countries.

While leaving them the discussion and vote of the annual budget, he declared, as perpetually approved and sanctioned fully by law, an allowance of six hundred thousand scudi, necessary for the maintenance of the sovereign pontiffs, the sacred college, the ecclesiastical congregations, the support and maintenance of the congregation of the Propaganda, the bureau of foreign affairs, the diplomatic corps of the Holy See at foreign courts, and other services, which were to be equally beyond the competence of the two councils. The preventive censure of the press, both administrative and political, was replaced by repressive measures. The ecclesiastical censure established by the canon law was maintained, till the

sovereign pontiff, by his apostolic authority, provided therefor by other regulations.

Such was, in its most important points, the Fundamental Statute.

But the perilous condition of the civil affairs of the patrimony of St. Peter did not make the sovereign pontiff indifferent to his numerous children throughout the world. France, racked by a new revolution, called forth his solicitude. On the 18th of March, 1848, Pius IX. addressed a brief to the nuncio apostolic at Paris :

“It has been no slight consolation for us to learn, by your letters addressed to the cardinal our secretary of state, that the faithful people of France, in the events of the last revolution, have generally given tokens of veneration and devotedness towards our holy religion and the clergy. The joy of our heart has not been less great, on our learning that the clergy, mindful of their vocation and ministry, have devoted themselves with all their strength to aid in maintaining the public tranquillity and preventing bloodshed. As soon as we received this intelligence, we hastened to return to the Almighty, in the humility of our heart, the most earnest thanksgiving. It has also been most agreeable to us, venerable brother, to learn, by these same letters, with what prudence and wisdom you have replied to those writers, who, wishing to defend the liberty of the Church under the new rule in France, sought to discuss in public journals grave questions belonging exclusively to our supreme authority and the judgment of this Apostolic See. The sovereign pontiffs, to whom is divinely committed the care and solicitude of all the churches, have never failed to show themselves, according to the wants of the times, the constant supports of the liberty of the Church in France, and to struggle against the efforts of those who menaced it with any assault. Thus our predecessor, Pius VII., of happy memory, as soon as the Organic Articles were promulgated, courageously condemned them, with apostolic liberty and fortitude, in all that they contained contrary to the doctrine and laws of the Church. Thus the same pontiff, and our other predecessors, employed all their zeal and all their efforts to assure the liberty of the Church, and the spiritual good of France.

“Moreover, the canonical discipline which is now in vigor in the churches of France, as well as the organization of ecclesiastical affairs in that country, cannot be changed by any person whomsoever, except by the sovereign pontiff ; for no other than he has universal authority over all the episcopal and metropolitan churches of the French nation : to none other than him can it be permitted to decide on matters relating to the general discipline of the Church, or derogate from what has been confirmed by this Apostolic See.

"As regards the revenues set apart for divine worship and the sacred ministers, no one can be ignorant that this kind of allowance is but a very slight return for the immense Church property alienated in that country in the unhappy times of the old revolution. To renounce this allowance would be to throw religion itself into great danger, as it would deprive the clergy of resources indispensable for their existence and support, inasmuch as in many cities, and most of the smaller localities in France, the poverty of the people is such that it would be almost impossible for them to support the Church and its ministers. For this reason several bishops have already had so much difficulty in preserving their preparatory seminaries, or are unable to found new ones, notwithstanding their desires and the extreme want of extending the education of the young clergy, and increasing the number of their priests. It would, then, be extremely to be feared that the poverty of the clergy, from which the churches of France have already had too much to suffer, would only increase, to the great detriment of religion and souls. Although, in the United States of America, the Catholic faith, by the aid of God, daily makes fresh progress, it would have produced still more abundant fruit had there existed in those States a native clergy corresponding to the number of the population and their spiritual wants. Now, what still prevents the clergy there from being as numerous as it should be, is precisely the want of seasonable and sufficient resources.

"Thus much have we deemed it our duty to write you, venerable brother; you can impart it as, in your prudence and before the Lord, you deem it seasonable. While addressing you such well-merited praise for the eminent manner in which you fulfil your high functions, we have the confidence that you will continue, with the same prudence, zeal, and wisdom, to warn and exhort ecclesiastics especially to consider seriously that the Church, as our predecessor, Saint Innocent I., most wisely said, 'does not change according to the mobility of human things,' and, in consequence, that they should be well on their guard, lest a too ardent zeal hurry them to rash steps that might be a misfortune for the Church, and a source of affliction for us. Faithful to the illustrious examples of our predecessors, and to the duties of our supreme apostolate, we shall not fail, according to the time and state of things, to adopt all such measures as we shall, before God, see to tend most to the security of the Church and the spiritual welfare of that nation.

"We entertain no doubt but that our venerable brethren, the bishops of France, from whom we have received so many striking marks of veneration and attachment to ourselves and this Chair of Peter, that the illustrious clergy of that nation, that that faithful people who have ever shown themselves animated by especial love for the Catholic religion, will all con-

cur with renewed zeal to exalt by their conduct the worship and splendor of that holy religion.

"Receive, finally, as a pledge of our special benevolence towards you, venerable brother, the apostolic benediction, given from the bottom of our heart, and bestowed with the most tender affection.

"Given at Rome, at St. Mary Major's, the 18th day of March, 1848, the second year of our pontificate.

"PIUS PP. IX."

Lombardy and Venice having revolted, and, backed by Sardinia, made war on Austria, all was in a ferment, and Pope Pius saw his territory about to be invaded by all. He resolved to send an army of seventeen thousand men to protect the frontiers of the pontifical States. The revolutionary party pretended to take this as a declaration of war against Austria, and enthusiastic meetings were held, in which Gavazzi and other priests of his stamp, whose subsequent career showed how little of Catholicity they possessed, excited the passions of the people by the most impassioned and frenzied appeals.

The crowd at last proceeded to the Quirinal, and asked that the pope should bless the standards of Italian independence. The pope refuses: "Minister of a God of peace, I cannot bless the firebrands which may set all Europe in flames." When this answer was reported the mob redoubled their clamors. The pope finally admitted a delegation. He at once asked them: "You march to-morrow, my children?" "Yes, Holy Father." "Do you know whither?" "Where our commanders lead us, Holy Father." "Well, my children; but it will be well to learn your destination from my lips. Know that you are marching solely to protect the frontiers of our States. Beware of crossing them; for, by doing so, you would transgress my orders, and place the pontifical troops in the attitude of aggressors, an attitude which can in no event be proper. Go, then, but only to the frontier: such is my will."

This was a blow to the revolutionists; but men had begun to reflect, and many withdrew.

When the pontifical troops reached Bologna, General Durando issued a violent proclamation to them, in which he did not hesitate to represent himself as expressing the wishes of the pope; but, on the 10th of April, the Roman Gazette disavowed it in these words:

"An order of the day, addressed to the troops, and dated Bologna, April 5, expresses ideas and sentiments which it attributes to the heart and lips of His Holiness. The pope, when he wishes to express his opinion, speaks himself, and never does so by the mouth of a subaltern."

Some days later a mob beset the Quirinal, clamoring for the recall of the

nuncio at Vienna ; but Pius IX. declared that to this he would not consent. The next day, April 29, 1848, he addressed the cardinals in a clear and explicit allocution.

This excited many clamors. Mamiani, haranguing the people from the Theodoli palace, declared that he was going to propose to the pope a liberal ministry. Rome was completely in the hands of the revolutionists. The cardinals were actually prisoners, especially Della Genga and Bernetti, and the authority of the sovereign pontiff was defied. The most savage of the mob, led by Ciceruacchio, called for a massacre of the clergy. Mamiani advised calmness, for fear of rousing the public opinion of Europe against them.

In this position of affairs, Pius again addressed an allocution to his cardinals, defining his position and counselling peace and moderation.

But Pope Pius spoke in vain. Mamiani, Sterbini, Florentino, and the duke de Rignano went to the ministers to lay before them the ultimatum of the people. They demanded the dismissal of Cardinal Antonelli, the total secularization of the ministry, the dismissal of the Austrian ambassador, and a solemn declaration of war. The ministry had in fact resigned, but recalled their action, and now declared that they would remain with Cardinal Antonelli or go with him. At the same time delegations from Sicily, Lombardy, and Venice urged the pope to war. But Pius held firm, although he was virtually a prisoner in his palace ; and a report having spread that he had escaped, the revolutionists doubled the guards, and ordered the soldiers to arrest the pontifical carriage if the pope attempted to leave Rome. Pius IX., however, had at the time no idea of flight. He summoned Cardinal Altieri, and asked him, as a sacrifice, to accept the post of prime-minister. The cardinal feared that his unpopularity would only increase the pope's embarrassment. Pius IX. then summoned Count Mamiani, who professed his willingness to serve with Cardinal Altieri. The next day, however, he retracted ; and Pius IX. then appointed Ciacchi, the least unpopular member of the sacred college : his protest against the occupation of Ferrara having inspired confidence in him. Cardinal Orioli was appointed to occupy the chair as president of the council till the arrival of Ciacchi. Count Mamiani was made minister of the interior ; Count John Marchetti, minister of secular foreign affairs—the revolution permitting the foreign religious affairs to be managed by the cardinal president ; Consultor Pascal de Rossi, minister of grace and justice ; Consultor Lunati, minister of finance ; Prince Philip Doria Pamphili, minister of war ; the duke de Rignano, minister of commerce and public works ; and the advocate, Joseph Galetti, minister of police. Thus, on the 4th of May, 1848, the new government was organized.

The first struggle between the pope and this ministry was in regard to

the nomination of members of the Upper and Lower Council. The Holy Father corrected the lists rather imposed on him than proposed to him. They placed in the lists the name of the Jesuit Father Vico, the celebrated astronomer, as though they sought to honor that illustrious man, whom they had in fact driven from Rome. Pius IX. would not consent to this fraud; he expunged his name.

The great question, however, was that of Austria. Faithful to the traditional policy of the Holy See, Pius, calm, serene, and noble, replied to the senate, when it sought to force to an unprovoked war, that "the mission of the Roman senate was not to make war; that the disorders, scandals, and evils that they deplored arose precisely from the fact that men did not confine themselves within their proper sphere of action; that he maintained unshaken the declaration which he had made, after mature and prudent deliberation; that he was conscious that they sought to use him as an instrument to effect the designs of the agitators of Italy, who, once in possession of their end, would set him aside; that the project of depriving the Sovereign Pontiff of his temporal domain had long been entertained: if they dared to wrest it from him, he would make to the world his formal and solemn protest."

He added, that "his language was accused of condemning by implication the war of Italian independence, but he protested against such an interpretation, for he had simply said that he would not make war, and that he had not the power to stop the enthusiasm of his subjects; that the right of declaring war is a special prerogative of sovereignty, and that he intended to yield it to none, and that consequently the address presented to him was simply a proposition for an abdication, to which he would never consent."

But of all his subjects, his ministers were most deaf to his words.

On the 4th of June, the day before that fixed for opening the two councils, three ministers, Mamiani, Rignano, and Lunati, called upon Cardinal Altieri, who was to open them, and demanded to see his address, as responsible ministers. They rejected it angrily, accused the Pope of treason, and declared themselves no longer ministers. But the cardinal was not overawed, and the next day they entered the hall with him. Undaunted by their menaces, he thus addressed the chambers:

"Gentlemen of the Upper Council and Deputies:

"His Holiness sends me to you with the pleasing mission of opening, in his name, the two Legislative Councils.

"The Holy Father wishes me at the same time to express how this act of sovereignty satisfies his heart, by the confidence he feels of seeing the system of public government improved by your aid.

"He rejoices with you, and thanks God that he has succeeded in introducing into his States those political forms which the exigencies of the times require, and which are reconcilable with the nature of the Pontifical Government. It now behooves you to deduce from these new institutions all the good which His Holiness had in view in granting them.

"The Holy Father will not cease to pray the Author of all lights to pour forth true wisdom in your minds, and to impress the institutions and laws on which you will labor, with that spirit of justice and religion, the true and solid foundation of all liberty, all stability, and all progress.

"The Holy Father has directed his ministers to instruct you, and keep you informed what mainly concerns the condition of our legislation and our administration; he has directed them in a special manner to lay before you the condition of the public treaty, that you may take the measures best adapted to improve it by imposing the least possible burdens on the population.

"He has, moreover, ordered his ministers to present to you, at an early day, the projects of laws promised by the Fundamental Statute.

"The Holy Father commends to your fidelity and unceasing care, internal order and concord. With it, gentlemen, liberty will redound to the benefit of all; with it will be developed good laws, extensive reforms, and wise institutions. Taught by long and painful experience, defenders of the holy religion, which has its See in this city, you will have reason to hope that no species of good will be refused by God, that you may be better able to rival the glory of your forefathers."

This programme of peace did not please. Four days later Mamiani introduced his own, which was really an abdication, and war with Austria. Unfortunately, the good people of the States had, by neglecting to vote, allowed the small but active body of revolutionists to carry most of the elections, so that the majority applauded and sustained Mamiani. The pope disavowed the language of Mamiani, and in reply to a deputation of the Council of Deputies, said:

"If the Pontiff prays, blesses, pardons, he has also the duty of binding and loosing. And if as prince, with the view of better protecting and strengthening the commonwealth, he calls the two councils to co-operate with him, the prince-priest needs all necessary liberty, that his action be not paralyzed in what concerns the interests of religion and the State; that liberty he guards intact, as long as the statute and the law as to the council freely granted by us remain intact."

But the Italians were defeated at Vicenza, and the Austrians occupied Ferrara, with six thousand men. Then the revolutionists who had brought this about, and who affected to despise all relics of the middle ages, urged the pope to excommunicate with all pomp the Austrian invaders.

The ministry, finding that they could not force the pope into their paths, resolved to resign ; and from July 19th to August 8th, a ministerial crisis engaged the public attention. In the interval, Sterbini, Ciceruacchio, and others, made demonstrations on the chancery and the Castle of St. Angelo. An editor, the Abate Ximenez, rallied these leaders in his paper, the "Labaro," but was sentenced to death in the revolutionary tribunal, and a few days after assassinated. But the battle of Custozza came, and with it the utter defeat of Charles Albert by Radetzki. The Mamiani ministry fell. Count Edward Fabri became minister of the interior ; Count Lauro Lauri, minister of finance ; Count Peter Guarini, minister of public works ; and Perfetti, minister of police ; and Cajetan Cagiotti, provisional director of the ministry of arms.

Pope Pius then sent a deputation to General Welden, consisting of Cardinal Marini, Prince Corsini, and Count Guarino, to ask the withdrawal of Austrian forces from his territory, and it was obtained.

On the 26th of August the council of deputies was prorogued to the 15th of November.

The next day the Holy Father proceeded to the church of St. Pantaleon, of the congregation of Regular Clerks of the Mother of God, where they were celebrating the bicentennial of the death of St. Joseph Calasanctius, and there pronounced a decree on two miracles wrought by the intercession of Ven. Peter Claver. Then he spoke of the attempts made to protestantize Italy, and of the madness of men who would infect the peninsula with the multiform brood of errors, from which Germany, tending to union, sought to deliver itself. He thanked God for giving them the great example of apostolic men, as models and as a stimulus to their zeal.

When Monsignor Affre, archbishop of Paris, fell in his devoted mission to arrest bloodshed and civil wars, the Holy Father addressed a letter of sympathy and encouragement to the vicars-capitular of the Church of Paris, on the 23d of July, and in a secret consistory, on the 11th of September, he addressed the sacred college on the virtues and merits of the illustrious victim of the evil passions evoked by the revolution ; and he urged all to pray night and day, that He who commanded the winds and the sea would, by his almighty power, restore calm, that, by the multitude of his mercy, he would vouchsafe to rescue misguided men from the darkness of error and the mire of vice, to set them once more in the paths of justice and truth.

A few days after a new ministry was formed, under the guidance of Count Pellegrino Rossi, an Italian by birth, but who, exiled for political reasons, had held high official position in Switzerland and France, and was actually French ambassador to Rome. A man familiar with the whole revolutionary schemes, but one who saw their hollowness, he was well fitted to aid the

pope in perfecting a system which had no object except the good of his people.

Thus, on the 16th of September, 1848, Count Rossi became prime-minister of Pius IX., with the departments of the interior and finance. Cardinal Soglia still remained secretary of state, Cardinal Vizzardelli, minister of public instruction, the advocate Cicognani, minister of grace and justice, Montanari, minister of commerce, Rignano, minister of public works and of war.

Foreseeing, doubtless, that he would have but a short time to devote to the service of the pope, Rossi, during two months, displayed the greatest activity. He was acting in good faith, and the good which he effected contrasted strangely with the evil caused by Mamiani. He seemed to inspire those around him with his spirit. He conceived a plan for a civil reorganization of the Roman States, the too paternal character of the institutions revived by Pius IX. not appearing to him suited to the stormy times in which they were required. Not unmindful of foreign interests, he negotiated with Naples, Florence, and Turin the basis of a confederation of Italian States, defensive in its character, and not such as, by its aggressive nature, would exclude the Holy Father. This union of princes, protecting at once nationality and established forms, was an idea of Pius IX., who saw in it the surest rampart against foreign influence for tyranny or revolution. Piedmont claimed the honor of this idea, but Rossi showed that it belonged exclusively to the pope. He saw the ambitious designs of Piedmont, and her evident intent to use the revolution in order to subjugate all the rest of Italy. The real liberties of the Italian people would be as far from being secured to them under such a rule as they could under any form. Subsequent events proved but too truly his foresight; the cross of Savoy is now a heavy cross; indeed, on the whole peninsula, the people are ground down with taxes, yet the country is burdened with an immense debt, the Church property having, as in God's judgment it always does, brought to those who seized it debts instead of wealth. Now, too, the conscription is enforced, and the young men are forced into the army.

The league proposed by Pius IX. was a menace to the revolution, and the secret councils condemned Count Rossi to die. The republican party of Italy was one of assassination. The secret societies of Rome, Turin, and Florence decided on assassinating Rossi. That minister knew all this, but did not flinch. Mamiani had left Rome defenceless; Rossi called in the carbineers on duty in the neighboring towns, and put under arrest General Zucchi, and confined in an ecclesiastical house of correction at Corneto the turbulent Gavazzi.

On the evening of November 14th, the party appointed to assassinate Count Rossi selected one of their number, Sante Costantini, by lot, and he

practised his blow on a corpse. Count Rossi, meanwhile, wished the palace of the chancery, where the chambers were to meet next day, to be guarded by carbineers, but his fellow-ministers refused their assent. So conscious was he that his death was determined upon, that he refused his sons tickets to witness the opening of the chambers, and ordered them to remain with their mother.

Warnings reached Count Rossi, and also the pope himself. Pius IX. urged him to take all possible precautions to save his enemies from committing a great crime, and himself from losing a life so precious. But he replied that they were cowards, and would not dare to strike the blow. Pius IX. then gave him his benediction.

As the prime-minister left the apartments of the pope, Monsignor Morini stopped him to warn him. He had heard from a dying woman that the assassins were posted to slay him as he entered the palace of the chancery. Rossi was firm: "I defend the cause of the pope, and the cause of the pope is the cause of God; I must and will go."

As he entered the court of the palace a man ran across, and the word of command, "Quick!" was given. Count Rossi saw the place filled with the civic guard, and no carbineers. As he stepped from his carriage a cry rose: "Down with Rossi! death to Rossi! kill him!" As he advanced, a crowd forced him from his fellow-minister Righetti, and he was struck on the shoulder with a cane. He turned indignantly, and Sante Constantini drove his poniard into his throat, severing the carotid artery. Righetti and his servant pressed through the band of assassins and reached Count Rossi, who had reeled against the wall: he made a few steps and fell. He was conveyed to the apartments of Cardinal Gazzoli, where in a few moments physicians and the parish priest hastened. Receiving the last absolution, he expired.

"Count Rossi died a martyr. God will receive his soul in peace," said the Holy Father to Righetti, who, still covered with the blood of his friend, hastened to him with the melancholy tidings.*

This murder took place before the eyes of the civic guard, who made no attempt to stop it, or arrest the assassins. They were accomplices. The tidings came into the chamber of deputies, but they, too, were accomplices. Sturbinetti, the president, passed to the order of the day, as though the

* It was with no little difficulty that his body was saved from the hands of the assassins, who wished to tear it to pieces, and bear it around in triumph. His friend, Father Vaures, of the order of Saint Francis, conveyed his body to the Church of San Lorenzo, and Pius IX. subsequently erected a monument there, of white marble, at the right of the high altar. The inscription is: "I undertook to protect the holiest of causes. God will have pity. To the repose and ashes of Pellegrino Rossi, Count of the house of Carrara, who, while minister of Pope Pius IX., was slain by the premeditated counsel of the impious, November 15, 1848, aged sixty-one years, four months, and twelve days."

assassination of a prime-minister at the door of the legislative hall was a matter of perfect indifference. "What is it to us?" cried Sterbini. "Was that man king of Rome?" The foreign ministers then rose and left the hall.

That day and night the mob of conspirators and their tools made Rome echo with their chants and yells, exalting the murderer of Rossi to the heavens.

On the 16th of November, a committee, followed by a mob, came to the Quirinal to demand that the pope should adopt a programme of their proposition, embracing a democratic ministry, with Mamiani and Sterbini at its head.

Cardinal Soglia received the strange deputation. He told them that force would effect nothing, and then took their programme to submit it to the Holy Father. The reply of Pius IX. was, that he would consider it. On this, cries and threats resounded. Another deputation, composed of officers of carbineers, was sent to induce the sovereign pontiff to yield. They were allowed to enter, and found Pius IX. surrounded by the ambassadors of France, Spain, Bavaria, Portugal, and Russia, who had hastened to the palace. The new delegates of the mob besought the pope to yield to the people, as it was impossible to restrain them. Pius IX. replied that they asked him in fact to abdicate, and that he had no power to do so. "Go, gentlemen," said Martinez de la Rosa, "tell the leaders of this revolt that if they persist in their odious project they must march over my dead body to reach the sacred person of the sovereign pontiff. But tell them, too, that the vengeance of Spain will be terrible." The duke d'Harcourt, the French minister, told them that if they did their duty they would check the mob by arms, and not aid it by their pusillanimity. The Spanish minister then added: "Know, gentlemen, that the sovereigns of Europe will not leave unpunished a sacrilege already consummated by the threats of a mob without faith or law."

After the departure of the traitors, the members of the diplomatic corps remained, unwilling to abandon the pope in the instantly increasing peril. There were also in the hall Cardinals Soglia and Antonelli, the secret chamberlains, the principal officers of the palace, Father Vaures, six of the noble guard, Leopold Meyer de Schauensee, captain of the Swiss, with his officers, and the French Count de Malherbe. The pope, standing at the door of his oratory, said: "You see that the Quirinal is deserted, and all forsake me. Were you not around me, I should be alone here with the handful of brave men who defend me."

Cardinal Antonelli now, with the Swiss, arranged to defend the palace against actual violence, as it was besieged, and cannon planted opposite the main entrance.

The insurgents were not the scum of the people. The civic guard were

almost all there, the students of the Sapienza were there, led by Charles Bonaparte, Prince of Canino, son of Lucien, who received shelter and his princely title from the Holy See. The captain of the Swiss was lured out and seized. They dragged him to the cannon's mouth to blow him to pieces. "I know that piece," said the brave officer. "It is the San Pietro. If you fire it, history will record that on the 16th of November the Romans put to death an officer who, with twenty-five grenadiers of his company, recovered that piece at Vicenza from the Austrians, into whose hands it had fallen, and history will add that the Romans made that San Pietro the instrument of his execution." This abashed them, but they kept him a prisoner.

Meanwhile the crowd set fire to the palace, and it was with great difficulty that the Swiss guard extinguished the flames. A constant fire was kept up on the windows, even of the room where the Holy Father was. One of the shots was fatally true. A ball fired from a neighboring steeple killed Monsignor Palma, the pope's secretary of Latin letters, a man of most inoffensive life, and distinguished author of an able history of the Church.

A provisional government was formed, with Sterbini and the Prince of Canino at the head. A third deputation, consisting of the advocate Galetti, one who was in Rome by the amnesty of the pope, was sent to Pius IX. After granting him an audience, the pope announced to the diplomatic body that to avoid bloodshed and the crimes evidently menaced, he deferred to the chambers the decision they forced upon him, and submitted to a ministry composed of Mamiani, for foreign affairs; Galetti, the interior; the Abate Rosmini, for public instruction; Sterbini, for commerce; Lunato, for finances; Campello, for war; and Sereni, for justice. He added: "I am here a prisoner. They have wished to deprive me of my guard and put me in the hands of others. My course at this moment, when I am deprived of all support and all material power, can have but one object, to avoid, at any cost, the useless shedding of a single drop of fraternal blood in my behalf. To this fear I yield. But at the same time I wish you and all Europe to know, that I do not even nominally take any part in the government, and that I remain absolutely a stranger to its acts. I have forbidden any abuse of my name, I have even forbidden the future use of the ordinary formulas."

The rebels wished to make this suspension of power really an abdication. Hence, one of the first acts of Sterbini and his associate, Bonaparte, on the 17th of November, was to attempt to disband the Swiss guard; but they found the faithful guards unwilling to yield their places to the civic guard. They were there by the will of Pius, and intended to remain. "As for arms, if the mob wishes them, let them come and take them." It required the command of Pius himself. That command was given, and Pius IX. was guarded as a prisoner by the assassins of Count Rossi.

Rosmini refused to enter the new ministry, but Monsignor Muzzarelli, a member of the Rota, really a layman, though bearing that ecclesiastical title, accepted the post.

The new programme caused a division among the insurgents, for the Prince of Canino beheld himself excluded from power.

At this moment Pius IX. received from the bishop of Valence in France a most touching relic of the captivity of Pius VI., the pyx in which that suffering pontiff had carried the Blessed Sacrament on his breast. "Heir of the name, the See, the virtues, the courage, and almost of the tribulations of the great Pius VI., you will perhaps prize this modest but interesting relic, which will not, I trust, again be called into use. Yet who knows the designs of God, or the trials which Providence reserves for your Holiness? I pray for you with love and faith." *

Pius IX. now saw that his presence at Rome was useless to the cause of the Church or the good of his people. He resolved to retire for a time till his people, recovered from their delirium or apathy, were prepared to recognize anew his beneficent rule.

The Bavarian minister, the Count de Spaur, and his countess, offered their aid to enable the Holy Father to reach a place of safety. The first suggestion came, indeed, from the countess, and though at first thought lightly of, was finally adopted. As there existed a pretext for a rapid voyage of the Bavarian envoy to Naples in the proposed marriage of a Bavarian princess to the eldest son of the king of the Two Sicilies.

On the evening of the 24th of November, about six in the evening, the French ambassador, the Duke d'Harcourt, proceeded to the Quirinal in a state-coach, preceded by couriers and torches. After some difficulty, he obtained an introduction to the Holy Father. He aided the sovereign pontiff to change his attire and assume the dress of an ordinary clergyman. A faithful servant, Philipani, accompanied the vicar of Christ through the corridors of the conclave, and Pius IX., passing down the stairway of the Swiss corridor, issued by a private door, and entered the carriage where Count de Spaur and his chasseur, both armed to the teeth, awaited him.

The Duke d'Harcourt remained in the room alone, reading aloud, as if perusing some document for the pope. This he kept up for two hours, when he came out, and announcing that the pope had retired for the night,

* Subsequent to the events recorded in the ensuing pages, Pius IX. replied: "The designs of God, which you speak of in your letter accompanying the precious object which you sent us, and which recalls the memory of Pius VI., have been accomplished in our person. During our short passage from Rome to Gaeta, where we are temporarily, we made use of this little pyx, and felt much consolation and force from placing the sacred host on our breast." Letter of December 26, 1848.

started for Cività Vecchia, where he embarked on the French steamer *Tenare* for Gaeta.

Meanwhile, the Holy Father, conducted by Count de Spaur, soon joined the countess, whose carriage awaited them in the Valley of Ariccia, near Albano. Here he took his seat beside the countess—the young count Maximilian and his tutor facing them. A lady's maid was on the front seat, and the count and his chasseur behind.

This arrangement removed all suspicion. The clergyman was supposed to be the chaplain of the countess, and no molestation was offered. Before daybreak they crossed the frontier of the Roman States, and at half-past nine they reached the mole of Gaeta, five miles from the city. Cardinal Antonelli and the Chevalier de Arnao, secretary of the Spanish embassy, awaited the Holy Father at the mole. Pius IX. wrote at once to Ferdinand II., to announce that the revolution had thrown the vicar of Christ an exile on his shores, but that he was ready to turn his wandering steps elsewhere if his presence would give rise to any difficulty. This letter the devoted Count de Spaur at once started to deliver in person. By eleven at night the count reached the palace of the pope's nuncio in Naples, Monsignor Garibaldi, and asked him to present him instantly to the king. The nuncio hesitated at the strange demand, and even the production of a letter addressed in the pope's own hand did not overcome his hesitation. "Monsignor," he exclaimed, "at this moment minutes are hours. In the name of His Holiness, I hold you responsible for the time we are losing. Will you, or will you not, conduct me to the king?" The nuncio yielded, and the king at once admitted the ambassador, who presented his letter with apologies for his urgency. After reading the letter, Ferdinand directed him to return in six hours; and when he promptly appeared, Ferdinand said, "We will take the answer together." He had, in fact, prepared two steamers, the *Tancred* and *Robert*, and put on board a supply of every thing that he deemed the Holy Father might need, down to trunks of necessary clothing. At six in the morning he embarked on the *Tancred*, with his queen, the Count d'Aquila, Count Trapani, the Infante Don Sebastian, the Bavarian minister, with a numerous retinue. The steamers also bore a battalion of the first regiment of grenadiers and a battalion of the ninth regiment of the line.

The French steamer had but just landed the Duke d'Harcourt, Cardinal Antonelli, the Portuguese ambassador, and Monsignor Stella, chamberlain to the pope, when the Neapolitan frigate arrived.

Meanwhile, the pope had not been without his difficulties. He had proceeded to the palace of the bishop, Monsignor Parisio, who was absent, having been called to the bedside of a dying brother. The servants in charge were unwilling to receive the unknown visitors, and their persist-

ence only excited the greater distrust. They accordingly returned to the little inn where they had first halted, where a single room was saloon, dining-room, and bedchamber of the supreme pontiff of the Christian world.

There he dictated to the tutor of young Maximilian the protest addressed to his subjects and to the whole Catholic world.

“Pius IX. to the Roman people.

“The outrage in latter days committed against our person, and the intention openly manifested to continue these acts of violence (which the Almighty, inspiring men’s minds with sentiments of union and moderation, has prevented), have compelled us to separate ourselves temporarily from our subjects and children, whom we love and ever shall love.

“The reasons which have induced us to take this important step—heaven knows how painful it is to our hearts—have arisen from the necessity of our enjoying free liberty in the exercise of the sacred duties of the Holy See, as under the circumstances by which we were then afflicted, the Catholic world might reasonably doubt of the freedom of that exercise. The acts of violence of which we complain can alone be attributed to the machinations which have been used, and the measures that have been taken by a class of men degraded in the face of Europe and the world. This is the more evident, as the wrath of the Almighty has already fallen on their souls, and as it will call down on them, sooner or later, the punishment which is prescribed for them by his Church. We recognize humbly, in the ingratitude of these misguided children, the anger of the Almighty, who permits their misfortunes as an atonement for the sins of ourselves and those of our people. But still we cannot, without betraying the sacred duties imposed on us, refrain from protesting formally against their acts, as we did do verbally on the 16th day of November, of painful memory, in presence of the whole diplomatic corps, who on that occasion honorably encircled us, and brought comfort and consolation to our soul, in recognizing that a violent and unprecedented sacrilege had been committed. That protest we did intend, as we now do, openly and publicly to repeat, inasmuch as we yielded only to violence, and because we were and are desirous it should be made known that all proceedings emanating from such acts of violence were and are devoid of all efficacy and legality. This protest is a necessary consequence of the malicious labors of these wicked men, and we publish it from the suggestion of our conscience, stimulated as it has been by the circumstances in which we were placed, and the impediments offered to the exercise of our sacred duties. Nevertheless, we confide upon the Most High that the continuance of these evils may be abridged, and we humbly supplicate the God of heaven to avert his wrath, in the

language of the royal prophet—‘*Memento, Domine, David, et omnis mansuetudinis ejus.*’

“In order that the city of Rome and our States be not deprived of a legal executive, we have nominated a governing commission, composed of the following persons :

“The Cardinal Castracane, president ; Monsignor Roberto Roberti, Prince Roviano, Prince Barberini, Marquis Bevilacque di Bologna, Lieutenant-General Zucchi.

“In confiding to the said governing commission the temporary direction of public affairs, we recommend to our subjects and children, without exception, the conservation of tranquillity and good order. Finally, we desire and command that daily and earnest prayers shall be offered for the safety of our person, and that the peace of the world may be preserved, especially that of our State of Rome, where, and with whose children, our heart shall be wherever we in person may dwell within the fold of Christ. And in the fulfilment of our duty as Supreme Pontiff, we thus humbly and devoutly invoke the Great Mother of Mercy, and the Holy Apostles, Peter and Paul, for their intercession that the City and State of Rome may be saved from the wrath of the Omnipotent God.”

GAETA, November 28.

“PIUS PAPA IX.”

At the approach of the king, no one yet suspected that the pope was in the city ; but the governor had an idea that he might be a passenger on the Tenare, accompanied by the French ambassador and the Portuguese minister. Upon the king's arrival he repaired to the governor's palace, whither the pope and his attendants had also proceeded *incognito*. The meeting here was very impressive and affecting. The king, prostrate before his Holiness, thanked God for having permitted him a safe conveyance into his dominions, and the pope pronounced on him, his family, and the whole kingdom, his paternal benediction. His Holiness then admitted to the ceremony of kissing the feet, the other members of the royal family, and the officers in attendance. To the latter he observed : ‘Gentlemen, you belong to an army which is a model of discipline and fidelity ; an army which has, at the price of its blood, maintained the empire of law, and freed the kingdom from the scourge of anarchy.’ Several of the sailors attached to the marine were also admitted to the ceremony, to whom the pope said : ‘My children, you are faithful to your sovereign ; be so till death !’ His Holiness then invited the royal family to dine with him, while Cardinal Antonelli, at his request, entertained the members of the diplomatic corps, the officers, and other persons in attendance. The following day, Count Mastai, the pope's brother, the distinguished Abbe Rosmini, the Princes Borghese and Doria, Cardinal Patrizzi, and others,

arrived at Gaeta. After dinner, which had been conducted with the same arrangements as on the previous day, the pope gave his benediction to the crew of the Tancrede, and the crowd that had assembled in front of the palace. Every eye was bathed in tears, and the air resounded with acclamations of fidelity to the sovereign pontiff, and expressions of loyalty to the king. But on the next day was witnessed a still more sublime and affecting scene. His Holiness wishing to visit the sanctuary of the Trinity, at some distance from Gaeta, he set out with the king and queen, the princes, cardinals, and foreign ministers, in their several equipages, and when half-way, the pope alighted, and from an eminence, gave his benediction to the king and to the troops that surrounded him. The weather was remarkably fine, and all nature seemed to harmonize with the heavenly form and language of the pontiff. The sanctuary of the Trinity is under the charge of a religious order, and is situated in a spot which has the appearance of a grotto. Here the superior celebrated the holy sacrifice, at which the pope assisted. At the close of the Mass, he approached the altar, on bended knees, and while all, in a posture of humility, were expecting the solemn benediction, the sovereign pontiff, in a kind of transport and with the fervor of an angel, entered upon a colloquy with God. Who could describe the tears, the sighs, the wailings, which burst from all present, on hearing the superhuman accents of the pontiff? His words have been treasured up for the remembrance and admiration of the world: "Eternal God, my august Father and Lord, behold at thy feet thy unworthy vicar, who entreats thee with his whole heart to pour out upon him from thy eternal throne thy divine benediction. O my God! direct his steps, sanctify his intentions, guide his mind, govern his actions. May he be here, where thou hast led him in thy admirable Providence, or in any other portion of thy fold to which he may go, a worthy instrument of thy glory, and that of thy Church, which, alas! is assailed by thy enemies. If, to appease thy wrath so justly enkindled by the many indignities that are offered to thee, in word, in action, and by the abuse of the press, *his own life may be an agreeable holocaust to thy divine heart*, he consecrates it to thee from this moment. Thou hast given it to him; to thee only belongs the right of taking it away, when it may please thee: but, O my God! let thy glory triumph, let thy Church be victorious. Preserve the good, support the feeble, and may the arm of thy omnipotence arouse all who are slumbering in darkness and in the shadow of death. Bless, O Lord! the ruler who is there prostrate before thee; bless his consort and his family; bless all his subjects, and his faithful and honored soldiery; bless the cardinals, the bishops, and all the clergy, that they may accomplish, in the peaceful ways of thy law, the sanctification of the people. Then may we hope, not only to be delivered during our mortal pilgrimage

from the snares of the impious and the machinations of wicked men, but to reach that place which affords eternal safety: *ut hic et in æternum, te auxiliante, salvi et liberi esse mereamur.*"

After this, all returned to Gaeta, deeply affected, or rather filled with astonishment. In the course of the day several distinguished persons arrived in the city, which the king and his suite left, after taking leave of the sovereign pontiff.

France, though a republic, and directed by the disciples of Voltaire, could not witness the scenes at Rome without emotion. The assassination of one who had so recently been French ambassador at Rome, by the hands of men who then seized the sovereign power—the base murder of Monsignor Palma in the pope's palace—the imprisonment of the pope, which he had prevented by flight from ending in greater ignominy and cruelty—all roused the heart of France. M. de Corcelles, a Catholic, was sent with three thousand five hundred men to Rome to intervene in the name of the French Republic, and restore the pope to his personal liberty. General Cavaignac was urged by his antagonists to define his position. One member, Bixio, broadly took the real ground, that the papacy is not an Italian institution, and that the whole Catholic world is interested in its support.

The measure taken was but a half-step. Its professed object was to secure the personal safety of the Holy Father. But as Montalembert well remarked: "The person of the pope is infinitely dear and infinitely sacred; but there is something more dear and more sacred still in our eyes, and that is his authority."

The election for president, however, approached, and Louis Napoleon, seeing the will of Catholic France, and noting the limit which General Cavaignac set to his intervention, resolved to go further. He had abstained from voting for the expedition to Cività Vecchia, and even in a letter to the press styled it a dangerous military demonstration. A week, however, changed his views, and on the 9th, by another letter, he disavowed all connection with the Prince of Canino, and declared that he regretted that that member of his family did not "see that the maintenance of the temporal sovereignty of the venerable head of the Church was intimately connected both with the splendor of Catholicity and the liberty and independence of Italy."

This decided the elevation of Louis Napoleon, so that it may in truth be said, that it was solely by advocating the temporal power of the pope that he became chief magistrate and then emperor of France.

Meanwhile, Pius IX. held his little court at Gaeta as at Rome, surrounded by representatives of all the European powers, who expressed their sympathy with his troubles, and the desire of their courts to see him restored to his normal position.

Spain was the first power to act decidedly in the matter. On the 21st of December she addressed a note to France, Austria, Bavaria, Sardinia, Tuscany, and Naples, in which she declared her determination to do every thing "to replace the Holy Father in a state of independence and dignity necessary for the exercise of his sacred functions." It concluded by inviting the Catholic powers to a concerted action, not to protect his liberty merely, but to restore his authority on a firm and solid basis.

This led to the subsequent conference at Gaeta.

On the 1st of January preceding, Pius IX. issued this address to the Roman people :

"In this peaceful abode, whither it has pleased Divine Providence to lead us, in order that we may be enabled in all freedom to manifest our sentiments and our wishes, we wait in hope that remorse will be felt by our erring children for the sacrilegious and other crimes committed against persons attached to us, of whom some have been killed, and others outraged in the most barbarous manner, as well as for the sacrileges and crimes consummated in our residence, and even against our own person. And yet we have, up to the present, received only a barren invitation to return to our capital, without even a word being uttered in condemnation of the attempts we have referred to, and without the least guarantee against the acts of fraud and violence of that inveterate band whose barbarous despotism still tyrannizes over the State and Church of Rome. We have waited in the hope that the protest and the decrees which we have issued would recall to their duties as subjects, and as of the faithful, those who in the very capital of our States have despised these duties, and trampled them under foot.

"But, instead of returning, a new and still more monstrous act of hypocritical felony and genuine rebellion audaciously committed by them, has filled the measure of our grief, and excited our just indignation, as it will afflict the Universal Church. We speak of that act, so detestable in all its bearings, by which it has been pretended to order the convocation of a *soi-disant* general National Assembly of the Roman States by a decree of the 29th December last, for the purpose of establishing new political forms in the pontifical States. Thus heaping iniquity upon iniquity, the promoters of demagogical anarchy are endeavoring to destroy the temporal authority of the Roman pontiff over the domains of the Holy Church, believing, and seeking at the same time to make it believed, that his sovereign power is subject to controversy, and depends upon the caprice of factions, although its rights are so irrefragably founded on the most ancient and solid basis, and although they are acknowledged, defended, and venerated by all nations. We will spare our dignity the humiliation of dwelling upon all the monstrosity of this abominable act, arising from the absurdity of its origin, the ille-

gality of its forms, and the impiety of its object. But it certainly belongs to the Apostolic authority with which, unworthily, we are invested, and by the responsibility to which we are bound by the most sacred oaths taken in the presence of the Almighty, not only to protest, as we now do, in the most energetic and efficient manner, against this act, but, moreover, to denounce it in the face of the universe as a monstrous and sacrilegious attempt against our independence and sovereignty—an attempt which merits the chastisements inflicted by divine and human laws.

“We are convinced that, on receiving this audacious appeal, you have cast it far from you with indignation as an insult and a crime. Nevertheless, that none of you may hereafter have the pretext of having been deceived by fallacious seductions, and by artful preachers of subversive doctrines, or of having been ignorant of the machinations of the enemies of all order, of all law, of all right, of all true liberty, of even your own felicity, we have this day again raised and exalted our voice, so that you may be rendered perfectly assured of that absolute command, by which we forbid you, whatever may be your ranks or conditions, from taking any part in the elections of persons to be sent to the Assembly which we have condemned. In the mean time, we remind you that this absolute interdiction is sanctioned by our predecessors and by councils, especially by the Holy Council of Trent (Sess. xxii., c. xi., de Refor.), in which the Church has repeatedly fulminated its censures, and particularly that of the greater excommunication, as incurred without the necessity of any previous declaration, by whomsoever shall render himself guilty of any attempt whatever against the temporal authority of the sovereign pontiffs of Rome, as we declare all those who have unhappily incurred have contributed to the above mentioned act, as those which preceded it to the detriment of the same sovereignty, or who in any other manner, and under false pretences, have disturbed, violated, and usurped our authority.

“But, if we feel ourselves compelled by our conscientious duties to preserve and defend the sacred deposit of the patrimony of the Spouse of Jesus Christ, confided to our care, and to employ the sword of just severity which God Himself, our Judge, has given into our hands, to be thus used, we cannot, however, at any time forget that we hold on earth the place of Him who, in the exercise of his justice, never failed to use mercy. Raising, then, our hands to Heaven, remitting and recommending to Him once more this just cause, His much more than ours, and declaring that we are ready, with the aid of his powerful grace, to drink to the dregs, for the defence and glory of the Catholic Church, the cup of bitterness which He Himself was willing the first to taste for the salvation of His Church, we shall never cease to supplicate and conjure Him to deign, in His goodness, to grant the ardent prayers which we address to Him day and night for the conversion

and salvation of those who have wandered from the true path. Assuredly no day can rise which will be more joyful to us, than that on which it shall be given to us to see re-entering the pale of the Lord, such of our sons as are now causing us so much tribulation and bitterness. The hope of soon seeing a day so happy is strengthened in us by the thought of the universality of the prayers which, joined to ours, ascend to the Throne of Divine Grace from the lips and the hearts of all the faithful of the Catholic world, and who incessantly urge Him to change the hearts of sinners, and bring them back into the paths of truth and justice.

"Given at Gaeta, this 1st day of January, in the year of our Lord 1849.

"PIUS PP. IX."

At Rome the new ministry refused to admit the protest of the Pope, as well as the commission of government. They proceeded to establish a Supreme Provisional Junta of State, against which Pius IX. protested on the 17th of January, 1849.

"Raised by Divine dispensation, in a manner almost miraculous, in spite of our unworthiness, to the sovereign pontificate, one of our first cares was to endeavor to establish a union between the subjects of the temporal State of the Church, to make peace between families, to do them good in all ways, and, as far as depended upon us, to render the State peaceable and flourishing. But the benefits which we did all in our power to heap upon our subjects, the wide-founded institutions which we have granted to their desires, far, as we must in all candor declare, from inspiring that acknowledgment and gratitude which we had every right to expect, have occasioned to our heart only reiterated pain and bitterness, caused by those ungrateful men whom our paternal eye wished to see daily diminishing in number. All the world can now tell how our benefits have been answered, what abuse has been made of our concessions; how, by denaturalizing them, and perverting the meaning of our words, they have sought to mislead the multitude, so that these very benefits and institutions have been turned by certain men into arms, with which they have committed the most violent outrages upon our sovereign authority, and against the temporal rights of the Holy See. Our heart refuses to repeat in detail the events which have taken place since November 15th, the day on which a minister who had our confidence was barbarously murdered by the hand of an assassin, applauded with a still greater barbarity by a troop of infuriated enemies to God, to man, and to every just political institution. This first crime opened the way to a series of crimes committed the following day, with sacrilegious audacity. They have already incurred the execration of every upright mind in our State, in Italy, and in Europe; they have incurred execration in all parts of the earth. This is the reason why we can spare our heart the intense pain of recapitu-

lating them here. We were constrained to withdraw from the place in which they were committed, from that place where violence prevented us from applying any remedy, reduced to weep over and deplore with good men those sad events, and the still more lamentable want of power in justice to act against the perpetrators of these abominable crimes. Providence has conducted us to this town of Gaeta, where, finding ourselves in full liberty, we have, against the authors of the aforesaid attempts and acts of violence, solemnly renewed the protests which we issued at Rome at the first moment, in the presence of the representatives accredited to us of the courts of Europe, and of other and distant nations. By the same act, without in any manner departing from the institutions we had created, we took care to give temporarily to our States a legitimate governmental representation, in order that, in the capital and throughout the State, provisions should be made for the regular and ordinary course of public affairs, as well as for the protection of the persons and property of our subjects. By us, moreover, has been prorogued the session of the High Council and the Chamber of Deputies, who had recently been called to resume their interrupted sittings. But these determinations of our authority, instead of causing the perturbators and the authors of the acts of sacrilegious violence of which we have spoken, to return into the path of duty, have urged them to make still greater attempts. Arrogating to themselves the rights of sovereignty, which belong only to us, they have, by means of the two councils, instituted in the capital an illegitimate governmental representation, under the title of Provisional Supreme Junta of the State, which they have published by an act dated the 12th of the present month. The duties of our sovereignty, in which we cannot fail, the solemn oaths by which we have, in the presence of God, promised to preserve the patrimony of the Holy See, and to transmit it in all its integrity to our successors, oblige us to raise our voice solemnly, and protest, before God, and in the face of the whole universe, against this grand and sacrilegious attempt. Therefore we declare to be null and of no force or effect in law all the acts which have followed the violence committed upon us, protesting, above all, that this Junta of State established at Rome is a usurpation of our sovereign powers, and that the said Junta has not and cannot have any authority. Be it known, then, to all our subjects, whatever may be their rank or condition, that at Rome, and throughout the whole extent of the pontifical State, there is not, and cannot be, any legitimate power which does not emanate expressly from us; that we have, by the sovereign *motu proprio* of the 27th November, instituted a temporary commission of government, and that to it alone belongs exclusively the government of the nation during our absence, and until we ourselves shall have otherwise ordained.

“PIUS PP. IX.”

On the 6th of February, 1849, a constituent assembly, elected during a reign of terror, assembled at Rome; and on the 9th it declared the papacy dethroned, and erected a Roman republic.

Against this, Pius IX., on the 14th, issued this protest:

"The long and uninterrupted series of attempts committed against the temporal dominion of the States of the Church, acquiesced in by many from ignorance, and followed up by the malign and evil spirit of those who for a long time past have imposed on the too easy kindness of the first, have reached the last stage of crime by a decree of the sitting Roman Constituent Assembly, under date of the 9th of February, which declared the popedom deprived in right and fact of the temporal government of the Roman States; thus converting that government into a pure democracy, under the name of the Roman republic. We are compelled by it again to raise our voice against an act which presents itself before the civilized world with all the characters of ingratitude, injustice, ignorance, and impiety, and against which—thus surrounded by the Holy College, and by the worthy representatives of the powers and governments friendly to the Holy See—we do protest, and in the most solemn manner declare its nullity, as we have done all preceding acts. You, gentlemen, have been witnesses of the equally deplorable acts of the 15th and 16th of November of last year, and in concert with us have deplored and condemned them. You comforted our hearts in those unhappy days. You have followed us to this land, where we have been guided by the hand of God, who exalts the humble, but never abandons those who have confidence in him. To you who still surround us—to you we address these words, in the hope that you will convey our sentiments to your courts and to your governments. Fallen as many of our pontifical subjects are, in consequence of the artifices of the said faction, enemy of all human society, into the abyss of profound misery, we, as temporal prince, and still more as head of the pontificate of the holy Catholic religion, expose the lamentations, and at the same time the prayers of our said pontifical subjects, who anxiously desire to see broken the chains which oppress them. We ask at the same time the maintenance of the sacred rights of the temporal dominion of the Holy See, which it has enjoyed for so many ages, and which by all has universally been recognized—rights which, by order of Divine Providence, are rendered needful for the free exercise of the Catholic religion of the Holy See. The lively interest manifested through the world in favor of our cause is a luminous proof that it is one of justice, and we cannot doubt but that this our protest will be received with all fitting interest and sympathy by the nations you represent."

On the 18th of February, Cardinal Antonelli, in a note to the powers, solicited, in the name of the sovereign pontiff, the armed intervention of

France, Austria, Spain, and Naples, and the moral support of the rest of Europe.

This important document, recapitulating the facts of the case, is as follows:

“ Since his accession to the pontificate His Holiness had nothing in view but to lavish on his subjects benefits consonant with the period, and to provide for their entire wellbeing. In effect, after having pronounced pardon on those who, in consequence of political misdeeds, were exiled, or groaned in prisons; after having erected the consulta of State, and instituted the council of ministers; after having conceded to the imperious force of circumstances, the institution of a civic guard, the new law for a just freedom of the press, and finally a fundamental statute for the States of the Holy Church, he had ample claims to the gratitude which subjects owe a prince who regards them only as his children, and promises them naught but a reign of love. But far different was the return for the many benefits and many concessions he had lavished on them. After a brief demonstration of contentment, shared in at that time by those who had already in their hearts the most criminal designs—demonstrations which the Holy Father exerted himself to put a stop to by all the means that his own paternal heart inspired—he gathered the bitter fruits of ingratitude. Urged by an unbridled faction to engage himself in a war against Austria, he was obliged, in the consistory of 26th April, last year, to deliver an allocution, in which he declared to the whole world that his duty and his conscience did not allow him to consent. This sufficed to bring to light the machinations concocted in open violence to his full and free power by the forced division of the ministry of the State into an ecclesiastical ministry and a laic ministry—a division which he never recognized.

“ The Holy Father always expected that, in placing competent men and friends of order at the head of the different departments, things would have taken another course, and that the evils which already presaged so much misfortune would be in part arrested. But a barbarous homicide, perpetrated by a murderous hand, destroyed, by the death of the minister Rossi, the hopes that he had conceived. This crime, lauded as a glorious deed, inauspiciously began the reign of violence; the Quirinal was surrounded by armed men; they attempted to set it on fire; they discharged volleys of musketry towards the apartments where the sovereign pontiff was, and he had the anguish to see one of his secretaries become a victim. They even determined to besiege his palace with cannon, and to enter by brute force, if he did not consent to admit the minister they had imposed.

“ After a series of deeds so atrocious, being compelled, as all the world knows, to yield to the empire of force, the pontiff saw himself in the painful

necessity of withdrawing from Rome and from the pontifical States, in order to regain that liberty of which he had been deprived, and which it is just he should enjoy in the full exercise of his supreme power. Thanks to Providence, he retired to Gaeta, and received there the hospitality of a prince eminently Catholic. There, surrounded by a portion of the Sacred College, and the representatives of all the powers with whom he had amicable relations, he delayed not a moment to raise his voice and to announce, by the pontifical act of 27th November last, the motives of his temporary separation from his subjects, the nullity and the illegality of all the acts emanating from a ministry the offspring of violence; and he named a commission of government that should take the direction of public affairs during his absence from the States.

“ Utterly disregarding his wishes, and seeking to lessen their influence with the uninformed classes, and with the aid of lying pretexts, the authors of these sacrilegious outrages did not dread committing the greatest crimes. Arrogating to themselves the rights that only appertain to a sovereign, they instituted a form of illegal government, with the title of Provisional Supreme Junta of State. By another act of 17th December last, the Holy Father protested against this new and heinous sacrilege, by announcing that this Junta of State was nothing but a usurpation of the sovereign power, and had not, consequently, any authority.

“ He hoped that by such protestations his dear subjects would be recalled to their duty of fidelity; but a new act of patent felony, of veritable rebellion, put the climax to his afflictions. Such an act was the convocation of a general national assembly of the Roman States, to establish new political rules for the management of the States of the Holy See. It was then, by another *motu proprio*, of 1st January last, he protested against this act and condemned it as an odious and sacrilegious attempt to the prejudice of his independence and of his sovereignty, worthy the punishments threatened by Divine laws as well as by human; and he forbade all his subjects to take part in it, warning them that whosoever dared to conspire against his temporal sovereignty of supreme pontiff of Rome, incurred censures and excommunication major, a penalty which he declared was incurred by those who, in the manner above and by lying pretexts, had violated and usurped his authority.

“ What was the reception by the anarchist party of such a protestation, and a condemnation so imperious? Suffice it to say, that they used every possible effort to prevent its promulgation. They menaced with severe punishment whoever dared to inform the people, and did not second their anarchical views. Meanwhile, despite a violence so unheard of, the majority of his subjects remained faithful to their sovereign, exposed themselves to every sacrifice, and even the sacrifice of life, rather than be

wanting in their duty of subjects and of Catholics. Exasperated still more by seeing their designs opposed, the anarchist party redoubled, in a thousand ways, both violence and terrorism, without respect either for rank or condition; and anxious at any price to consummate this excess of felony, they had recourse to the most mercenary and the vilest means. Proceeding from excess to excess, they abused the very privileges conceded by the sovereign pontiff, by especially converting the liberty of the press into the most revolting license.

"After the most iniquitous malversations to reward their accomplices, and get rid of honest and God-fearing men—after so many assassinations committed under their guidance—after having let loose rebellion, immorality, irreligion—after having seduced the imprudent youth, desecrating even the places consecrated to public worship by converting them into dens of most licentious soldiery, formed of runaways and criminals from foreign countries, the anarchists wished to reduce the capital of the Catholic world, the See of the pontiff, to a sink of impiety, destroying, if they could, all idea of sovereignty for him who is destined by Providence to govern the Universal Church; and who precisely to exercise freely his authority over all the Catholic world, enjoyed as an estate the patrimony of the Church. At sight of such desolations and massacres the Holy Father could not but be profoundly grieved, and at the same time moved to weep over his faithful subjects who claimed his aid and his succor, to be delivered from the most atrocious tyranny.

"His Holiness, as every one knows, a short time after his arrival at Gaeta, addressed himself to all the sovereigns with whom he was in relation. In making them acquainted with his departure from his capital, and from his pontifical States, as well as the causes that had urged him, he invoked their assistance for the defence of the domains of the Holy See. It is a very pleasing satisfaction to declare that all responded affectionately to his demand, having taken a lively share in his griefs, and in his painful situation, have offered to intervene in his favor, and have, at the same time, testified in his regard the most lively sentiments of devotion and attachment.

"In the presence of dispositions so gratifying and so generous, while her majesty the queen of Spain had, with so much solicitude, summoned a congress of the Catholic powers to advise on the means of promptly re-establishing the Holy Father in his States, and in his full liberty and independence, a proposition to which divers powers had given their adhesion, and to which the adhesion of others was waited, it is painful to have to repeat that the affairs of the pontifical States are a prey to a devastating incendiarism, the work of a party subversive of all social institutions, and who, under the specious pretence of nationality and

independence, have neglected no effort to arrive at the measure of their crimes.

“The decree called fundamental, emanating on the 9th instant (February) from the Roman Constituent Assembly, is an act which is the essence of the blackest felony and the most abominable impiety. It declares, principally, the pope deposed by fact and by right from the Temporal Government of the Roman State, it proclaims a Republic; and by another act is decreed the confiscation of the armory of St. Peter. His Holiness, seeing that it disgraces his supreme dignity of pontiff and sovereign, protests before all the sovereigns, before all nations, and before the Catholics of the entire world, against this excess of irreligion, against so violent an attempt, which despoils him of his sacred and incontestable rights. If a proper remedy is not applied to this state of things, succor will arrive only when the States of the Church, at present a prey to their most cruel enemies, will be reduced to ashes.

“The Holy Father having meanwhile exhausted all the means in his power, obliged, by his duty to the Catholic world, to preserve in its entirety the patrimony of the Church and the sovereignty which is annexed to it, so indispensable to maintain his liberty and his independence as supreme chief of the Church herself, moved by the sighs of his faithful subjects, who loudly implore his aid to deliver them from the iron yoke of tyranny which they cannot endure, addresses himself to the foreign powers, and in a particular manner to those Catholic powers, who, with such generosity of soul and in so glorious a manner, have manifested their firm intention to defend his cause. He has confidence that they will concur with solicitude, by their moral intervention, to re-establish him in his See, in the capital of his dominions, which have been piously allotted for his support in full liberty and independence, and which have been guaranteed by the treaties that form the basis of European nationality.

“And since Austria, France, Spain, and the kingdom of the Two Sicilies are, by their geographical position, in a situation to be able efficaciously to concur by their armies in re-establishing in the Holy See the order which has been destroyed by a band of sectarians, the Holy Father, relying in the religious feeling of those powerful children of the Church, demands with full confidence their armed intervention to deliver the States of the Church from this band of wretches, who, by every sort of crime, have practised the most atrocious despotism.

“This is the only means of re-establishing order in the Church, and of rendering to the sovereign pontiff the free exercise of his supreme authority, which his sacred and august character, the interests of the universal Church, imperiously demand. It is thus also that he can preserve the

patrimony which he received on taking the pontificate, and transmit it in its entirety to his successors.

"It is the cause of order and of Catholicity, and therefore it is the Holy Father hopes that while all the powers with whom he maintains friendly relations, and who, in the situation to which a factious party have reduced him, testified in so many ways the most lively interest, will give a moral assistance to the armed intervention which the weight of circumstances has compelled him to sue for, the four above-mentioned powers will not lose a moment in accomplishing the undertaking which he begs of them, and at the same time contribute to the maintenance of public order and of religion.

"G. CARD. ANTONELLI."

The plenipotentiaries met at Gaeta on the 30th of March, Cardinal Antonelli presiding; and so rapid was their decision and the execution of the course decided, that on the 22d of April the French army, under General Oudinot, duke of Reggio, sailed for Italy. The van impetuously assailed Rome on the 30th, without awaiting the rest of the army, or the siege-material. But Rome was not to be taken by a *coup-de-main*. Another obstacle arose. The French minister, de Lesseps, was really in league with the rebels, and on the 31st of May made a convention with the triumvirs, Joseph Mazzini, Charles Armellini, and Aurelio Saffi, which General Oudinot at once disavowed, and pushed on the siege with vigor. On the 30th of June, three months after the opening of the Conferences of Gaeta, the Roman republic posted a decree on the walls, abandoning the defence of the city.*

* At a period when it was announced that the Holy Father would visit France, the bishops of the United States invited him to extend his journey to America and to preside at a National Council. When the Conferences at Gaeta were about to commence, he replied as follows :

"PIUS PP. IX.

"Venerable Brother, health and apostolical benediction :

"We have received with the greatest pleasure the expression of your particular regard and love for us, and, well aware of your religion and faith in the Church, we are not surprised to learn, that the momentous trials which the head of the Church, the Roman pontiff, has to contend with, have filled you, venerable brother, with the most bitter grief. Although our afflictions would overpower us, without a special assistance from God, yet being able to do all things in Him who strengtheneth us, we are prepared to suffer most cheerfully any kind of tribulation, if our labors will only contribute to the peace, advantage, and safety of the Church. And, having the divine promise that Christ the Lord will be with his Church to the consummation of the world, and that the gates of hell will never prevail against it, we are exceedingly animated and encouraged by this belief, and amidst the most trying difficulties we experience a great consolation, while we wait for assistance from above. God, indeed, will not be wanting to his promises : commanding the winds and the sea, he will make peace, and will show, as you have well said, venerable brother, that the present dreadful storm has been raised, for manifesting the greater glory of his name, and achieving the more brilliant triumph of his holy Church.

The French army had not been alone in thus recovering the States of the Church. Austria had already restored the legations, and forces of Spain and Naples were at hand, as corps of observation.

On the fall of the organized form of rebellion, the commission of cardinals assumed the direction of affairs, and issued a proclamation to that effect, which, however, gave offence to Louis Napoleon.

Pius IX. was not, however, restored to his See. There was a disposition to impose terms upon him; and Pius was not inclined to submit to any such terms. At last Cardinal Du Pont, archbishop of Bourges was sent to the sovereign pontiff, bearing assurances such that the pope, who had declared that he would submit to no condition fettering his independence and his sovereign authority, consented to re-enter Rome on the 12th of April, 1850.

The stay of Pius IX. at Gaeta will not be forgotten in the annals of the universal Church. The prince was driven from his capital, and deprived, by infidel violence, of the administration of his States; but the head of the Church, the successor of Saint Peter, calmly directed the affairs of his vast flock. In those days of grief and exile the divine action seemed more sensible in the government of the Church. On the 2d of February, the feast of the purification of the Blessed Virgin, Pius IX. heard the reading of the decree attesting the heroic virtues of the venerable servant of God, Anthony Mary Zaccaria. When he replied to the discourse of thanks delivered by Father Varenna, he said:

"Every time that I am called by the divine mercy to preside at one of these sacred conventions where we are to discuss, and, still more, when we are, with the Holy Ghost, to decide on the acts of the heroes of the Church of Christ, I feel my heart expand with joy, confidence, and admiration, for the wonderful dispositions of God, who, with the inventions suggested by his love for man, raises up from time to time his divine Spirit in some of

As you have signified your earnest wish, that we should assist at the Provincial Council, which you are about to hold, according to custom, with our other venerable brethren, the bishops of the United States of America, be assured that nothing could afford us more pleasure, nothing could be more grateful to our heart, than to enjoy the presence and conversation of yourself and the same venerable brethren, to embrace you all with affection, to express to you the sentiments of profound regard which we entertain for each one of you, and to congratulate you upon the pastoral zeal for which you are distinguished, and the well-known solicitude with which you labor so assiduously, in the discharge of your functions, to extend the glory of God, to promote our most holy religion, and to secure the salvation of the beloved flocks committed to your care. But, as in the existing times and circumstances, it would be impossible for us to comply with your invitation, as your wisdom will easily understand, venerable brother, we request you to make known to the prelates these sentiments of our mind, and to inform them of the apostolical benediction, which from our inmost heart we affectionately impart to you, to them, to all the clergy of that country, and to all your faithful people.

"Given at Gaeta, the 8th day of March, 1849, in the third year of our pontificate.

"PIUS PP. IX."

his servants, in order that, declaring war on hell, good and faithful as they are, they may assail the enemies of truth, and fight against them the battles of the Lord. The man of God, of whom we this day proclaim that he heroically practised the Christian virtues, was raised up by God himself to awaken and reanimate the clergy by rendering them capable of curing the people of a lamentable wound which seemed to resist all remedies, because it was planted without shame or repugnance, and maintained by a deplorable habit.

"This thought comforts me in my present anguish; it opens my heart to that confidence in the Almighty, that he will raise up among his ministers new, good, and faithful servants, who will devote themselves to enlighten and instruct the nations, to remove from them the wound which daily tends to spread to their great injury and peril. Pride, impatience of all restraint, and the shameless passion of command and rule, in some prepare a sadder and heavier yoke than that they sought to overthrow.

"And since this spirit of pride directly attacks God, it may come to pass that God himself will resist it directly, as he formerly resisted in the plain of Babel. Humble prayer is the most efficacious remedy wherewith to labor to relieve the present malady; prayer that, beginning at the domestic altar, may then extend to the vaults of the house of the Lord.

"The Blessed Virgin offers us, in the solemnity of this day, an example of the manner in which we should resist the pride of the world, that is to say, by humility of action and by prayer. May ours, modelled on so great an example, merit her mediation and that of this servant of God, that the Lord may hasten the accomplishment of his mercies, promptly turning his paternal countenance on the misery of all his children, and especially on those who, in the capital of Christendom, have been led away by the seductive words of men, who, inviting them to happiness, have miserably deceived them.

"O Rome! Rome! God is my witness, daily I raise my voice to the Lord, and prostrate, as a suppliant, I implore him earnestly to withhold the scourge which desolates and daily bears more heavily upon thee! I implore him to stop the suggestion of the most perverse doctrines, and to banish from thy walls and all the State the political talkers who abuse the name of the people."

On the same day Pius IX. preluded the greatest act of his pontificate by issuing an encyclical letter to the patriarchs, primates, archbishops, and bishops of the universe, to gather from every land the tradition of the universal Church on the dogma of the Immaculate Conception of the mother of God. Human wisdom might condemn the consideration of the subject as unseasonable, the pope being in exile, and no steps yet taken to restore it; but the wisdom of God is wiser than human policy.

POPE PIUS IX.

“Venerable Brethren, health and apostolical benediction :

“When, by no merit of ours, indeed, but by the hidden designs of Divine Providence, we were first raised to the sublime chair of the prince of the apostles, and undertook the government of the whole Church, we experienced the liveliest consolation on discovering how wonderfully, under the pontificate of our predecessor Gregory XVI., of blessed memory, the whole Catholic world were re-inspired with the most ardent wish that the Holy See, by a solemn decision, should declare that the holy mother of God and our own most loving mother, the Immaculate Virgin Mary, was conceived without original sin. This most pious wish is clearly and openly attested and manifested by the incessant petitions presented to our predecessor as well as to ourselves, in which the most illustrious prelates, the most venerable canonical chapters, and the religious congregations, especially the distinguished order of preachers, have earnestly sought permission to add, and pronounce aloud and in public, in the holy Liturgy, and particularly in the preface of the Mass of the Conception of the most Blessed Virgin, the word ‘*Immaculatam.*’ To these entreaties our predecessor and ourselves have most cheerfully assented. Moreover, venerable brethren, a great many among you have not ceased to address to our predecessor and to us letters expressive of your repeated solicitations and increasing desires, urging us to define as a doctrine of the Catholic Church, that the conception of the Blessed Virgin Mary was altogether Immaculate and totally free from all stain of original sin. Nor have there been wanting, even in our time, men distinguished for their genius, virtue, piety, and doctrine, who, by their learned and laborious writings, have shed so clear a light upon this subject and this pious opinion, as to create surprise among many that the Church and the Apostolic See have not yet decreed to the most Blessed Virgin that honor which the common piety of the faithful so eagerly desires to have conceded to her by the solemn judgment and authority of the same Church and the same See. To us these wishes have been singularly grateful and full of consolation ; for, from our tenderest youth, nothing has been more dear or more precious to our heart, than to honor the most Blessed Virgin Mary from our inmost soul, with a peculiar devotion and service, and to do all that seemed to us calculated to promote her glory and praise, and extend the invocation of her name. Hence, from the very commencement of our supreme pontificate, have we most joyfully bestowed our serious cares and thoughts upon a matter of such extreme importance, and have not ceased to offer up to the infinitely good and great God our humble and fervent prayers, that He would deign to enlighten our spirit with his celestial light, and manifest the decision which should be made upon this subject. We rely, above all, on the hope that the most Blessed Virgin, who ‘has been

raised by her exalted merits above all the choirs of angels, even to the throne of God,* who has crushed under her feet the head of the old serpent, and who, 'placed between Christ and the Church,'† all full of sweetness and grace, has rescued the Christian people from the greatest calamities of every kind, from the snares and assaults of their enemies, and saved them from destruction, will compassionate, with the enlarged affection of her maternal heart, our most sad and most lamentable misfortunes, our most bitter trials, labors, and necessities, and, by her immediate as well as most powerful influence with God, will deign to avert the scourge of the divine wrath which afflicts us for our sins, and calm and dissipate the violent storm of evil which everywhere, to our incredible grief, agitates the Church, and convert our sorrow into joy. For you all know, venerable brethren, that the whole ground of our confidence is in the most Blessed Virgin, since God 'has established in Mary the plenitude of all good; so that, if we have any hope, if we have any grace, if there is any salvation for us, we know that through her we have received it; because such is the will of Him who wishes that all should come to us through Mary.‡

"For these reasons, we have appointed a number of ecclesiastics, eminent for their piety and their acquaintance with theological studies, and some of our venerable brethren, cardinals of our Holy Roman Church, distinguished for their virtue, their religion, their wisdom, their prudence, and their knowledge of divine things, to examine this important subject with the utmost care and in all its bearings, according to their prudence and doctrine, and then submit to us without delay the result of their deliberations. In the mean time, we have thought proper to follow in the illustrious footsteps of our predecessors, and to emulate their example.

"Wherefore, venerable brethren, we address to you these letters, by which we greatly excite your distinguished piety and episcopal solicitude, and urge upon you, each one in his own diocese, and according to his judgment and discretion, to ordain prayers and have them offered up, that the most merciful Father of lights may deign to shed upon us the brightness of his divine Spirit, and fill us with his heavenly inspirations, that in a matter of such importance we may be enabled to form that judgment which will redound to the greater glory of his holy name, the praise of the most Blessed Virgin, and the advantage of the militant Church. It is our earnest wish that you make known to us as soon as possible what devotion your clergy and faithful people entertain towards the conception of the Immaculate Virgin, and what may be their disposition to see this matter defined by the Holy See; and, above all, do we wish to learn, venerable brethren, what you yourselves, in your eminent wisdom, may think and desire in

* Saint Gregory, *De Expositione in lib. Reg.*

† Saint Bernard, *Serm. in Cap. 12 Apoc*

‡ Saint Bernard, in *Nativ. S. Mariæ.*

reference to this subject. And, as we have already granted to the Roman clergy the privilege of reciting a special canonical office of the conception of the most Blessed Virgin, recently composed and published, in place of that which is in the common breviary, we extend to you by these letters, venerable brethren, the faculty of permitting, if you think fit, all the clergy of your dioceses, to recite freely and lawfully the same canonical hours of the conception of the most Blessed Virgin, that are in use among the Roman clergy, without your requesting this faculty either from us or from our sacred congregation of rites.

"We have no doubt, whatever, venerable brethren, that your singular piety towards the most Blessed Virgin Mary will lead you to comply most carefully and zealously with our wishes herein expressed, and that you will transmit to us at a proper time the answers which we request from you. In the mean time, receive as a pledge of all heavenly favors, and chiefly as a testimonial of our friendship for you, the apostolic benediction, which we give you from our inmost heart, venerable brethren, as well as to all the clergy and faithful under your charge.

"Given at Gaeta, February 2, 1849, in the third year of our pontificate."

On the 20th of April, 1849, Pius IX., in consistory, addressed the cardinals as he would have done at Rome. Deploring the evils of the Church, attacked in its centre, he condemned the maxims which assail the principle of the temporal sovereignty of the head of the Church, and especially of those who regarded the loss of the temporal power as the most efficacious means of advancing the welfare and liberty of the Church.

"All know in fact," he says, "that the faithful people, the nations, kingdoms, would never have full confidence, entire obedience to the Roman pontiff, if they beheld him subject to the rule of a foreign prince or government, and deprived of his liberty. The faithful people and kingdoms would incessantly fear that the pontiff would conform his acts to the will of the prince or State in whose domain he lived, and would often raise this objection to his acts. Let the very enemies of the temporal power of the Apostolic See say, with what confidence and respect they would receive the exhortations, advice, orders, and decrees of the sovereign pontiff if they beheld him subject to the will of a prince or government, especially if he was under the dependence of a power which had long been at war with the pontifical authority."

In July, 1849, Pius addressed his subjects in these words:

"PIUS PP. IX. TO HIS BELOVED SUBJECTS:

"The Almighty has raised his hand and commanded the tempestuous waters of anarchy and impiety to stop. He has guided Catholic armies in

sustaining the rights—unanimously agreed on—of the common faith of the Holy See, and of our sovereignty. Eternal praises be given to Him who in the midst of his ire has not forgotten clemency.

“ Beloved subjects, in the whirlwind of such disastrous vicissitudes, our heart has deplored the evils which have fallen on the Church, on religion, and on you ; but it has never forgotten the love which it has borne to you, and which it will ever bear. We hail with satisfaction the day when we are to return amongst you. We will return with the most lively desire to bear to you comfort and consolation, and with the intention of occupying ourselves, with all our strength, for your good—applying serious remedies to grave evils, consoling our good subjects, who, whilst they expect from us such institutions as will satisfy their wants, desire, as we desire, sufficient guarantees to be established for the independence of the high pontificate, so necessary for the repose of the Catholic world.

“ Without delay, for the reorganization of public affairs, we are about to name a commission, which, furnished with full powers, and aided by a ministry, will regulate the government of the State.

“ May the blessing of God, which we have ever implored, even when distant from you, and which to-day with greater fervor we implore, light upon you ; and for the greater comfort of our soul, we hope that all those who at present are unable to enjoy the fruits of their treason may be convinced of their errors, and may also be entitled to consideration and mercy by a speedy and sincere repentance.

“ PIUS PP. IX.

“ GAETA, July 17th, 1849.”

The obstacle to his return being at last removed, Pius IX. on the 12th of April, 1850, re-entered Rome.

The first thought of Pius IX. after re-entering upon the full exercise of his sovereign rule, was to publish a plenary indulgence in form of a jubilee. It is at once the constant tradition of the Holy See and the natural inspiration of the piety and charity of Pius IX., to diffuse over all, in happy events as well as in calamities, the divine benediction of which the vicar of Christ is the sovereign dispenser : to pray, and invite the Catholic universe to pray, in mourning and in joy.

But before Pius IX. could ask the Catholic world to join him in rendering thanks to God, who had just replaced his vicar on the throne, rendered illustrious by so many holy pontiffs, impiety repressed at Rome struck a blow at religion in Turin. A law to which the name of its author has clung, the law Siccardi, had been presented to the Piedmontese Chambers ; a law which, violating the faith of concordats, abolished the ecclesiastical forum, and destroyed the rights of asylum, seized the property of the

Church, fettered the preaching of the Gospel, regulated the observance of holidays, and secularized marriage.

Pius IX. had no sooner known of this odious project than he protested formally by a note of the cardinal pro-secretary of state: but it was in vain. The Piedmontese government would not recall the law Siccardi; the chambers passed it, the king sanctioned and promulgated it, and the civil power seized upon the Church as its property.

A confessor of the faith who had already been persecuted by the Piedmontese government, Monsignor Frasoni, archbishop of Turin, addressed a circular to the priests of his diocese to explain to them, with as much Christian prudence as apostolic firmness, how far they should obey an unjust law, and also where they should cease to obey men in order to obey God. He was cited to appear before a judge. He asked the time necessary to obtain the sanction of the sovereign pontiff, without which he could not by the terms of the concordat, acknowledge the jurisdiction of secular judges. He was, however, torn from his episcopal palace, thrown into a dungeon in the citadel, and after a mock trial, sentenced to one month's imprisonment, and a fine of one hundred dollars.

The persecuted prelate received from every side tokens of admiration and respect. The Catholics of France bought by subscription the pastoral cross of Archbishop Affre, to present to the new confessor of the faith.

Pius IX., who had by his example taught all the Catholic clergy to resist infidel assaults on the Church, wrote to the archbishop to encourage and console him; and he also protested in most distinct terms to the Sardinian government against its unjust conduct.

But the fury of the enemies of the Church was not arrested. The persecution attempted to dishonor the bishops of Sardinia by attributing to them sentiments opposed to those of Archbishop Frasoni. But this falsehood only drew on the persecutors shame and confusion. All the bishops protested, and the persecution endeavored to take vengeance on all. An order of arrest was issued against Archbishop Varenini of Saccari; but fear of rousing an insurrection of the Catholics compelled them to reduce this to confinement in his own palace. They next hoped to harrass the archbishop into a resignation of his See, in hopes that on his removal the opposition would cease: but failing in this, they demanded the archbishop's resignation. His refusal roused their fury to the last excess. He was then seized and thrown into the fortress of Fenestrella. Such was the result of the protest of the Holy Father, and instead of the thanks which he hoped to render the king of Piedmont, in the next allocution, he was compelled, in the consistory of the 1st of November, to protest against these new outrages.

While the rising state in Italy was thus invading the rights of conscience,

and in the name of liberty entering upon that course of state intrusion into the religious affairs of the people, which are so at variance with every sound principle of free government, the pope was unfettered by any such opposition restoring the hierarchy in England. There the law, oppressive as it is still in some of the remnants of the old penal laws, has some spirit of sense and justice. No law in England or the United States compels a clergyman of any denomination to act in violation of the acknowledged doctrines of his creed, or requires him to administer the ordinances of his religion in a particular way, at the dictation of strangers. It is left for infidels, who mock at all religion and profess none, to attempt to prescribe to persons adhering to a Church, how they are to act in the affairs of their religion.

The Catholics of England from the time of James II., had been under the direction of bishops *in partibus*, acting as vicars-apostolic of districts into which England was divided. This mode, temporary in its origin, had many objections, but as long as the Stuart influence prevailed, any change was dangerous to the peace of the Church. When the American revolution cut off the Catholics in the United States from the vicar-apostolic of London, to whom they were subject, they earnestly solicited the establishment of a titular bishop and not of a vicar-apostolic, and Benjamin Franklin, when consulted by the pope's nuncio, warmly recommended the same course.

We shall however see that Palmerston and the statesmen of England, a century after Franklin in time, but two centuries before him in political science, failed to appreciate the importance of the step taken by the sovereign pontiff, and too blind to see the honor really conferred on the English nation by his kindly act of investing the head of the new hierarchy with the purple, took counsel only of old time, senseless prejudice, and howled.

On the 24th of September, 1850, Pius IX., by a letter apostolic, re-established an ecclesiastical hierarchy in England, making, in accordance with the reservation of the bill of Catholic emancipation, no See at any city where there was a bishop of the Established Church. Nicholas Wiseman, a man famous for his vast erudition, his scholarship, his extended and liberal views, his elegance as a writer, a man whose works found their way into the theological seminaries of Protestantism as text-books, was created archbishop of Westminster, head of the new hierarchy, and honored with the Roman purple. Sees were also erected at Clifton, Northampton, Birmingham, Nottingham, Shrewsbury, St. Davids, Liverpool, Salford, Beverly, Hersham, and Plymouth.

The revolutionary Italian party had strong support in England, and such a proof of the vitality of the papacy was a terrible blow to their cause. They excited all the passions, prejudice, and insensateness of the English

press and populace. The land rang with cries against papal aggression. The pope, the Blessed Virgin, Saint Peter, Saint Paul, and Cardinal Wiseman were burnt in effigy, all doubtless considered as enemies of the British peace and quiet. After this lapse of time it is not easy to look seriously at this outburst, which resulted in nothing more than a bill prohibiting the use of any title conferred by the pope, a bill which the Catholic bishops treated with entire indifference. Wiseman and others were bishops before the pope's act of September, 1850, and whether called bishops of some place in Egypt or some place in England could be no greater and no less in the eye of the English law for good or evil. The fact was overlooked entirely that any thing in organization, educational establishments, or literature tending to improve and elevate the Catholic body in England, improved and elevated a body of British subjects, rendering them more useful to the State.

England, wiser, would have thanked the Holy Father, and made it an occasion for reopening direct negotiation between the court of Saint James and the Holy See. The British queen might have asked, in consideration of her millions of Catholic subjects, a still greater representation in the sacred college.

On the 4th of March, 1853, letters apostolic decreed a similar re-establishment of the ecclesiastical hierarchy in Holland. Pius IX. finding that the negotiations opened by Gregory XVI. failed to secure any result, cut the gordian knot by independent action. Similar clamors arose, but when the excitors of popular tumult had played their part, calm was restored.

The strangest trouble was that which arose in the grand duchy of Baden. For three centuries Protestants have scoffed and ridiculed Catholics for offering Masses for the dead. The custom has been made the object of jokes, sneers, anecdotes, and pleasantries of every kind: it was held up as the very height of Roman Catholic absurdity. Yet in 1853 the Protestant government of Baden punished a Catholic bishop for not saying Masses for the dead—not for any Catholic, but for a Protestant: they had so appreciated the importance of having Masses said, that, remaining Protestants, they would compel Catholic priests to say Masses for the repose of their souls!

The government of Baden having ordered funeral services for the Grand Duke Leopold, the archbishop of Fribourg, Monsignor Hermann de Vicari, prescribed to his clergy such prayers for the occasion as the rules of the Church permitted. He could go no further. For his omitting to say Masses for the dead, for the repose of the Protestant prince who in life had regarded them as a folly, he was threatened with and met the fate of the archbishop of Turin. Pius IX., on the 9th of January and 27th of February, addressed two briefs to this new confessor of the faith.

The thought of defining dogmatically the belief of all ages and all Catholic nations in the Immaculate Conception of the Blessed Virgin dated back to the beginning of his pontificate. By an encyclical letter dated from his exile at Gaeta, he had asked the opinion of all the patriarchs, primates, archbishops and bishops of the universe as to the seasonableness of this definition. The holding of a general council is attended with many embarrassments, and cannot be freed from the intrigues and intervention of the so-called Catholic powers. Pius IX. has initiated a new course. All, even the most Gallican in ideas, acknowledge that a definition in matters of faith by the pope, sustained by the episcopate, is infallible. The rapid means of communication and correspondence in modern times, the more direct intercourse of the bishops with Rome, makes it easy now for the pope to hear the well-considered, deliberate opinion of a great majority of the bishops throughout the world.

In this case the replies of the bishops coming from all parts of the world show that the universal Church, which has one God, one baptism, has also one faith. As to the dogma there was no dissension, a few doubted the expediency of making it an article of faith.

These replies determined the Holy Father to proceed to the great act, so long demanded by that Catholic heart which, stung by the dishonor and slight put upon the Mother of the Man-God, cannot find infinite words or things wherewith to express its love and veneration for our Lady. A number of bishops were convoked to Rome for the 8th of December, 1854; a still greater number hastened to the Eternal City. Not one would have been absent from that greatest festival of Mary that the world had ever witnessed, had not health, distance, poverty, and other evils interposed. Some broken in health hastened even at the peril of life to join in the great act, and one, Bouvar, known far and wide by his learned works, died at Rome as the glorious festival ended.

That day the bishops assembled in the Vatican to the number of one hundred and seventy, and robed in white cape and mitre proceeded to the Sixtine Chapel, where the Holy Father soon appeared in their midst. The bishops formed in rank according to seniority, and chanting the Litany of the Saints, moved in procession down the great staircase of the palace to the Basilica of Saint Peter's. The sovereign pontiff, preceded by the cardinals, closed the line, beneath a white canopy. On reaching the centre of the Basilica the line halted, and the bishops formed a semicircle before the chapel of the Blessed Sacrament, and awaited the pope. They all knelt with His Holiness. After the prayers the procession formed again and passed beyond the high altar into the choir, where the pontifical throne was raised. The sovereign pontiff, mounted on his throne, received the obedience of the cardinals and bishops. Then began the pontifical office.



THE VIRGIN MARY, BY CARLO MARZUOLI, 1680.
Engraved by J. Smith, 1780.

After the gospel had been chanted in Latin and Greek, Cardinal Macchi, dean of the sacred college, accompanied by the dean of the archbishops and the dean of the bishops present, as well as by an archbishop of the Greek and of the Armenian rite, proceeded to the extremity of the choir, to the foot of the pontifical throne, and in the name of the Universal Church besought the vicar of Christ to raise his apostolic voice and pronounce the dogmatic decree of the Immaculate Conception of Mary, a decree which will excite new joy in heaven, and fill the whole world with exultation.

Before accomplishing this great act, the sovereign pontiff once more invoked the aid of the Holy Ghost. All present knelt and sang with one voice and one heart the *Veni Creator Spiritus*. When the chant had died away, the sovereign pontiff, standing before his throne, pronounced with a voice full of faith and full of authority the definition of the mystery of the Immaculate Conception.

“Wherefore, after we had unceasingly, in humility and fasting, offered our own prayers and the public prayers of the Church to God the Father, through his Son, that he would deign to direct and confirm our mind by the power of the Holy Ghost, and having implored the aid of the entire heavenly host, and invoked the Paraclete with sighs, and he thus inspiring, to the honor of the holy and undivided Trinity, to the glory and adornment of the Virgin Mother of God, to the exaltation of the Catholic faith and the increase of the Catholic religion, by the authority of Jesus Christ our Lord, of the blessed apostles, Peter and Paul, and our own. . . .”

The voice of the sovereign pontiff seemed for a moment to sink beneath the grandeur of the divine inspiration of which he was the organ, and his eyes filled with tears. All present were moved; attentive, but mute with admiration and awe, stood in expectation, and the Holy Father, conquering the feelings of nature, resumed in a loud voice:

“We declare, pronounce, and define, that the doctrine which holds that the Blessed Virgin Mary, at the first instant of her conception, by a singular privilege and grace of the Omnipotent God, in virtue of the merits of Jesus Christ, the Saviour of mankind, was preserved immaculate from all stain of original sin, has been revealed by God, and therefore should firmly and constantly be believed by all the faithful. Wherefore, if any shall dare—which God avert—to think otherwise than as it has been defined by us, let them know and understand that they are condemned by their own judgment, that they have suffered shipwreck of the faith, and have revolted from the unity of the Church; and besides, by their own act, they subject themselves to the penalties justly established, if what they think they should dare to signify by word, writing, or any other outward means.”

The cardinal dean, prostrate at the feet of the sovereign pontiff, thanked him in the name of the universal Church for the decree of definition just

pronounced, and begged him to publish it in an authentic bull. The promoter of the faith, attended by the apostolical prothonotaries, approached the pontifical throne, and as consistorial advocate petitioned the sovereign pontiff to order a juridical statement of the great act to be drawn up. The sovereign pontiff gave the necessary order.

At the same time the cannon of the castle of Saint Angelo, and the bells of all the Basilicas and churches announced to the Eternal City and to the Roman Campagna the triumph of Mary. After the *Ite Missa est*, the sovereign pontiff intoned the hymn of thanksgiving, chanted alternately by the choir and the papal chapel. Fifty thousand witnesses, who had gathered in the Basilica of Saint Peter's, received the pontifical benediction.

The next day the sovereign pontiff assembled the sacred college and the bishops in the great consistorial hall of the Vatican, and pronounced the allocution which, subsequently published by all the bishops, announced to the Catholic world the act of December 8th.

The bull issued to conclude the important proceedings was in these words :

“Pius, Bishop, Servant of the servants of God, for a perpetual remembrance :

“God, who is ineffable, whose ways are mercy and truth, whose will is omnipotence, and whose wisdom reaches powerfully from end to end, and sweetly disposes all things, when He foresaw from all eternity the most sorrowful ruin of the entire human race to follow from the transgression of Adam, and in a mystery hidden from ages determined to complete, through the incarnation of the word, in a more hidden sacrament, the first work of His goodness,—so that man, led into sin by the craft of diabolical iniquity, should not perish contrary to His merciful design, and that what was about to befall in the first Adam should be restored more happily in the second,—from the beginning and before ages chose and ordained a mother for His only-begotten Son, of whom made flesh, He should be born in the blessed plenitude of time ; and He loved her above all other creatures, that in her alone he pleased himself with a most benign complacency. Wherefore, far before all the angelic spirits and all the saints, he so wonderfully endowed her with the abundance of all the heavenly gifts drawn from the treasure of divinity, that she might be ever free from every stain of sin, and all fair and perfect, and might possess that plenitude of innocence and holiness than which, under God, none is greater, and which, except God, no one can reach even in thought. And indeed it was most becoming that she should be always adorned with the splendor of the most perfect holiness, and, free even from the very stain of original sin, should gain a most complete triumph over the ancient servant—the mother so venerable, to whom

God the Father gave his only Son, whom begotten and equal to himself he loved as himself, in such a manner that he would be by nature one and the same common Son of God the Father and of the Virgin, and whom the Son himself chose to make substantially his mother, and from whom the Holy Ghost willed and operated that he should be conceived and born, from whom he himself proceeds.

“Which original innocence of the august Virgin agreeing completely with her admirable holiness, and with the most excellent dignity of the mother of God, the Catholic Church, which, ever taught by the Holy Spirit, is the pillar and ground of truth, as possessing a doctrine divinely received, and comprehended in the deposit of heavenly revelation, has never ceased to lay down, to cherish, and to illustrate continually by numerous proofs, and daily more and more by splendid facts. For this doctrine, flourishing from the most ancient times, and implanted in the minds of the faithful, and by the care and zeal of the holy pontiffs wonderfully propagated, the Church herself has most clearly pointed out when she did not hesitate to propose the conception of the same Virgin for the public devotion and veneration of the faithful. By which illustrious act she pointed out the conception of the Virgin as singular, wonderful, and very far removed from the origin of the rest of mankind, and to be venerated as entirely holy, since the Church celebrates festival days only of what is holy. And, therefore, the very words in which the sacred Scriptures speak of the uncreated wisdom and represent his eternal origin, she has been accustomed to use not only in the offices of the Church, but also in the holy Liturgy, and to apply to the origin of that Virgin, which was preordained by one and the same decree with the incarnation of the divine wisdom.

“But though all those things everywhere justly received amongst the faithful show with what zeal the Roman Church, the mother and mistress of all Churches, has supported the doctrine of the Immaculate Conception of the Virgin, yet the illustrious acts of this Church are evidently worthy that they should be reviewed by name; since, so great is the dignity and authority of the same Church, and so much due to her who is the centre of Catholic truth and unity, in whom alone religion has been inviolably guarded, and from whom it is right that all the Churches should receive the tradition of faith. Thus the same Roman Church had nothing more at heart than to assert, to protect, to promote, and to vindicate in the most eloquent manner the Immaculate Conception of the Virgin, its devotion, and doctrine, which fact so many illustrious acts of the Roman pontiffs, our predecessors, most evidently and fully testify and declare, to whom in the person of the prince of the apostles was divinely committed by Christ our Lord the supreme care and power of feeding the lambs and sheep, of confirming the brethren, and of ruling and governing the universal Church.

“Indeed, our predecessors vehemently gloried to institute in the Roman Church by their own apostolic authority the Feast of the Conception, and to augment, ennoble, and promote with all their power the devotion thus instituted, by a proper office and Mass, by which the prerogative of immunity from hereditary stain was most manifestly asserted; and to increase it either by indulgences granted, or by leave given to states, provinces, and kingdoms, that they might choose as their patroness the mother of God, under the title of Her Immaculate Conception; or by approved sodalities, congregations, and religious societies, instituted in honor of the Immaculate Conception; or by praises given to the piety of those who have erected monasteries, hospitals, or churches under the title of the Immaculate Conception, or who have bound themselves by a religious vow to defend strenuously the Immaculate Conception of the mother of God. Above all, they were happy to ordain that the Feast of the Conception should be celebrated through the whole Church as that of the Nativity; and, in fine, that it should be celebrated with an octave in the universal Church, and be placed in the rank of the festivals which are commanded to be kept holy by all; also that a pontifical function should be celebrated yearly in our patriarchal liberian Basilica on the day sacred to the Conception of the Virgin; desiring to cherish daily more and more in the minds of the faithful this doctrine of the Immaculate Conception of the mother of God, and to excite their piety to the worship and veneration of the Virgin conceived without original sin, they have gladly given leave that in the Litany of Loretto and in the preface of the Mass itself should be proclaimed the Immaculate Conception of the same Virgin, and that thus the law of faith should be established by the law of prayer. We ourselves, treading in the footsteps of so many predecessors, have not only received and approved what had been most wisely and piously established and appointed by them, but also, mindful of the institution of Sixtus IV., we have appointed by our authority a proper office of the Immaculate Conception, and with a most joyful mind have granted the use of it to the universal Church.

“But since those things which pertain to worship are evidently bound by an intimate chord to its object, and cannot remain fixed and determined if that be doubtful and remain in uncertainty, our predecessors the Roman pontiffs, increasing with all their care the devotion of the Conception, studied most especially to declare and inculcate its object and doctrine; for they taught clearly and openly that the festival was celebrated for the Conception of the Virgin, and they condemned as false and most foreign to the intention of the Church the opinion of those who considered and affirmed that it was not the Conception itself, but the sanctification, to which devotion was paid by the Church. Nor did they think of treating more leniently those who, in order to weaken the doctrine of the Immaculate

Conception, drawing a distinction between the first and second instant of the Conception, asserted that the Conception was indeed celebrated, but not its first moment; for our predecessors themselves thought it their duty to protect and defend with all zeal both the Feast of the Conception of the most Blessed Virgin, and the Conception at the first instant, as the true object of the *cultus*. Hence the words in which Alexander VII. declared the intention of the Church, saying: 'Certainly it is the ancient piety of the faithful of Christ towards his most blessed mother the Virgin Mary, believing that her soul, in the first instant of its creation, and infusion into the body, was by a special grace and privilege of God, in virtue of the merits of Jesus Christ her Son the Redeemer of mankind, preserved free from the stain of original sin, and in this sense they keep and celebrate with solemn rite the festival of her Conception.'

"Our predecessors thought it their duty to preserve from contention the doctrine of the Immaculate Conception of the mother of God; and guarded and protected it with all care and zeal. For not only have they never suffered that this doctrine should be censured or traduced in any way, but they have gone much further, and in clear declarations on repeated occasions they have proclaimed that the doctrine in which we confess the Immaculate Conception of the Virgin, is, of its own merit, to be held in veneration, that it is of ancient and nearly universal belief, which the Roman Church has undertaken to cherish and protect, and, above all, worthy to be placed in its sacred liturgy and its solemn prayers. Nor content with this, in order that the doctrine of the Immaculate Conception of the Virgin should remain inviolate, they have most severely prohibited the opinion adverse to this doctrine to be defended either in public or in private, and they have wished to destroy it, as it were, by repeated wounds. To which reiterated and most clear declarations, lest they might appear empty, they added a sanction; all which things our illustrious predecessor, Alexander VI., embraced in these words:

"Considering that the Holy Roman Church solemnly celebrates the festival of the Conception of the Immaculate and ever-blessed Virgin, and has appointed for this a special and proper office, according to the pious, devout, and laudable institution which emanated from our predecessor, Sixtus IV.; and wishing, after the example of the Roman pontiffs, our predecessors, to favor this laudable piety, and devotion, and the reverence shown towards it, in the Roman Church invariably, since the institution of the honor itself; in order also to protect this devout practice of venerating and celebrating the most Blessed Virgin, preserved from original sin by the preventing grace of the Holy Ghost, and desiring to preserve in the flock of Christ unity of spirit in the bond of peace, removing offences and scandals; at the instance and prayers of the said bishops, with the chapters

of their churches, and of King Philip and his kingdom—we renew the constitutions and decrees issued by the Roman pontiffs, our predecessors, and especially by Sixtus IV., Paul V., and Gregory XV., in favor of the opinion that the soul of the Blessed Virgin, in its creation and infusion into the body, was endowed with the grace of the Holy Ghost, and preserved from original sin; likewise, also, in favor of the festival of the same Virgin mother of God, celebrated according to that pious belief which is recited above; and we command that it shall be observed under the censures and penalties contained in the same constitutions.

“And against all and each of those who try to interpret the aforesaid constitutions or decrees so that they may frustrate the favor shown through these to the said belief, and to the festival or *cultus* celebrated according to it, or who try to recall into dispute the same belief, festival, or *cultus*, or against these in any manner, either directly or indirectly, and on any pretext, even that of examining the grounds of defining it, or of explaining or interpreting the sacred Scriptures, or the Holy Fathers or doctors; in fine, who should dare, under any pretext or on any occasion whatsoever, to say either in writing, or by word of mouth to preach, to treat, to dispute, by determining or asserting any thing against these, or by bringing arguments against them, and leaving these arguments unanswered, or by expressing dissent in any other possible manner; besides the punishments and censures contained in the constitutions of Sixtus IV., we desire to add, and by these presents do add, that they should be deprived *ipso facto*, and without other declaration, of the faculty of preaching, of lecturing in public, or of teaching and interpreting, and also of their voice, whether active or passive, in elections; from which censures they cannot be absolved, nor obtain dispensation, unless from us, or our successors, the Roman pontiffs; likewise we wish to subject, and we hereby do subject, the same persons to other penalties to be inflicted at our will, and at that of the same Roman pontiffs, our successors, renewing the constitutions or decrees of Paul V. and Gregory XV., above mentioned.

“And we prohibit, under the penalties and censures contained in the index of prohibited books, and we will and declare to be esteemed prohibited *ipso facto*, and without other declaration, books in which the aforesaid belief and the festival or devotion celebrated according to it is called into dispute, or in which any thing whatever is written or read against these, or lectures, sermons, treatises, and disputations against the same, published after the decree above eulogized of Paul V., or to be published at any future time.’

“All are aware with how much zeal this doctrine of the Immaculate Conception of the mother of God has been handed down, asserted, and propagated by the most distinguished religious orders, the most celebrated

theological academies, and the most eminent doctors of the science of divinity. All know likewise how anxious have been the bishops openly and publicly to profess, even in the ecclesiastical assemblies themselves, that the most holy mother of God the Virgin Mary, by virtue of the merits of Christ our Lord, the Saviour of mankind, never lay under original sin, but was preserved free from the stain of guilt, and was thus redeemed in a more sublime manner. To which, lastly, is added this fact, more grave, and in an especial manner most important of all, that the Council of Trent itself, when it promulgated the dogmatical decree concerning original sin, in which, according to the testimonies of the sacred Scriptures, of the Holy Fathers, and of the most approved councils, it determined and defined that all mankind are born under original sin; solemnly declared, however, that it was not its intention to include in the decree itself, and in the amplitude of its definition, the blessed and Immaculate Virgin Mary, mother of God. Indeed, by this declaration, the Tridentine Fathers have asserted, according to the times and the circumstances of affairs, that the Blessed Virgin Mary was free from the original stain, and thus clearly signified that nothing could be justly adduced from the sacred writings, nor from the authority of the fathers, which would in any way gainsay so great a prerogative of the Virgin.

“And, in truth, illustrious monuments of a venerated antiquity of the eastern and of the western Church most powerfully testify that this doctrine of the Immaculate Conception of the most Blessed Virgin, every day more and more so splendidly explained and confirmed by the highest authority, teaching, zeal, science, and wisdom of the Church, and so wonderfully propagated amongst all the nations and peoples of the Catholic world, always existed in the Church as received from our ancestors, and stamped with the character of a divine revelation. For the Church of Christ, careful guardian and defender of the dogmas deposited with her, changes nothing in them, diminishes nothing, adds nothing, but, with all industry, by faithfully and wisely treating ancient things, so studies to limit and perfect their expression, that these ancient dogmas of heavenly faith may receive evidence, light, distinction, but may still retain their fulness, integrity, and propriety, and may increase only in their own kind, that is, in the same sense and the same belief.

“The fathers and writers of the Church, taught by the heavenly writings, had nothing more at heart, in the books written to explain the Scriptures, to vindicate the dogmas, and to instruct the faithful, than emulously to declare and exhibit in many and wonderful ways the Virgin's most high sanctity, dignity, and freedom from all stain of original sin, and her renowned victory over the most foul enemy of the human race. Wherefore, repeating the words in which, at the beginning of the world, the Almighty,

announcing the remedies of his mercy, prepared for regenerating mankind, crushed the audacity of the lying serpent, and wonderfully raised up the hope of our race, saying, 'I will place enmity between thee and the woman, thy seed and hers,' they taught that in this divine oracle was clearly and openly pointed out the merciful Redeemer of the human race—the only-begotten Son of God, Christ Jesus, and that his most blessed mother, the Virgin Mary, was designated, and at the same time that the enmity of both against the serpent was signally expressed. Wherefore, as Christ, the mediator of God and men, having assumed human nature, blotting out the handwriting of the decree which stood against us, fastened it triumphantly to the Cross, so the most Holy Virgin, bound by a most close and indissoluble chain to him, exercising with him and through him eternal enmity against the malignant serpent, and triumphing most thoroughly over the same, has crushed his head with her immaculate foot.

“This illustrious and singular triumph of the Virgin, and her most exalted innocence, purity, and holiness, her freedom from all stain of sin, and ineffable abundance of all heavenly graces, virtues, and privileges, the same fathers beheld in that ark of Noah which, divinely appointed, escaped safe and sound, from the common shipwreck of the whole world; also in that ladder which Jacob beheld reaching from earth to heaven, by whose steps the angels of God ascended and descended, on whose top leaned God himself; also in that bush which, in the holy place, Moses beheld blaze on every side, and amidst the crackling flames, neither consumed nor suffering the least injury; also in that tower unassailable in the face of an enemy, from which depend a thousand bucklers and all the armor of the brave; also in that garden fenced round about, which cannot be violated nor corrupted by any schemes of fraud; also in that brilliant city of God, whose foundations are in the holy mounts; also in that most august temple of God, which, shining with divine splendor, is filled with the glory of God; likewise in many other things of this kind, which the fathers have handed down, that the exalted dignity of the mother of God, and her spotless innocence and holiness, obnoxious to no blemish, have been signally pre-announced.

“To describe the same totality, as it were, of divine gifts, and the original integrity of the Virgin, of whom Jesus was born, the same fathers, using the eloquence of the prophets, celebrate the august Virgin as the spotless dove, the holy Jerusalem, the exalted throne of God, the ark and house of sanctification, which eternal wisdom built for itself; and as that queen who, abounding in delights and leaning on her beloved, came forth entirely perfect from the mouth of the Most High, fair and most dear to God, and never stained with the least spot. But when the same fathers and the writers of the Church revolved in their hearts and minds that the

most Blessed Virgin, in the name and by the order of God himself, was proclaimed full of grace by the angel Gabriel, when announcing her most sublime dignity of the mother of God, they taught that, by this singular and solemn salutation, never heard on any other occasion, is shown that the mother of God is the seal of all divine graces, and adorned with all the gifts of the Holy Ghost—yea, the infinite storehouse and inexhaustible abyss of the same gifts; so that, never obnoxious to an evil word, and alone with her Son partaker of perpetual benediction, she deserved to hear from Elisabeth, inspired by the Holy Ghost, ‘Blessed art thou amongst women, and blessed is the fruit of thy womb.’

“Hence it is the clear and unanimous opinion of the same that the most glorious Virgin, for whom he who is powerful has done great things, has shone with such a brilliancy of all heavenly gifts, such fulness of grace and such innocence, that she has been an ineffable miracle of the Almighty, yea, the crown of all miracles, and worthy mother of God; that she approaches as nearly to God as created nature can do, and is exalted above all human and angelic eulogies.

“And therefore to vindicate the original innocence and justice of the mother of God, they not only compared her to Eve as yet virgin, as yet innocent, as yet incorrupt, and not yet deceived by the deadly snares of the most treacherous serpent, but they have extolled her with a wonderful variety of thought and expression. For Eve, miserably obeying the serpent, fell from original innocence, and became his slave, but the most Blessed Virgin, continually increasing her original gift, not only never lent an ear to the serpent, but by a virtue divinely received utterly broke his power.

“Wherefore they have never ceased to call the mother of God the lily amongst the thorns, earth entirely untouched, Virgin undefiled, immaculate, ever blessed, and free from all contagion of sin, from which was formed the new Adam, a reproachless, most sweet paradise of innocence, immortality, and delights planted by God himself, and fenced from all snares of the malignant serpent, incorruptible branch that the worm of sin hath never injured; fountain ever clear, and sealed by the virtue of the Holy Ghost, a most divine temple, or treasure of immortality, or the sole and only daughter not of death but of life, the seed not of enmity but of grace, which, by the singular providence of God, has always flourished, budding from a corrupt and infected root, contrary to the settled and common laws. But as if these encomiums, though most splendid, were not sufficient, they proclaimed in proper and defined opinions that when sin should be treated of, no question should be entertained concerning the Holy Virgin Mary, to whom an abundance of grace was given to conquer sin completely. They also declared that the most glorious Virgin was the reparatrix of her parents, the vivifier

of posterity, chosen before ages, prepared for himself by the Most High, predicted by God when he said to the serpent, 'I will place enmity between thee and the woman,' who undoubtedly has crushed the poisonous head of the same serpent; and therefore they affirm that the same Blessed Virgin was through grace perfectly free from every stain of sin, and from all contagion of body, and soul, and mind, and, always conversant with God, and united with him in an eternal covenant, was never in darkness but always in light, and therefore was plainly a fit habitation for Christ, not on account of her bodily estate, but on account of original grace.

"To these things are added the noble words, in which, speaking of the Conception of the Virgin, they have testified that nature yielded to grace and stood trembling, not being able to proceed further; for it was to be that the virgin mother of God should not be conceived by Anna before grace should bear fruit. For she ought thus to be conceived as the first-born, from whom should be conceived the First-born of every creature. They have testified that the flesh of the Virgin, taken from Adam, did not admit the stains of Adam, and on this account that the most Blessed Virgin was the tabernacle created by God himself, formed by the Holy Spirit, truly enriched with purple which that new Beseleel made, adorned and woven with gold; and that this same Virgin is, and is deservedly, celebrated as she who was the first and peculiar work of God, concealed from the fiery weapons of evils, fair by nature, and entirely free from all stain, came into the world all shining like the morn in her Immaculate Conception; nor, truly, was it right that this vessel of election should be assailed by common injuries, since, differing much from others, she had community with them only in their nature, not in their fault.

"Far more, it was right that, as the Only-begotten had a Father in heaven, whom the Seraphim extol as thrice holy, so he should have a mother on the earth, who never should want the splendor of holiness. And this doctrine, indeed, so filled the minds and souls of our forefathers, that a marvellous and singular form of speech prevailed with them, in which they very frequently called the mother of God immaculate and entirely immaculate, innocent and most innocent, spotless, holy, and most distant from every stain of sin, all pure, all perfect, the type and model of purity and innocence, more beautiful than beauty, more gracious than grace, more holy than holiness, alone holy and most pure in soul and body, who has surpassed all perfectitude and all virginity, and has become the dwelling-place of all the graces of the most Holy Spirit, and who, God alone excepted, is superior to all, and by nature fairer, more beautiful, and more holy than the Cherubim and Seraphim; she, whom all the tongues of heaven and earth do not suffice to extol. No one is ignorant that these forms of speech have passed, as it were, spontaneously into the monuments

of the most holy Liturgy, and the offices of the Church, and that they occur often in them; since the mother of God is invoked and named in them as a spotless dove of beauty, as a rose ever blooming and perfectly pure, ever spotless and ever blessed, and is celebrated as innocence which was never wounded, and a second Eve who brought forth Emmanuel.

“It is no wonder, then, if the pastors of the Church and the faithful people have daily more and more gloried to profess with so much piety and fervor this doctrine of the Immaculate Conception of the Virgin mother of God, pointed out in the sacred Scriptures, according to the judgment of the fathers, handed down in so many mighty testimonies of the same, expressed and celebrated in so many illustrious monuments of revered antiquity, and proposed, and with great piety confirmed by the greatest and highest judgment of the Church; so that nothing would be more dear or more pleasing to the same than everywhere to venerate, invoke, and proclaim the Virgin mother of God conceived without original stain. Wherefore, from the ancient times the princes of the Church, ecclesiastics, and even emperors and kings themselves, have earnestly entreated of this Apostolic See that the Immaculate Conception of the most holy mother of God should be defined as a dogma of Catholic faith. Which entreaties were renewed also in these our times, and especially were addressed to Gregory XVI., our predecessor of happy memory, and to ourselves, not only by bishops, but by the secular clergy, religious orders, and the greatest princes and faithful peoples.

“Therefore, with singular joy of mind, well knowing all these things, and seriously considering them, scarcely had we, though unworthy, been raised by a mysterious dispensation of Divine Providence to the exalted Chair of Peter, and undertaken the government of the whole Church, than, following the veneration, the piety, and love we had entertained for the Blessed Virgin from our tender years, we had nothing at heart more than to accomplish all these things which as yet were amongst the ardent wishes of the Church, that the honor of the most Blessed Virgin should be increased, and her prerogatives should shine with a fuller light. But wishing to bring to this full maturity, we appointed a special congregation of our venerable brethren the cardinals of the Holy Roman Church, illustrious by their piety, their wisdom, and their knowledge of the sacred sciences, and we also selected ecclesiastics, both secular and regular, well trained in theological studies, most carefully to weigh all those things which relate to the Immaculate Conception of the Virgin, and report to us their opinion. And, although from the entreaties lately received by us to at length define the Immaculate Conception of the Virgin the opinions of most of the bishops of the Church were understood, yet we sent encyclical letters, dated at Gaeta, the 2d day of February, in the year 1849, to all our venerable brethren, the bishops of

the Catholic world, in order that, having offered prayers to God they might signify to us, in writing, what was the piety and devotion of their flocks towards the Immaculate Conception of the mother of God, and especially what the bishops themselves thought about promulgating the definition, or what they desired, in order that we might pronounce our supreme judgment as solemnly as possible.

“Certainly we were filled with no slight consolation when the replies of our venerable brethren came to us. For, with an incredible joyfulness, gladness, and zeal, they not only confirmed their own singular piety, and that of their clergy and faithful people, towards the Immaculate Conception of the most Blessed Virgin, but they even entreated of us with a common voice that the Immaculate Conception of the Virgin should be defined by our supreme judgment and authority. Nor, indeed, were we filled with less joy when our venerable brethren of our Holy Roman Church, the cardinals of the special congregation aforesaid, and the consulting theologians chosen by us, after a diligent examination demanded of us with equal alacrity and zeal this definition of the Immaculate Conception of the mother of God.

“Afterwards, treading in the illustrious footsteps of our predecessors, and desiring to proceed duly and properly, we proclaimed and held a consistory, in which we addressed our brethren, the cardinals of the Holy Roman Church, and with the greatest consolation of mind we heard them entreat of us that we should promulgate the dogmatic definition of the Immaculate Conception of the Virgin mother of God.

“Therefore, having full trust in the Lord that the fitting time had now come for defining the Immaculate Conception of the Virgin Mary, mother of God, which the divine words, venerable tradition, the perpetual opinion of the Church, the singular agreement of Catholic prelates and faithful, and the signal acts and constitutions of our predecessors wonderfully illustrate and proclaim; having most diligently weighed all things, and poured forth to God assiduous and fervent prayers, we resolved that we should no longer delay to sanction and define, by our supreme authority, the Immaculate Conception of the Virgin, and thus to satisfy the most pious desires of the Catholic world and our own piety towards the most Holy Virgin, and, at the same time, to honor more and more the only-begotten Son, Jesus Christ our Lord, since whatever honor and praise are given to the mother redound to the Son.

“Wherefore, after we had unceasingly, in humility and fasting, offered our own prayers and the public prayers of the Church to God the Father, through his Son, that he would deign to direct and confirm our mind by the power of the Holy Ghost, and having implored the aid of the entire heavenly host, and invoked the Paraclete with sighs, and he thus inspiring, to the honor of the holy and undivided Trinity, to the glory and adornment

of the Virgin mother of God, to the exaltation of the Catholic faith and the increase of the Catholic religion, by the authority of Jesus Christ our Lord, of the blessed Apostles, Peter and Paul, we declare, pronounce, and define that the doctrine which holds that the Blessed Virgin Mary, at the first instant of her Conception, by a singular privilege and grace of the Omnipotent God, in virtue of the merits of Jesus Christ, the Saviour of mankind, was preserved immaculate from all stain of original sin, has been revealed by God, and therefore should firmly and constantly be believed by all the faithful. Wherefore, if any shall dare—which God avert—to think otherwise than as it has been defined by us, let them know and understand that they are condemned by their own judgment, that they have suffered shipwreck of the faith, and have revolted from the unity of the Church; and besides, by their own act, they subject themselves to the penalties justly established, if what they think they should dare to signify by word, writing, or any other outward means.

“Our mouth is filled with joy and our tongue with exultation, and we return, and shall ever return, the most humble and the greatest thanks to Jesus Christ our Lord, because through his singular beneficence he has granted to us, though unworthy, to offer and decree this honor, glory, and praise to his most holy mother. We rely, moreover, with most certain hope and confidence that this most Blessed Virgin, who, all fair and immaculate, has bruised the poisonous head of the most malignant serpent, and brought salvation to the world, who is the praise of the prophets and the apostles, the honor of the martyrs, and the crown and joy of all the saints—who is the safest refuge and most faithful helper of all who are in danger, and the most powerful mediatrix and conciliatrix in the whole world, with her only-begotten Son, and the most illustrious glory, ornament, and most firm defence of the Holy Church, who has destroyed all heresies, and snatched from the greatest calamities of all kinds the faithful peoples and nations, and delivered us from so many threatening dangers, will effect, by her most powerful patronage, that, all difficulties being removed, and all errors dissipated, our holy mother the Catholic Church may flourish daily more and more throughout all nations and countries, and may reign from sea to sea and to the ends of the earth, and may enjoy all peace, tranquillity, and liberty; that the sinful may obtain pardon, the sick healing, the weak strength of heart, the afflicted consolation, and that all who are in error, their spiritual blindness being dissipated, may return to the path of truth and justice, and may become one flock and one shepherd.

“Let all the children of the Catholic Church most dear to us hear these our words, and, with a more ardent zeal of piety, religion, and love, proceed to honor, invoke, and pray to the most Blessed Virgin Mary, mother of God, conceived without original sin; and let them fly with entire con-

fidence to this most sweet mother of mercy and grace in all dangers, difficulties, doubts, and fears. For nothing is to be feared, and nothing is to be despaired of under her guidance, under her auspices, under her favor, under her protection, who, bearing towards us a mother's love, and taking up the work of our salvation, is solicitous for the whole human race, and, appointed by God queen of heaven and earth, and exalted above all the choirs of angels and orders of saints, standing at the right hand of the only-begotten Son, Jesus Christ our Lord, intercedes most powerfully, and obtains what she asks, and cannot fail.

"Finally, in order that this our definition of the Immaculate Conception of the most Blessed Virgin Mary may be brought to the knowledge of the universal Church, we will that these letters apostolic do stand for a perpetual remembrance of the same, commanding that to transcripts or printed copies, subscribed by the hand of some notary public and authenticated by the seal of a person of ecclesiastical rank, appointed for the purpose, the same credit shall be given which would be given to these presents if they were exhibited or shown.

"Let no man presume to infringe this our declaration, pronouncement, and definition, or to oppose and contradict it with presumptuous rashness. If any should presume to assail it, let him know that he will incur the indignation of the Omnipotent God and of his blessed Apostles, Peter and Paul.

"Given at Rome, at Saint Peter's, in the year of the Incarnation of our Lord, MDCCCLIV, the sixth of the Ides of December, in the ninth year of our pontificate.

"PIUS PP. IX."

It is said that in one of the last meetings of the commission appointed to prepare the decree and bull, all by a mysterious inspiration turned to the successor of Saint Peter and exclaimed: "*Petre, doce nos, confirma fratres tuos.*" The dogmatic definition of the Immaculate Conception met this want of the Church, this need of being instructed and confirmed in the faith. Since the act of December 8th, 1854, there is nothing left of the private opinions as to the limits of the authority of the sovereign pontiff, conditions of his infallibility, the necessity of general council for dogmatic definitions. Here Peter alone spoke, but the whole Church piously received his words. Not a protest was raised against the dogma defined or against the form of the decree of definition.

The dogmatic definition of the Immaculate Conception overthrows all the monstrous errors of the day, by affirming anew man's weakness, his fall, the redemption, and necessity of grace.

Pius VI. had seen the troubles of the Church begin by the invasion of

its liberties under the free-thinking Joseph II. of Austria. We have seen what evils resulted to his States. Anxious to recall the evil deeds of the past, the Emperor Francis Joseph, on the 18th of August, 1855, by a new concordat with the Holy See, made communication between the Austrian bishops, clergy and laity entirely free, without the necessity of any royal placet.

But while religion was thus recovering liberty in one quarter, new difficulties for the Holy See arose in another. The congress held at Paris at the close of the Crimean war, took up the Roman question. Cavour and Villamarina, the Sardinian envoys, submitted a note, advising that the pope be deprived of the legations. England supported the view. France was not averse, but remembered that thirty-three million of Frenchmen regarded the pope as head of the Church.

Although political affairs in the beginning of 1860 wore a most unfavorable aspect, Pius continued his labors as head of the Church, undisturbed and undismayed. He seemed to seek consolation in adding new names to the dyptics of the Church. During the month of May he beatified the martyr, Blessed John Sacander, who died for the Faith at Olmutz; Blessed Canonico de Rossi; and Blessed Benedict Joseph Labre, the miracles at whose holy death at Rome in the last century converted the Reverend John Thayer, of Boston, whose life as a priest, both in America and Ireland, was so fruitful, and who endeavored to continue his good works beyond the grave, by founding at Boston a convent of Ursuline nuns.

The menacing condition of affairs required that the pope should now put his army on a footing to preserve his States from aggression. This was the more necessary, as Garibaldi, a fanatical republican, was preparing to enter Sicily in order to excite that already discontented island against its Bourbon sovereign, and no one could foresee how far his machinations, aided covertly by Sardinia and England, would succeed.

Pius IX., accordingly, committed the organization of his army to the experienced French General de Lamoricière, who early in 1860 visited the frontiers, outlined his works, and after repulsing in May an incursion made at Latera, prepared to organize into an army the volunteers who flocked from all Catholic countries to uphold the Chair of Peter. Catholic Ireland exultingly sent a thousand of her bravest sons, who formed an Irish battalion in the Roman army, and won renown worthy of the past glory of the race.

Lamoricière saw how incompetent he would be with the force at his command, about nineteen thousand men of all nations, all arms, and no discipline, to meet the war-trained legions of the Savoyard, whose white cross loomed so balefully for Italian freedom. He was, however, assured by the French ambassador at Rome, in September, that Sardinia would not, nor

would be permitted to invade the Papal States. The great care of the papal general was therefore to prevent any irruption being made into the States of the Church similar to that made by Garibaldi into Sicily. He accordingly disposed his troops so as to prevent any irruption by Garibaldi, who having carried Sicily to bow its knee to the Savoyard, was fast overrunning Naples, where men seemed more anxious to lose a national existence than others have ever been to gain it.

Lamoricière was, however, soon to be undeceived. On the 8th and 9th of September, a Sardinian force of twenty-five thousand men entered Umbria, followed the next day by a similar force. These at once occupied Urbino, Fossombrone, and Citta della Pieve. The papal general had at once to form new plans, and endeavor to hold the invaders in check till an appeal was made to Europe. He sent General de Courten with one part of his small force to Fossombrone, and General Schmidt to Citta della Pieve. A letter from the Sardinian General Fanti made it evident that he intended to wrest the Marches and Umbria from the pope. Lamoricière prepared to dispute his march. Posting Major O'Reilly with three hundred of his countrymen and two hundred and ten other soldiers at Spoleto, an important point, he marched with General Pimodan to occupy Macerata, before the Sardinian army should reach it. With all the advantage of numbers, the host of the invader, under Cialdini, had been checked at Pesaro by the gallantry of Colonel Lappi, who held the place with a handful of men and three guns, defying all efforts to dislodge him, till he was overwhelmed by numbers. Pesaro was taken and Orvieto capitulated.

While Lamoricière was pushing on to cover Ancona, a part of the Sardinian army invested Perugia. General Schmidt maintained the struggle for three hours, but only the troops of the line and the Irish contingent did their duty, and Schmidt surrendered on the 15th of September, with one thousand five hundred men.

On the 17th the invaders summoned Major O'Reilly to surrender. Here the resistance was long and stubborn, and only after inflicting the severest loss on the enemy did O'Reilly capitulate, and become with his half-equipped force prisoners of war. The next day Lamoricière, who was at the head of about eight thousand men, endeavored to break the Sardinian line at Castelfidardo. The attempt was desperate, but no other course seemed open. He concerted his plans well, and the holy fields of Loretto resounded with the din of battle. Notwithstanding the gallantry of many of his troops, especially the Irish, whom his report always names with eulogy, he was defeated, losing six hundred prisoners, six pieces of artillery, and a flag, besides a large number killed and wounded; among the latter the chivalrous General de Pimodan, who died in the hands of the Sardinians, those victors purchasing victory at the cost of a thousand lives.

Lamoricière then fell back into Ancona, which the Sardinians at once invested by land and water. The papal general made a manful resistance, and repulsed the enemy's assaults with vigor, the Sardinians losing no less than forty-nine officers and five hundred and thirty men. But at last seeing no prospect of succor, he surrendered on the 29th of September. The papal army was gone, the pope, stripped by violence of the Marches and Umbria, was at the mercy of the new scourge of Catholicity. But France at last spoke, and declared that the patrimony of Saint Peter should not be invaded. The Sardinian had more important matters in hand. Naples was to be reduced and annexed to his kingdom. Following up the success of Garibaldi, whom success induced him to avow, Victor Emmanuel finally drove Francis II., king of Naples, from his territories, and thenceforward every true-hearted Neapolitan, who preferred to see his country free and independent, became in the jargon of liberalism a bandit.

For a time then the Roman States were tranquil, and Pius continued his labors as pontiff, addressing, on the 24th of January, 1861, a brief to the United Bulgarians, through Monsignor Brunoni, vicar-apostolic at Constantinople, expressing extreme joy at the happy commencement of the return of their nation to Catholic faith and unity. As in the case of the other Eastern Churches which renounce schism, they were empowered to preserve their ancient rites, ceremonies, liturgy, and hierarchy.

A few days after, in a remarkable allocution, he replied to those who assert that the papacy is incompatible with civilization, and showed that on the contrary all real civilization was due to it. Rome opposed only that pseudo civilization which oppressed and imprisoned the cardinals, bishops, and priests of the Church, dispersed harmless religious orders, seized ecclesiastical property, and prevented Catholic journals from appearing.

On the 25th of March, 1862, Pius IX. proceeded to the Minerva to pronounce the decree for the canonization of the Japanese Jesuit martyrs, crucified at Nangasaki in 1597. He then spoke fully and distinctly as to his temporal power, and announced the approaching canonization, to which he had invited the bishops of the world.

On the 8th of June, Whitsunday, that imposing ceremony took place; nearly three hundred cardinals, patriarchs, primates, archbishops, and bishops, gathered around the successor of Saint Peter to uphold him by their unanimous voice. From east and west, from north and south, these pastors of souls, these successors of the apostles, came one in heart, in faith, in devotion to the See of Peter. The world might rage against the anointed of the Lord, but of the feeling of the Catholic people and their pastors there could be no question.

The holy men to be raised to the altars on this day were Saint Peter Baptist and his twenty-two companions, of the order of Saint Francis;

Saint Paul Miki and his two companions, of the Society of Jesus, all fellow-martyrs, under the Taicosama of Japan, and Saint Michael de Sanctis, professed priest of the Discalced Trinitarians for the Redemption of Captives. The last was born in Catalonia, in 1591, and in the world was known by the name of Angemit. At an early age he joined the severe reform of the barefoot order of the Most Holy Trinity, just about that time established by the Blessed John Baptist of the Conception. After leading a life of heroic virtue, he died in 1625, at the age of thirty-four, and was beatified by Pope Pius VI., in 1779.

The Japanese martyrs were, so to say, the first-fruits of that glorious army of martyrs which makes the Japanese Church so illustrious. Saint Francis Xavier had planted the faith in that island empire, and after a time some Spanish Franciscans, led by Father Peter Baptist, came to share the labors of the Portuguese Jesuits. The tycoon ordered their arrest, and the missionaries, Father Peter Baptist, Father Martin of the Ascension, Father Francis Blanco, priests ; Brother Philip of Jesus, a native of Mexico not yet ordained, Brother Francis of Saint Michael, and Gonzalvo Garzia, lay-brothers, with a number of their Japanese neophytes, were all seized and condemned to death, together with three young Japanese Jesuits, Paul Miki, a learned and eloquent preacher, John de Goto, and James Kisai.

Kings endeavored to save them, but all proved unavailing, and the martyrs were all crucified, on the 5th of February, 1595, in a line on the hillside, overlooking Nangasaki, in view of the Europeans gathered there. Some of these martyrs were boys twelve to fifteen years of age, but none showed the least fear or wavering. On the crosses Saint Peter Baptist intoned the *Nunc dimittis*, and when all had chanted it together, Louis, the youngest martyr, asked him to sing the *Laudate pueri Dominum* ; but as the saint was absorbed in contemplation, the little martyr began it on earth and closed it in heaven.

The next day Pius IX. addressed an allocution to the sacred college and all the bishops assembled for the canonization.

“VENERABLE BRETHREN :

“We felt the greatest joy yesterday when, by God’s assistance, we accorded the honors and the worship reserved for the saints to twenty-seven invincible heroes of our divine religion ; inasmuch as we could do so with all you, venerable brethren, who, endowed with no common share of virtue and piety, called upon to share our solicitude, and fighting courageously for the House of Israel in these times of difficulty, are to us a source of the greatest comfort and consolation. Would to God that, while we enjoy this happiness, no grief, no unhappiness elsewhere, came to afflict our soul. We cannot, however, avoid feeling bitter grief and anguish at seeing the

terrible evils and wrongs which, to the great detriment of souls, afflict and harass the Catholic Church and civil society in so deplorable a manner.

“You know perfectly well, venerable brethren, what implacable war is being urged against the whole of Catholicity by those enemies of the cross of Christ, who, renouncing the holy doctrine, unite themselves together by guilty ties, blaspheme that which they do not understand, and endeavor, by every perverse means, to shake the foundations of our most holy religion, as well as those of human society; nay, who seek, if it were possible, to overthrow them together, to fill people’s minds and hearts with the most pernicious errors, and to corrupt them and turn them away from the Catholic religion.

“And in fact these crafty concocters of deceit, these fabricators of lies, never weary of dragging from their obscurity old monstrous errors, which have been so many times met and refuted by the writings of the learned, and condemned by the Church; and whilst endeavoring to exaggerate them under the novelty, variety, and falseness of form and expression, employ every means of spreading them everywhere. By these wicked and diabolic artifices, they corrupt and pollute all knowledge, infuse a pernicious venom into souls, encourage unbridled license of manners and every perverse passion, overthrow religious and social order, seek to stifle all ideas of justice, truth, right, honesty, and religion, the holy teaching of Christ, make a sport of doctrine and despise and deny it. The mind trembles; it recoils; it fears to touch, however lightly, the principles of these fearful errors, by which their votaries in these unhappy times seek to overthrow all things divine and human.

“Not one of you is ignorant, venerable brethren, how that such men completely destroy that intimate and necessary union which the will of God has placed between the two orders, of which one is in nature, the other above nature, and that they change, overthrow, and annihilate the proper, true, and certain character of the divine revelation, as well as the constitution and government of the Church. And in the rashness of their opinions, they go to the extent of fearlessly and audaciously denying all truth, all power and right of divine origin. In fact, they do not blush to assert that the science of philosophy and morals, as well as of civil laws, can and ought to be separated from the divine revelation, the authority of the Church, and that the Church is not a true, perfect, and really free society; that she does not possess certain inalienable rights which her divine Founder bestowed upon her; but that it appertains to the civil power to define what are the rights of the Church and the limits within which she can exercise these rights.

“On the other hand, they falsely pretend that the civil power can meddle with the things that belong to religion, with morals and the spiritual gov-

ernment of souls, and even prevent the bishops and the faithful from free and reciprocal communication with the Roman pontiff, established by God sovereign pastor of the whole Church ; and this in order to dissolve completely that strict and necessary union which should exist between the members of Christ's mystical body, and he whom Christ has divinely instituted as their visible head. Neither do they fear, by the assistance of all kinds of falsehood and fraud, to spread abroad that the consecrated ministers of the Church, and the Roman pontiff, ought to be absolutely excluded from the exercise of all temporal power and government.

“ Moreover, they make no scruple of ascertaining, with the greatest shamelessness, not only that the Divine revelation is of no consequence, but still more, that it is prejudicial to man's perfection ; and that this Divine revelation is itself imperfect, and consequently that it is subject to continuous and indefinite progress, corresponding to the progressive development of human reason.

“ They fear not, further, to proclaim that the prophecies and miracles revealed in the holy writings are poetic fictions ; that the sacred mysteries of our faith are a summary of philosophical researches ; that the divine books of the two Testaments contain nothing but myths, and that our Lord Jesus Christ himself (most horrible to say !) is but a myth, a fiction. These authors of mischief, these doctors of perverse doctrine, proclaim aloud that the moral law has no need of Divine sanction, and that it is not at all necessary that human laws should be conformable to natural right, or that they should receive from God an obligatory force. Thence they infer that there exists no Divine law. Still more, they dare to deny all action of God upon men and the world, and they rashly assert, while making God an abstraction, that human reason is the sole arbiter of truth and falsehood, of good and evil ; that this same human reason is a law to itself, and that its own unaided resources are sufficient to achieve the well-being of individuals and of peoples.

“ But as they dare to deduce from human reason left to its own resources all the truths of religion, they give to man a sort of innate right, according to which he may speak and think freely of religion, and accord to God the honor and the worship which his own whim may decide to be the best. And they reach to that excess of impiety and daring that they attack Heaven itself and seek to banish God from it. With a signal perversity and equal folly, they fear not to assert that a Supreme Power does not exist, truly wise and omniscient, a Divine essence distinct from the universality of things ; and they conclude that God is the same thing as material nature, subject consequently to change, that God is formed in reality in man and in the world, that every thing is God and possesses the substance even of God, and that God is the same thing as the world : they thus con-

found spirit with matter, necessity with liberty, the true with the false, good with evil, justice with injustice.

“Assuredly they could invent nothing, nor imagine any thing more absurd, more impious, nor more opposed to reason. As to authority and right, they permit themselves to run into such errors as to say rashly that authority is nothing but the right of a majority, and the sum of material forces, that right consists in the material fact, that the duties of man are but an empty name, and that all human actions have the strength of right.

“Thus, heaping falsehood on falsehood, extravagance on extravagance, treading under foot all legitimate authority, all unquestioned rights, every obligation, every duty, they do not fear to supplant the right of truth and of law by the false and unjust right of brute force, and to subject the moral order to the material. They recognize no other power than this material one; they use every science and every truth to accumulate and augment their wealth in various ways, and surfeit themselves with every shameful pleasure.

“By all these impious and abominable principles, the reprobate sense of the flesh, which rebels against the spirit, is harbored, cherished, exalted, and it is to this that they ascribe the natural faculties and rights which, they say, are trodden under foot by the Catholic doctrine, completely despising that apostolic warning which says to us; ‘If you live after the flesh, you shall die; but if by the spirit you mortify the works of the flesh, you shall live.’ Moreover, they endeavor to attack and destroy every right of all legitimate property; they falsely invent and imagine, in their mind and in their thought, an indefinable right, on which they suppose the State ought to rest its foundations, and which in their folly they imagine to be the origin and source of every other right.

“Whilst recounting briefly, and with sorrow, the principal errors of our unhappy times, we do not mention here, venerable brethren, a multitude of other falsehoods and frauds almost innumerable, and with which you are well acquainted. The enemies of God and of men make use of them to disturb and destroy religion and society. We pass over, also, in silence, numerous serious injuries, calumnies, and insults, with which they ceaselessly revile and pursue the consecrated ministers of the Church and the Apostolic See.

“We will not speak of the hateful hypocrisy with which, especially in Italy, the leaders and satellites of these fatal troubles and rebellions proclaim loudly that they wish the Church to enjoy liberty, whilst, at the same time, with sacrilegious boldness, they tread under foot, more and more each day, the rights and laws of this same Church, pillage its revenues, annoy in every way those bishops and ecclesiastics who fulfil their ministry with honor, cast them into prison, drive violently from their convents the

novices of religious orders and the virgins consecrated to God, deprive them of their goods, and employ every means to bring the Church into the most servile bondage, and to give it over to oppression. And whilst your so welcome presence affords us the greatest consolation, you may see for yourselves what sort of liberty is enjoyed by our venerable brethren the bishops of Italy. They are fighting with perseverance the battles of the Lord, and have not been able, to our great grief, through the efforts of their enemies, to come to us, and with you to assist at this solemnity, which they most ardently desired; for the archbishops and bishops of unhappy Italy have in their letters testified most earnestly their love and their obedience towards us and this Apostolic See.

“ You perceive that no bishop from Portugal is present here, and it is no trifling grief for us to think what is the nature of the obstacles which have prevented them from coming to Italy.

“ We have omitted to mention many other horrible and deplorable crimes which these upholders of false doctrine have committed to our regret and to yours, and to the grief of all good men. We will say nothing either of the impious conspiracy, the wicked undertakings of every kind, and the treacheries by which they would overthrow and destroy the temporal principality of this Apostolic See. It is more pleasing to us to recount to you the wonderful concord with which you and our other venerable brethren, the bishops of the entire Catholic world, have never ceased in your letters addressed to us, and in your pastoral letters to the faithful, to expose similar falsehoods, to refute them, and at the same time teach them that the temporal power of the Apostolic See had been bestowed upon the Roman pontiff by an especial counsel of Divine Providence; that this power is necessary, in order that this same pontiff may, independently of all princes and all civil power, exercise the sovereign power which he has to teach and govern the Lord's flock, to exercise the authority which he has received by the divine institution of Christ himself with perfect freedom, throughout the Church, and to procure the greatest amount of good and benefit for this same Church and for the faithful who compose it.

“ The evils which we have thus far deplored, venerable brethren, present a truly lamentable spectacle. Who cannot see, in fact, that through the fatal influence of so many wicked creeds, of such extravagancies and worthless machinations, from day to day, Christians become miserably tainted, and that they are led away to their loss; that the Catholic Church, its wholesome doctrine, its rights and its venerable laws, its sacred ministry, are exposed to every kind of attack, and that thus all irregularities and crimes increase, are spread, and that civil society itself is thrown into confusion.

“ It is for this reason that, remembering our apostolic ministry, and filled

with solicitude for the spiritual welfare of all peoples, and for the salvation of those who have been confided to us by God, to use the words of our most holy predecessor, Leon: 'We cannot govern those who have been confided to our care, if we do not rebuke, with the zeal of our divine religion, all those who infect, or who are themselves infected; and if, in order to preserve those who are yet untainted, we do not treat this plague with all the severity in our power, to hinder its spreading,' we, raising our apostolic voice in your most holy assembly, solemnly reprove, proscribe, and condemn the errors which we have just mentioned—not only those which attack Catholic faith and doctrine, the laws, ecclesiastical and divine, but also those which are completely opposed to the eternal and natural law, to justice and right reason.

"And you, venerable brethren, who are the doctors, the guardians of the Lord's flock, and his shepherds, we urge you more and more, and we encourage you to continue in your religion and in your episcopal zeal, as you have hitherto done, to the great honor of your order; to employ all your care, all your application and diligence, to keep the faithful who are confided to your care from these poisoned pasturages, and to refute and overthrow, sometimes by sermons, sometimes by opportune writings, so many monstrous and perverse errors.

"You know, in short, that whatever is of the last importance is at stake when there is question of our most holy belief of the Catholic Church, and of her doctrine, the salvation of peoples, the welfare and the tranquillity of human society. Thus, as much as in you, apply yourselves to withdrawing the faithful from the contagion of so terrible a scourge; remove from their hands and from their sight wicked books and journals; impress on their hearts assiduously the precepts of our august religion, instruct them, warn them, exhort them to fly from those teachers of iniquity as they would fly from the presence of a serpent. Let all your care, all your thoughts, be directed to this end: to give to the Church holy and instructed ministers, that the lustre of virtue may visibly shine in them, that the faithful of both sexes may learn to live honestly, to practise piety and virtue; that the studies of the young may be beneficially directed, watch with the greatest anxiety and care that in the midst of polite literature and of serious studies things do not steal in against faith, religion, and morals.

"Courage, venerable brethren. Do not allow yourselves to be cast down in these times, when trouble and iniquity are at their height; but trusting in the help of God, taking the invincible buckler of justice and faith, armed with the sword of the spirit, which is the word of God, do not cease to oppose the efforts of all the enemies of the Catholic Church, and of the Apostolic See, to repel their blows, and to stem their attacks.

"Meanwhile, raising our eyes day and night towards heaven, we do not

cease, venerable brethren, to pray and supplicate, in the humility of our heart, by the most fervent prayers, the most clement Father of mercies, and the God of all consolation, who causes light to shine in the midst of darkness, and whose power out of the midst of stones raises up children to Abraham; that through the merits of his only Son, our Lord Jesus Christ, he will deign to stretch forth the help of his hand to the Christian republic and to civil society, to confound all errors and impiety, and by the light of his divine grace to illuminate the minds of all those who are going astray, to convert them and bring them back to himself, in order that the holy Church may gain the peace so much desired; that she may extend each day more throughout the earth, and that she may obtain prosperity, strength, and glory.

“But in order that our prayers and requests may be the more readily heard, do not cease to have recourse to the intercession of the Immaculate and Most Holy Virgin Mary, Mother of God; she is to us all a mother full of mercy and of love; she has always destroyed heresies; she is our most powerful patroness with God. Beg also the prayers of Saint Joseph, the spouse of the Most Holy Virgin, of the holy apostles Peter and Paul, and of all the saints; particularly of those whose names have just been inscribed in the annals of the saints, to be the object of our worship and veneration.

“But we cannot refrain, before concluding, from again declaring to you how great is the consolation and joy with which your presence has filled us, venerable brethren, who, with so much faith, piety, and respect, remain firmly attached to us and to this chair of Saint Peter. Faithful to the duties of our ministry, you employ all your zeal in procuring the greater glory of God and salvation of your souls; and with love and care which cannot be too much admired, you and the other bishops of the Catholic world, and the faithful committed to your care, do not cease from soothing and softening the grief and bitterness with which we are oppressed.

“It is for this reason that on this great occasion we publicly express, and in the amplest manner, our sentiments of love and gratitude to you, to all our other venerable brethren, and to all the faithful.

“We beg you to be good enough, on your return to your dioceses, to express in our name to all the faithful confided to your care, these feelings of our heart; assure them of our paternal affection, and impart to them the apostolic benediction, which we are happy to give from the bottom of our heart to you, venerable brethren, and to those same faithful; at the same time all those wishes which we entertain for your true felicity.”

The assembled pastors of the flock of Christ replied to this allocution of

His vicar in an address which, by the unanimity of its heartfelt devotion, filled the heart of the Holy Father with consolation.

For a time after this great Catholic demonstration, only mutterings were heard, no new step marking the progress of the enemies of the Church. In 1866, however, a war was occasioned in Germany by the wresting of the duchies of Holstein and Schleswig from the Danish king. To secure these entirely to herself, Prussia made war on Austria, and in a campaign of brief but terrible duration, humbled that power by a series of victories culminating in the great triumph of Sadowa. When Prussia declared war, Italy also attacked Austria, but though terribly defeated at Custozza, she attained her object, the Venetian territory, which Austria ceded to France, and which Napoleon III. at once transferred to Italy.

Prussia availed herself of the success to annex to her dominions the kingdom of Hanover, with Hesse and several smaller States, avoiding apparently any thing to increase her Catholic population.

Italy is now ruled from the Alps to the extremity of Sicily by a single monarch, except the patrimony of Saint Peter, and the little republic of San Marino. The expulsion of the pope from Rome is now the only unanswered wish of the Italian infidel party.

What the future has in reserve for the papacy it were worse than useless to conjecture. God may design Pius IX. to be once more an exile,—to form perhaps the first in a new line of popes like those at Avignon, and now that Italy can no longer, on reasons of State policy arising from this temporal sovereignty, claim that the pope shall always be an Italian, be succeeded by a series of pontiffs chosen from the various Christian lands which cling more devotedly to the successor of Saint Peter. But whether ruling in the Vatican, or a prisoner in some Savona, dying in exile like Pius VI. and Gregory VII., the supreme pontiff will feel assured of the devoted allegiance, not of kings and Cæsars perhaps, but of the millions of faithful Catholics throughout the world, and of their united and zealous pastors of every rank.

Here we will close the reign of Pius IX.

Of his acts in regard to the Church in this country we have reserved all notice to this place. His interest has been unwavering, and an earnest desire to place it in a condition similar to that of older countries has been repeatedly manifested.

In 1853 he sent to this country, on a complimentary mission to the president, the Most Rev. Cajetan Bedini, subsequently a cardinal, to prepare the way, if possible, for the establishment of a nunciature at Washington. The Constitution of the United States, however, leaves matters in an anomalous condition. The Federal Government cannot treat with the pope on religious matters, each State reserving that subject to itself: yet no

State can enter into diplomatic intercourse with the Holy See, that right belonging exclusively to the Federal Government. The president, accordingly, while anxious to receive an ambassador, to end the anomalous position of our having a representative at a court unrepresented at Washington, was averse to receiving a nuncio, as recognized in Europe. The visit of Monsignor Bedini, though fruitless in this regard, was not without its importance in other respects, as presenting to Rome new and clear views of the position and struggles of Catholicity in America.

To aid in rearing an American body of clergymen was another great desire of the pope. In 1857 he purchased the ancient convent of the Umiltà for forty-two thousand dollars, and gave it for the use of an American college, the bishops in the United States being expected only to furnish it and meet the current expenses. This great work was at last begun, and has already done immense good. It is governed by a rector appointed by the pope from a list of three candidates submitted by the bishops in the United States.





CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE OF THE POPES.



CHRONOLOGICAL LIST OF THE POPES.

No.	NAME.	YEAR OF ACCESSION.	PAGE.
1.	SAINT PETER	42	11
2.	SAINT LINUS	67	18
3.	SAINT ANACLETUS	—	20
4.	SAINT CLEMENT	91	21
5.	SAINT EVARISTUS	100	23
6.	SAINT ALEXANDER I.	109	25
7.	SAINT SIXTUS I.	119	28
8.	SAINT TELESPHORUS	127	31
9.	SAINT HYGINUS	139	31
10.	SAINT PIUS I.	142	32
11.	SAINT ANICETUS	157	35
12.	SAINT SOTER	168	36
13.	SAINT ELEUTHERIUS	177	37
14.	SAINT VICTOR	193	38
15.	SAINT ZEPHYRINUS	202	39
16.	SAINT CALLIXTUS I.	219	42
17.	SAINT URBAN I.	223	43
18.	SAINT PONTIANUS	230	44
19.	SAINT ANTERUS	235	45
20.	SAINT FABIAN	236	45
21.	SAINT CORNELIUS	251	48
22.	SAINT LUCIUS	252	51
23.	SAINT STEPHEN	253	52
24.	SAINT SIXTUS II.	257	54
25.	SAINT DIONYSIUS	259	57
26.	SAINT FELIX I.	269	58

No.	NAME.	YEAR OF ACCESSION.	PAGE.
27.	SAINT EUTYCHIANUS	275	60
28.	SAINT CAIUS	283	61
29.	SAINT MARCELLINUS	296	63
30.	SAINT MARCELLUS I.	308	65
31.	SAINT EUSEBIUS I.	310	66
32.	SAINT MELCHIADES	311	67
33.	SAINT SYLVESTER I.	314	71
34.	SAINT MARK	336	74
35.	SAINT JULIUS I.	337	75
36.	LIBERIUS	352	78
37.	SAINT FELIX II.	359	81
38.	SAINT DAMASUS	366	83
39.	SAINT SIRICIUS	384	88
40.	SAINT ANASTASIUS I.	398	91
41.	SAINT INNOCENT I.	401	92
42.	SAINT ZOZIMUS	417	95
43.	SAINT BONIFACE I.	418	96
44.	SAINT CELESTINE I.	422	98
45.	SAINT SIXTUS III.	432	101
46.	SAINT LEO I.	440	102
47.	SAINT HILARY	461	106
48.	SAINT SIMPLICIUS	467	108
49.	SAINT FELIX III.	483	109
50.	SAINT GELASIUS I.	492	111
51.	SAINT ANASTASIUS II.	496	112
52.	SAINT SYMMACHUS	498	113
53.	SAINT HORMISDAS	514	116
54.	SAINT JOHN I.	523	119
55.	SAINT FELIX IV.	526	120
56.	SAINT BONIFACE II.	530	121
57.	SAINT JOHN II.	532	122
58.	SAINT AGAPETUS	535	123
59.	SAINT SYLVERIUS	536	125
60.	VIGILIUS	538	127
61.	PELAGIUS I.	555	130
62.	JOHN III.	560	132
63.	BENEDICT I.	574	133
64.	PELAGIUS II.	578	134
65.	SAINT GREGORY I.	590	135
66.	SABINIANUS	604	142

No.	NAME.	YEAR OF ACCESSION.	PAGE.
67.	BONIFACE III.	607	144
68.	BONIFACE IV.	608	145
69.	SAINT DEUSDEDIT	615	147
70.	SAINT BONIFACE V.	619	148
71.	HONORIUS I.	625	149
72.	SEVERINUS	640	152
73.	JOHN IV.	640	153
74.	THEODORE I.	642	154
75.	SAINT MARTIN I.	649	156
76.	EUGENE I.	654	160
77.	SAINT VITALIAN	657	161
78.	ADEODATUS I.	672	164
79.	SAINT DONUS I.	676	165
80.	SAINT AGATHO	678	165
81.	SAINT LEO II.	682	167
82.	SAINT BENEDICT II.	684	168
83.	JOHN V.	685	169
84.	CONON	687	170
85.	SAINT SERGIUS I.	687	171
86.	JOHN VI.	701	173
87.	JOHN VII.	705	174
88.	SISINNIUS	708	176
89.	CONSTANTINE	708	176
90.	SAINT GREGORY II.	715	179
91.	SAINT GREGORY III.	731	186
92.	SAINT ZACHARY	741	190
93.	STEPHEN II.	752	193
94.	STEPHEN III.	752	193
95.	SAINT PAUL I.	757	196
96.	STEPHEN IV.	768	198
97.	ADRIAN I.	772	201
98.	SAINT LEO III.	795	203
99.	STEPHEN V.	816	207
100.	SAINT PASCAL I.	817	208
101.	EUGENE II.	824	209
102.	VALENTINE	827	211
103.	GREGORY IV.	827	211
104.	SERGIUS II.	844	214
105.	SAINT LEO IV. .?.....	847	215
106.	BENEDICT III.	855	220

No.	NAME.	YEAR OF ACCESSION.	PAGE.
107.	SAINT NICHOLAS I.	858	222
108.	ADRIAN II.	867	225
109.	JOHN VIII.	872	227
110.	MARINUS (MARTIN II.)	882	230
111.	ADRIAN III.	884	231
112.	STEPHEN VI.	885	231
113.	FORMOSUS	891	233
114.	BONIFACE VI.	896	234
115.	STEPHEN VII.	896	235
116.	ROMANUS.	898	236
117.	THEODORE II.	898	236
118.	JOHN IX.	898	237
119.	BENEDICT IV.	900	238
120.	LEO V.	903	241
121.	CHRISTOPHER	903	242
122.	SERGIUS III.	904	242
123.	ANASTASIUS III.	911	244
124.	LANDO.	913	244
125.	JOHN X.	914	245
126.	LEO VI.	928	246
127.	STEPHEN III.	929	247
128.	JOHN XI.	931	247
129.	LEO VII.	936	248
130.	STEPHEN IX.	939	248
131.	MARINUS II. (MARTIN III.)	943	249
132.	AGAPETUS	946	250
133.	JOHN XII.	956	252
134.	BENEDICT V.	964	255
135.	JOHN XIII.	965	256
136.	BENEDICT VI.	972	258
137.	DONUS II.	972	259
138.	BENEDICT VII.	975	259
139.	JOHN XIV.	984	260
140.	JOHN XV.	985	261
141.	JOHN XVI.	985	261
142.	GREGORY V.	996	263
143.	SYLVESTER II.	999	266
144.	JOHN XVIII.	1003	270
145.	JOHN XIX.	1003	270
146.	SERGIUS IV.	1009	271

No.	NAME.	YEAR OF ACCESSION	PAGE.
147.	BENEDICT VIII.	1012	272
148.	JOHN XX.	1024	275
149.	BENEDICT IX.	1033	276
150.	GREGORY VI.	1044	277
151.	CLEMENT II.	1046	278
152.	DAMASUS II.	1048	279
153.	SAINT LEO IX.	1049	280
154.	VICTOR II.	1055	286
155.	STEPHEN X.	1057	287
156.	BENEDICT X.	1058	288
157.	NICHOLAS II.	1058	288
158.	ALEXANDER II.	1061	290
159.	SAINT GREGORY VII.	1073	294
160.	VICTOR III.	1086	316
161.	URBAN II.	1088	318
162.	PASCAL II.	1099	321
163.	GELASIUS II.	1118	327
164.	CALIXTUS II.	1119	329
165.	HONORIUS II.	1124	332
166.	INNOCENT II.	1130	333
167.	CELESTINE II.	1143	338
168.	LUCIUS II.	1144	340
169.	EUGENE III.	1145	341
170.	ANASTASIUS IV.	1153	346
171.	ADRIAN IV.	1154	347
172.	ALEXANDER III.	1159	350
173.	LUCIUS III.	1181	357
174.	URBAN III.	1185	359
175.	GREGORY VIII.	1187	364
176.	CLEMENT III.	1187	365
177.	CELESTINE III.	1191	367
178.	INNOCENT III.	1198	373
179.	HONORIUS III.	1216	399
180.	GREGORY IX.	1227	407
181.	CELESTINE IV.	1241	421
182.	INNOCENT IV.	1243	422
183.	ALEXANDER IV.	1254	429
184.	URBAN IV.	1261	435
185.	CLEMENT IV.	1265	439
186.	BLESSED GREGORY X.	1271	442

No.	NAME.	YEAR OF ACCESSION.	PAGE.
187.	INNOCENT V.	1276	453
188.	ADRIAN V.	1276	454
189.	JOHN XXI.	1276	455
190.	NICHOLAS III.	1277	456
191.	MARTIN II. (IV.)	1281	459
192.	HONORIUS IV.	1285	463
193.	NICHOLAS IV.	1288	464
194.	SAINT CELESTINE V.	1294	467
195.	BONIFACE VIII.	1294	470
196.	BLESSED BENEDICT XI.	1303	481
197.	CLEMENT V.	1305	484
198.	JOHN XXII.	1316	495
199.	BENEDICT XII.	1334	503
200.	CLEMENT VI.	1342	506
201.	INNOCENT VI.	1352	513
202.	URBAN V.	1362	519
203.	GREGORY XI.	1370	525
204.	URBAN VI.	1378	536
205.	BONIFACE IX.	1389	546
206.	INNOCENT VII.	1404	553
207.	GREGORY XII.	1406	555
208.	ALEXANDER V.	1409	565
209.	JOHN XXIII.	1410	566
210.	MARTIN V.	1417	574
211.	EUGENE VI.	1431	584
212.	NICHOLAS V.	1447	593
213.	CALIXTUS III.	1455	600
214.	PIUS II.	1458	604
215.	PAUL II.	1464	615
216.	SIXTUS IV.	1471	621
217.	INNOCENT VIII.	1484	628
218.	ALEXANDER VI.	1492	634
219.	PIUS III.	1503	645
220.	JULIUS II.	1503	649
221.	LEO X.	1513	662
222.	ADRIAN VI.	1522	698
223.	CLEMENT VII.	1523	708
224.	PAUL III.	1534	723
225.	JULIUS III.	1550	734
226.	MARCELLUS II.	1555	741

CHRONOLOGICAL LIST OF THE POPES.

959

No.	NAME.	YEAR OF ACCESSION.	PAGE.
227.	PAUL IV.	1555	745
228.	PIUS IV.	1559	751
229.	SAINT PIUS V.	1566	767
230.	GREGORY XIII.	1572	806
231.	SIXTUS V.	1585	842
232.	URBAN VII.	1590	872
233.	GREGORY XIV.	1590	875
234.	INNOCENT IX.	1591	881
235.	CLEMENT VIII.	1592	882
236.	LEO XI.	1605	929
237.	PAUL V.	1605	932
238.	GREGORY XV.	1621	VOL. II. 9
239.	URBAN VIII.	1623	
240.	INNOCENT X.	1644	73
241.	ALEXANDER VII.	1655	96
242.	CLEMENT IX.	1667	125
243.	CLEMENT X.	1670	132
244.	INNOCENT XI.	1676	137
245.	ALEXANDER VIII.	1689	168
246.	INNOCENT XII.	1691	171
247.	CLEMENT XI.	1700	183
248.	INNOCENT XIII.	1721	227
249.	BENEDICT XIII.	1724	236
250.	CLEMENT XII.	1730	248
251.	BENEDICT XIV.	1740	269
252.	CLEMENT XIII.	1758	299
253.	CLEMENT XIV.	1769	331
254.	PIUS VI.	1775	384
255.	PIUS VII.	1800	537
256.	LEO XII.	1823	720
257.	PIUS VIII.	1829	746
258.	GREGORY XVI.	1831	774
259.	PIUS IX.	1846	849

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS.

Directions to Binders.

VOLUME I.

ENGRAVED TITLE—CHURCHES OF ROME.

CHRIST GIVING THE KEYS TO ST. PETER.....	<i>To face Title.</i>	
BETHLEHEM.....	page	23
ST. CECILIA.....		43
ANCIENT ROME.....		48
LIBERIUS.....		78
ST. JOHN CHRYSOSTOM.....		92
ST. PATRICK.....		99
ST. AUGUSTINE.....		100
ST. BENEDICT.....		117
LEO IX.....		280
GREGORY VII.....		294
ST. BERNARD.....		336
INNOCENT III.....		373
GREGORY X.....		442
BONIFACE VIII.....		470
JULIUS II.....		649
LEO X.....		662
ST. PIUS V.....		767
GREGORY XIII.....		806
SIXTUS V.....		842

VOLUME II.

ENGRAVED TITLE—THE CATACOMBS.

ST. JEROME.....	<i>To face Title.</i>	
ST. PHILIP NERI.....		16
URBAN VIII.....		23
ST. ELIZABETH OF HUNGARY.....		70
INNOCENT X.....		80
ST. AGNES.....		96
ST. CHARLES BORROMEO.....		106
ST. FRANCIS DE SALES.....		117
ST. PETER AND ST. PAUL.....		131
OUR LADY OF THE ROSARY.....		164
ST. FRANCIS OF ASSISIUM.....		332
PIUS VI.....		384
JERUSALEM.....		402
PIUS VII.....		537
ST. IGNATIUS.....		587
ST. PAUL.....		698
GREGORY XVI.....		713
PIUS IX.....		774
IMMACULATE CONCEPTION.....		849
		925



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